

JONATHAN SWIFT

TRAVELS INTO SEVERAL REMOTE NATIONS OF THE WORLD

In Four Parts, *viz.*

- I. A Voyage to LILLIPUT.
- II. A Voyage to BROBDINGNAG.
- III. A Voyage to LAPUTA, BALNIBARBI, LUGGNAGG,
GLUBBDUBDRIB and JAPAN.
- IV. A Voyage to the COUNTRY of the HOUYHNNMS.

By LEMUEL GULLIVER,
first a Surgeon, and then a CAPTAIN of several SHIPS.

Splendide Mendax. 'gloriously false'; Horace, *Odes*, III.xi.35

————— *Retroq;*

Vulgus abhorret ab his.

'the people shrink back from it'; Lucretius, IV.19–20

Compositum jus, fasque animi, sanctosque recessus
Mentis, & incoctum generoso pectus honesto.

'In spirit, to be reconciled to what is holy and to what is just; to be thoroughly pure in mind;
and to have a heart infused with nobleness and honour' (Persius, II.73–4).

ADVERTISEMENT.¹

Mr. Sympson's *Letter to Captain Gulliver*,² prefixed to this Volume, will make a long Advertisement unnecessary. Those Interpolations complained of by the Captain, were made by a Person since deceased, on whose Judgment the Publisher relied to make any Alterations that might be thought necessary.³ But, this Person, not rightly comprehending the Scheme of the Author, nor able to imitate his plain simple Style, thought fit among many other Alterations and Insertions, to compliment the Memory of her late Majesty, by saying, That she governed without a Chief Minister.⁴ We are assured, that the Copy sent to the Bookseller in London, was a Transcript of the Original, which Original being in the Possession of a very worthy Gentleman in London, and a most intimate Friend of the Authors;⁵ after he had bought the Book in Sheets,⁶ and compared it with the Originals, bound it up with blank Leaves, and made those Corrections, which the Reader will find in our Edition.⁷ For, the same Gentleman did us the Favour to let us transcribe his Corrections.

1 *Advertisement*: first printed in Faulkner's 1735 edition.

2 *Sympson's Letter to Captain Gulliver*: a slip for Gulliver's letter to Sympson.

3 *be thought necessary*: for what we know and can infer about the handling of the MS of *GT* and its treatment by the bookseller, Benjamin Motte, see the 'Textual introduction', below, pp. 634–35.

4 *a Chief Minister*: the first edition of 1726 included in Chapter 6 of Part IV a passage praising Queen Anne, and by implication criticizing George I, which was not published by Faulkner in 1735. For the passage, see below, pp. 710–11.

5 *Friend of the Authors*: Charles Ford (1682–1741), one of Swift's most trusted friends; an absentee landlord who for the most part lived in London, despite owning the estate of Woodpark, Co. Meath. Ford's interleaved copy of the first edition of *GT* is now in the Victoria and Albert Museum; another copy with annotations in his hand is in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York. For their readings, see below, pp. 721–74. Ford had acted as an intermediary between Swift and Motte in the publication of the first edition of *GT*, and (according to Scott) may have been the person who surreptitiously delivered the manuscript of *GT* to Motte's house under cover of darkness.

6 *in Sheets*: unbound and unfolded (*OED*, 5b).

7 *our Edition*: in fact Faulkner's edition of 1735 does not incorporate all the alternative readings contained in Ford's interleaved copy.

A LETTER⁸ FROM Capt. *GULLIVER*,⁹ TO HIS Cousin *SYMPSON*.¹⁰

I hope you will be ready to own publickly, whenever you shall be called to it, that by your great and frequent Urgency you prevailed on me to publish a very loose and uncorrect Account of my Travels; with Direction to hire some young Gentlemen of either University¹¹ to put them in Order, and correct the Style, as my Cousin¹² *Dampier* did by my Advice, in his Book called, *A Voyage round the World*.¹³ But I do not remember I gave you Power

8 *A LETTER*: first printed in Faulkner's 1735 edition.

9 *GULLIVER*: see Long note 3.

10 *SYMPSON*: Swift had used the name 'Richard Sympson' as a pseudonym when corresponding with Motte concerning the publication of *GT*: see Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, pp. 9–13. A real Richard Simpson was one of the copyright holders of Sir William Temple's writings, which Swift had prepared for publication in the 1690s: the title page of *Letters Written by Sir W. Temple* (1700) contains the name of 'R. Simpson, at the Harp in S. Paul's Church-yard'. R. W. Frantz finds a connection with 'William Symson', the fictitious author of *A New Voyage to the East-Indies* (1715): see his 'Gulliver's "Cousin Sympson"', *HLQ*, 3 (1938), 329–34. For the date of composition of this element of *GT*, see Ehrenpreis, vol. III, p. 516 and n. 3; and below, pp. 641–43.

11 *of either University*: Swift suspected that the bowdlerizing of the first edition of *GT* had been entrusted to 'Mr. Took a Clergy-man' whom Motte had asked 'not onely to blot out some things that he thought might give offence, but to insert a good deal of trash contrary to the Author's manner and Style, and Intention' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, p. 693; see also vol. III, p. 708 and vol. IV, p. 153). This was the Revd Andrew Tooke, the brother of Benjamin Tooke, Swift's bookseller; Master of the Charterhouse, 1728; *d.* 20 January 1732. Tooke was a silent partner in Motte's firm, and his responsibilities included the correction of books for the press.

12 *Cousin*: here meaning not a blood relation but a person having an affinity of nature to another (*OED*, 4); hence, a fellow writer.

13 *Voyage round the World*: William Dampier (1651–1715); buccaneer, explorer and author. His *A New Voyage Round the World* (1697) was admired as a useful and factual account of unknown lands. In the 'Preface' to that work, Dampier comments on his literary accomplishments: 'As to my Stile, it cannot be expected, that a Seaman should affect Politeness; for were I able to do it, yet I think I should be little solicitous about it, in a work of this Nature. I have frequently indeed, divested my self of Sea Phrases, to gratify the Land Reader; for which the Seamen will hardly forgive me: And yet, possibly, I shall not seem Complaisant enough to the other; because I still retain the use of so many Sea-terms. I confess I have not been at all

to consent, that any thing should be omitted, and much less that any thing should be inserted: Therefore, as to the latter, I do here renounce every thing of that Kind; particularly a Paragraph about her Majesty the late Queen *Anne*,¹⁴ of most pious and glorious Memory; although I did reverence and esteem her more than any of human Species.¹⁵ But you, or your Interpolator, ought to have considered, that as it was not my Inclination, so was it not decent to praise any Animal of our Composition¹⁶ before my Master *Houyhnhnm*:¹⁷ And besides, the Fact was altogether false; for to my Knowledge, being in *England* during some Part of her Majesty's Reign, she did govern by a chief Minister;¹⁸ nay, even by two successively; the first whereof was the Lord of *Godolphin*,¹⁹ and the second the Lord of *Oxford*,²⁰

scrupulous in this matter, either as to the one or the other of these; for I am perswaded, that if what I say be intelligible, it matters not greatly in what words it is express'd' (sig. A3^v). In the 'Preface' to his *A Voyage to New-Holland* (1703), Dampier defended his practice of having 'what I write, Revised and Corrected by Friends' (sig. A5^v).

- 14 *Queen Anne*: see p. 5, n. 4 above. In his letter to Motte of 3 January 1727, Charles Ford refers to this passage in terms close to those used here by Swift: 'I have an entire Respect for the Memory of the late Queen, and am always pleas'd when others shew the same; but that Paragraph relating to her looks so very much beside the Purpose that I cannot think it to have been written by the same Author. I wish you & your Friends would consider it, and let it be left out in the next Edition. For it is plainly false in Fact, since all the World knows that the Queen during her whole Reign governed by one first Minister or other' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, p. 66). Rapin de Thoyras had expressed the view that Anne's natural intelligence was so limited that it was inevitable 'her Ministry wou'd have much more share in the Government than herself' (*An Impartial History of Whig and Tory*, second edition [1718], pp. 39–40). The possibly Defovian pamphlet, *The Secret History of State Intrigues in the Management of the Scepter* (1715), is a critical account, focussed on the reign of Anne, of the consequences of the sword and sceptre being put 'into the Hands of the Ministers of State' (p. 23).
- 15 *human Species*: the first of a series of what for the first-time reader of *GT* are perplexing anticipations of the language and vision of Part IV. On Swift's view of Queen Anne, see Long note 4.
- 16 *any Animal of our Composition*: i.e. any human being.
- 17 *Master Houyhnhnm*: the horse who takes Gulliver into his service in Part IV of *GT*.
- 18 *chief Minister*: in 'The Answer of . . . William Pulteney' Swift deplored the practice of governing by a minister as an '*Asiatic* custom' (Davis, vol. V, p. 117); see also his comments on the same subject in 'An Account of the Court and Empire of Japan' (Davis, vol. V, p. 101). The fashion of the Emperor of Lilliput's clothes is 'between the *Asiatick* and the *European*' (below, p. 46).
- 19 *Lord of Godolphin*: Sidney Godolphin (1645–1712); Lord Treasurer, 1702–10.
- 20 *Lord of Oxford*: Robert Harley (1661–1724); Lord Treasurer, 1710–14; created first Earl of Oxford, 1711; praised by Swift, when disgraced and in the Tower, as 'the ablest and faith-fullest Minister, and truest Lover of Your Country that this Age hath produced' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. II, p. 139).

so that you have made me *say the thing that was not*.²¹ Likewise, in the Account of the Academy of Projectors, and several Passages of my Discourse to my Master *Houyhnhnm*, you have either omitted some material Circumstances, or minced or changed them in such a Manner, that I do hardly know mine own Work.²² When I formerly hinted to you something of this in a Letter, you were pleased to answer, that you were afraid of giving Offence; that People in Power were very watchful over the Press; and apt not only to interpret, but to punish every thing which looked like an *Inuendo*²³ (as I think you called it.) But pray, how could that which I spoke so many Years ago, and at above five Thousand Leagues distance, in another Reign, be applyed to any of the *Yahoos*,²⁴ who now are said to govern the Herd;²⁵ especially, at a time when I little thought on or feared the Unhappiness of living under them. Have not I the most Reason to complain, when I see these very *Yahoos* carried by *Houyhnhnms* in a Vehicle, as if these were Brutes, and those the rational Creatures? And, indeed, to avoid so monstrous and detestable a Sight, was one principal Motive of my Retirement hither.²⁶

Thus much I thought proper to tell you in Relation to your self, and to the Trust I reposed in you.

21 *the thing that was not*: the Houyhnhnms' periphrasis for falsehood, of which they are said by Gulliver to have no conception; see below, pp. 349, 353, 354, 366, 390, 431.

22 *mine own Work*: another complaint about the 'mangled and murdered Pages' of the first edition of *GT* (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, p. 693), which Swift considered were more in evidence in the second volume (i.e. in Parts III and IV; Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, p. 56). Collation confirms that these Parts contain the most substantial textual variants: see below, pp. 674–718.

23 *Inuendo*: the colloquial sense of 'an oblique hint, indirect suggestion' (*OED*, 3) is already current by 1726, but the word also possesses a technical legal meaning, namely 'the injurious meaning or signification alleged to be conveyed by words not *per se* injurious or actionable' (*OED*, 2), which when Swift wrote *GT* in his correspondence, Swift complained that 'I cannot but think it hard that I am not suffer'd to run quietly among the common herd of people, whose opinions unfortunately differ from those which lead to Favour and Preferment' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. II, p. 359).

24 *Yahoos*: the under-race of Part IV.

25 *govern the Herd*: cf. 'The Patrons of the good old Cause, / In *Senates* sit, at making Laws; / The most malignant of the Herd, / In surest way to be prefer'd —' ('The Life and Character of Dean Swift', Williams, *Poems*, p. 549, lines 162–5). Swift had also used 'herd' in a political sense in the *Contests and Dissensions* (Davis, vol. I, p. 233); it also recurs in Chapters 1 and 7 of Part IV (below, pp. 335 and 394). Writing to Pope on 10 January 1721, and therefore only a few months before the first mention of *GT* in his correspondence, Swift complained that 'I cannot but think it hard that I am not suffer'd to run quietly among the common herd of people, whose opinions unfortunately differ from those which lead to Favour and Preferment' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. II, p. 359).

26 *hither*: i.e. to Newark.

I do in the next Place complain of my own great Want of Judgment, in being prevailed upon by the Intreaties and false Reasonings of you and some others, very much against mine own Opinion, to suffer my Travels to be published. Pray bring to your Mind how often I desired you to consider, when you insisted on the Motive of *publick Good*;²⁷ that the *Yahoos* were a Species of Animals utterly incapable of Amendment by Precepts or Examples:²⁸ And so it hath proved; for instead of seeing a full Stop put to all Abuses and Corruptions, at least in this little Island, as I had Reason to expect: Behold, after above six Months Warning, I cannot learn that my Book hath produced one single Effect according to mine Intentions: I desired you would let me know by a Letter, when Party and Faction were extinguished; Judges learned and upright; Pleaders honest and modest, with some Tincture of common Sense; and *Smithfield*²⁹ blazing with Pyramids of Law-Books; the young Nobility's Education³⁰ entirely changed; the Physicians banished;³¹ the female *Yahoos* abounding in Virtue, Honour, Truth and good Sense: Courts and Levees of great Ministers thoroughly weeded and swept; Wit, Merit and Learning rewarded; all Disgracers of the Press in Prose and Verse, condemned to eat nothing but their own Cotten,³² and quench their Thirst with their own Ink.

27 *publick Good*: see Long note 6.

28 *Precepts or Examples*: the inveteracy of human vice is a characteristic sentiment in Swift's later writings; cf. 'I freely own it a wild Imagination that any words will cure the sottishness of men, or the vanity of women' (Davis, vol. XII, p. 68); 'I have already said too much, and to little or no Purpose; which hath often been the Fate, or Fortune of the Writer. J. Swift' (Davis, vol. XIII, p. 140). In *A Project for the Advancement of Religion and Manners* (1709) Swift had conceded that, notwithstanding the personal excellence of Queen Anne, 'Infidelity and Vice are not much diminished since her coming to the Crown; nor will, in Probability, till more effectual Remedies be provided' (Davis, vol. II, p. 47). But cf. also 'Verses on the Death of Dr Swift': 'His Satyr points at no Defect, / But what all Mortals may correct;' (Williams, *Poems*, p. 571, lines 463–4). For Swift the possibility of amendment of life (of which Gulliver in Part IV is a vivid, if problematic, illustration) was an aggravating feature of mankind's failure to reform.

29 *Smithfield*: an area on the northern edge of the city of London; the site of public burnings of heretics and proscribed books.

30 *young Nobility's Education*: see Long note 7.

31 *Physicians banished*: cf. the satire on the medical profession in 'Verses on the Death of Dr Swift' (Williams, *Poems*, pp. 558–9, lines 169–76), and in Part IV below, pp. 376–81.

32 *Cotten*: cotton was sometimes used to make paper. In the *Philosophical Transactions* of the Royal Society, vol. II (1721), pp. 221–2, in an essay 'Of the Art of Printing', Swift might have read of the use of 'Cotton Paper' during the middle ages and antiquity. In 1726 Defoe would report that 'much of our Paper, in this Country, is made of the Rags of old Linnen beaten to Pumice' (Defoe, *Literature*, p. 85; see also pp. 124–5).

These, and a Thousand other Reformations, I firmly counted upon by your Encouragement; as indeed they were plainly deducible from the Precepts delivered in my Book. And, it must be owned, that seven Months were a sufficient Time to correct every Vice and Folly to which *Yahoos* are subject; if their Natures had been capable of the least Disposition to Virtue or Wisdom: Yet so far have you been from answering mine Expectation in any of your Letters; that on the contrary, you are loading our Carrier every Week with Libels, and Keys, and Reflections, and Memoirs, and Second Parts;³³ wherein I see myself accused of reflecting upon great States-Folk;³⁴ of degrading human Nature, (for so they have still the Confidence to stile it) and of abusing the Female Sex.³⁵ I find likewise, that the Writers of those Bundles are not agreed among themselves; for some of them will not allow me to be Author of mine own Travels; and others make me Author of Books to which I am wholly a Stranger.³⁶

33 *Second Parts*: there was an extraordinary print response to *GT*; see the bibliography in *Gulliveriana*, vol. VIII. The ensuing list of charges levelled at *GT* which Gulliver deplors follows very closely the order in which Pope and John Gay reported to Swift the public response to the book in their letter to him of 7 November 1726 (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, p. 47).

34 *States-Folk*: persons of great estate or position (*OED*, 'state' 41 b, citing this passage).

35 *abusing the Female Sex*: most immediately perhaps a reference to the resentment *GT* stirred up in Anne's maids of honour, concerning which Pope and Gay warned Swift on 7 November 1726, and to which Swift himself referred when writing to Mrs Howard in the character of 'Lemuel Gulliver' on 28 November 1726 (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, pp. 47 and 59; below, pp. 598 and 603). By 1735, however, when the 'Letter to Sympson' was first published, Swift himself was associated in the public mind with misogyny as a result of poems such as 'The Lady's Dressing Room' (1732) and 'A Beautiful Young Nymph Going to Bed' (1734) (Williams, *Poems*, pp. 524–30 and 580–3). It was with this aspect of his reputation in mind that Faulkner warned the reader of Swift's poetry that: '*we are very sensible, that in some of the following Poems, the Ladies may resent certain satyirical Touches against the mistaken Conduct in some of the fair Sex*' (Swift, *Works*, vol. II, 'Advertisement', sig. π2^v). Undoubtedly Swift could write with harshness on the physical and moral frailties of women. But in *A Letter to a Young Lady* (1723), he had nevertheless written: 'I am ignorant of any one Quality that is amiable in a Man, which is not equally so in a Woman' (Davis, vol. IX, p. 92).

36 *wholly a Stranger*: in the *Journal to Stella* Swift repeatedly complains about the attribution to him of spuria: 'for they lay all things on me, even some I have never read' (Williams, *JS*, p. 440; cf. p. 477). Yet it was also the case, as his contemporaries were well aware, that Swift denied or avoided claiming authorship of many works which were his own. In the spurious *Memoirs of the Life of Scriblerus*. By D. S—t (1723), this evasiveness on Swift's part is transferred to 'Timothy Scriblerus': 'he would one Day write . . . a Comedy, or Copy of Verses . . . a Sermon; the next, a Tale of a Tub, or Romance; but had this peculiar Turn in his Temper . . . that he never would own his Productions, but always father'd them upon some body or other' (pp. 17–18). Cf. also 'On Poetry: A Rapsody', lines 117–42 (Williams, *Poems*,

I find likewise, that your Printer hath been so careless as to confound the Times, and mistake the Dates of my several Voyages and Returns; neither assigning the true Year, or the true Month, or Day of the Month:³⁷ And I hear the original Manuscript is all destroyed,³⁸ since the Publication of my Book. Neither have I any Copy left; however, I have sent you some Corrections, which you may insert, if ever there should be a second Edition: And yet I cannot stand to them,³⁹ but shall leave that Matter to my judicious and candid Readers, to adjust it as they please.

I hear some of our Sea-Yahoos find Fault with my Sea-Language, as not proper in many Parts, nor now in Use.⁴⁰ I cannot help it. In my first Voyages, while I was young, I was instructed by the oldest Mariners, and learned to speak as they did. But I have since found that the Sea-Yahoos are apt, like the Land ones, to become new fangled in their Words; which the latter change every Year; insomuch, as I remember upon each Return to mine own Country, their old Dialect was so altered, that I could hardly understand the new.⁴¹ And I observe, when any Yahoo comes from *London*

p. 644). Swift's habit of concealing his authorship of course contributed to the state of affairs he so resented, namely the attribution to him of works in which he had no hand.

37 *the true Month, or Day of the Month*: collation reveals only one variant in the dates, at the beginning of Part II, Chapter 1. In this edition dates of possible significance are annotated; and see the Chronology, above, pp. xxi–xxiii. Michael Treadwell's surmise has the ring of truth: 'Swift is here merely deflecting onto the poor printers criticism for carelessness which was his own and which he could not otherwise correct without tacitly admitting to' (Treadwell, 'Text', pp. 62–79, esp. p. 71).

38 *all destroyed*: Motte seems to have destroyed the printer's copy, presumably out of concern over its contents. Swift's holograph had been entrusted to Charles Ford, and seems to have survived until the middle of the eighteenth century, when it was allegedly given to Faulkner. For discussion, see Woolley, 'First Note' and 'Second Note'; and the 'Textual introduction', below, pp. 630–31.

39 *stand to them*: insist upon them (*OED*, 'stand' 76 j).

40 *now in Use*: Swift drew his nautical language from Samuel Sturmy's *The Mariner's Magazine* (1669), so it was indeed out of date in 1726. For a particularly concentrated instance of Swift's use of such language, see the second paragraph of Part II, Chapter 1, pp. 119–21 below. William Dampier was also sensitive to the use of sea-language (see p. 7, n. 13 above).

41 *hardly understand the new*: Swift's writings were from the first marked by a fear of linguistic change. The 'Preface' to *A Tale of a Tub* mocks the tenderness of 'a Modern Piece of Wit', which is 'extremely witty to day, or fasting, or in this place, or at eight a clock, or over a Bottle, or spoke by Mr. What d'y'call'm, or in a Summer's Morning: Any of which, by the smallest Transposal or Misapplication, is utterly annihilate' (*CWJS*, vol. I, p. 27; Davis, vol. I, p. 26). *A Proposal for Correcting . . . the English Tongue* (1712) aspired to 'Ascertaining and Fixing our Language for ever' (Davis, vol. IV, p. 14) on the grounds that 'our Language is extremely imperfect; that its daily Improvements are by no Means in Proportion to its daily

out of Curiosity to visit me at mine own House, we neither of us are able to deliver our Conceptions⁴² in a Manner intelligible to the other.

If the Censure of *Yahoos* could any Way affect me, I should have great Reason to complain, that some of them are so bold as to think my Book of Travels a meer Fiction out of mine own Brain; and have gone so far as to drop Hints, that the *Houyhnhnms*, and *Yahoos* have no more Existence than the Inhabitants of *Utopia*.⁴³

Indeed I must confess, that as to the People of *Lilliput*, *Brobdingrag*,⁴⁴ (for so the Word should have been spelt, and not erroneously *Brobdingnag*) and *Laputa*; I have never yet heard of any *Yahoo* so presumptuous as to dispute their Being, or the Facts I have related concerning them; because the Truth immediately strikes every Reader with Conviction.⁴⁵ And, is there less Probability in my Account of the *Houyhnhnms* or *Yahoos*, when it is manifest as to the latter, there are so many Thousands even in this City, who only differ from their Brother Brutes in *Houyhnhnmland*, because they use a Sort of *Jabber*,⁴⁶ and do not go naked. I wrote for their Amendment, and not their Approbation. The united Praise of the whole Race would be of less Consequence to me, than the neighing of those two degenerate

Corruptions; that the Pretenders to polish and refine it, have chiefly multiplied Abuses and Absurdities' (Davis, vol. IV, p. 6).

42 *deliver our Conceptions*: convey our thoughts.

43 *Utopia*: a punning term (meaning both 'no place' and 'happy place') coined by Sir Thomas More in his *Utopia* (1516), a work upon which Swift drew for *GT*, particularly in Part IV. More was one of the sextumvirate of worthies admired by Gulliver in Part III, Chapter 7 (below, p. 292). 'Utopia' was a term widely employed in early eighteenth-century political satire; see *Canary-birds Naturaliz'd in Utopia. A Canto* (1709); *Hell broke-loose; upon Doctor S-ch-ve-l's sermons: or, Don Quevedo's vision, of an infernal cabal of Whiggish papists and popish Whigs in Utopia* (1713); and (close in date to the publication of *GT*) Eliza Haywood's scandalous *roman à clef*, *Memoirs of a Certain Island adjacent to the Kingdom of Utopia* (1725).

44 *Brobdingrag*: an authorial tease. The planting of deliberate irregularities in *GT* is an important aspect of its character as a mock-book: see the 'Introduction', above, pp. lxxvii-lxxxv. Gulliver's sensitivity over the syllable 'nag' may derive from indecent meanings current in 1726, when it could mean both 'penis' and 'prostitute' (*OED*, 2 a and b).

45 *the Truth immediately strikes every Reader with Conviction*: another repetition of something Gulliver has learned from the *Houyhnhnms* (see below, p. 401).

46 *Jabber*: rapid and indistinct or unintelligible talk; *OED* cites this passage as the first usage of this word as a noun (its use as a verb, however, dates back to the fifteenth century). Cf. 'Mad Mullinix and Timothy', lines 259-60: 'We scorn, for want of talk, to jabber / Of Parties o're our *Bonny-Clabber*' (Williams, *Poems*, p. 781). Crudeness of speech is attributed to primitive peoples from antiquity onwards: see, e.g., Homer's description of the Carians (*Iliad*, II.867), and Pliny's description of the Yahoo-like *Choromandae*, who have 'no speech but a horrible scream, hairy bodies, keen grey eyes and the teeth of a dog'; 'sine voce, stridoris horrendi, hirtis corporibus, oculis glaucis, dentibus caninis' (*Natural History*, VII.ii.24).

Houyhnhnms I keep in my Stable; because, from these, degenerate as they are, I still improve in some Virtues, without any Mixture of Vice.

Do these miserable Animals⁴⁷ presume to think that I am so far degenerated as to defend my Veracity; *Yahoo* as I am, it is well known through all *Houyhnhnmland*, that by the Instructions and Example of my illustrious Master, I was able in the Compass of two Years (although I confess with the utmost Difficulty) to remove that infernal Habit of Lying, Shuffling, Deceiving, and Equivocating, so deeply rooted in the very Souls of all my Species; especially the *Europeans*.

I have other Complaints to make upon this vexatious Occasion; but I forbear troubling myself or you any further. I must freely confess, that since my last Return, some Corruptions of my *Yahoo* Nature have revived in me by conversing with a few of your Species, and particularly those of mine own Family, by an unavoidable Necessity; else I should never have attempted so absurd a Project as that of reforming the *Yahoo* Race in this Kingdom; but, I have now done with all such visionary Schemes for ever.⁴⁸

*April 2, 1727.*⁴⁹

47 *miserable Animals*: that is to say, the human critics of *GT*.

48 *visionary Schemes for ever*: Swift struck a similar note of exasperation towards the end of *A Modest Proposal*, where the proposer is 'wearied out for many Years with offering vain, idle, visionary Thoughts; and at length utterly despairing of Success' (Davis, vol. XII, p. 117). It was a valedictory gesture of which Temple was also fond, albeit without any satiric charge, as at the end of his *Memoirs*: 'And so I take Leave of all those Airy Visions which have so long busied my Head about mending the World; and at the same Time, of all those shining Toys or Follies that employ the Thoughts of busie Men: And shall turn mine wholly to mend my self' (Temple, vol. I, p. 359); see also the end of 'Of Public Discontents' (Temple, vol. I, p. 271).

49 *April 2, 1727*: commenting on this date, Patrick Delany says that 'he was ashamed to date it the first for a very obvious reason' (*Observations*, p. 100). In Swift's imagination, however, the date 2 April places Gulliver between knavery and folly; alongside a passage in Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion* recording the issuing of writs for Parliament on 3 April, Swift wrote in the margin: 'April 3d for Knaves the 1st for Fools' (Davis, vol. V, p. 297; see also p. 309). Harold Williams notes that the date of the letter is 'just over five instead of "after above six Months" since the first publication' (Williams, *Text*, p. 47). For the likely time of composition, and the importance of this letter in the textual history of *GT*, see the 'Textual introduction', below, pp. 641–43.

THE Publisher *to the* Reader.⁵⁰

The Author of these Travels, Mr. *Lemuel Gulliver*, is my antient and intimate Friend; there is likewise some Relation between us by the Mother's Side. About three Years ago Mr. *Gulliver* growing weary of the Concourse of curious People coming to him at his House in *Redriff*,⁵¹ made a small Purchase of Land, with a convenient House, near *Newark*, in *Nottinghamshire*, his native Country; where he now lives retired, yet in good Esteem among his Neighbours.

Although Mr. *Gulliver* was born in *Nottinghamshire*, where his Father dwelt, yet I have heard him say, his Family came from *Oxfordshire*; to confirm which, I have observed in the Church-Yard at *Banbury*,⁵² in that County, several Tombs and Monuments of the *Gullivers*.⁵³

Before he quitted *Redriff*, he left the Custody of the following Papers in my Hands, with the Liberty to dispose of them as I should think fit. I have carefully perused them three Times: The Style is very plain and simple; and the only Fault I find is, that the Author, after the Manner of Travellers, is a little too circumstantial. There is an Air of Truth apparent through the whole; and indeed the Author was so distinguished for his Veracity, that it

50 *to the Reader*: this was the preface to the first edition of *GT*. 'Publisher' here can mean either agent or editor (*OED*, 2 a and b; citing this instance); 'Richard Sympson' has performed both these functions in respect of *GT*. Given that biographical information concerning the persona of *GT* is here, and only here, associated with the surname 'Gulliver', and if it is correct that Swift decided only at the last minute to give his traveller the name Lemuel Gulliver, then 'The Publisher *to the* Reader' must also be a late addition to the text: see Long note 3 and 'Textual introduction', below, p. 629 and n. 9.

51 *Redriff*: Rotherhithe, a district on the south bank of the Thames in east London; the extreme north-east corner of the borough of Southwark.

52 *Banbury*: a market town north of Oxford associated with outbreaks of Puritan iconoclasm; cf. Swift's reference to a '*Banbury Saint*' in *A Discourse Concerning the Mechanical Operation of the Spirit* (*CWJS*, vol. I, p. 181; Davis, vol. I, p. 184).

53 *Monuments of the Gullivers*: see Long note 3.

became a Sort of Proverb among his Neighbours at *Redriff*, when any one affirmed a Thing, to say, it was as true as if Mr. *Gulliver* had spoke it.⁵⁴

By the Advice of several worthy Persons, to whom, with the Author's Permission, I communicated these Papers, I now venture to send them into the World; hoping they may be, at least for some time, a better Entertainment to our young Noblemen, than the common Scribbles of Politicks and Party.

This Volume would have been at least twice as large, if I had not made bold to strike out innumerable Passages⁵⁵ relating to the Winds and Tides, as well as to the Variations and Bearings in the several Voyages; together with the minute Descriptions of the Management of the Ship in Storms, in the Style of Sailors: Likewise the Account of the Longitudes and Latitudes; wherein I have Reason to apprehend that Mr. *Gulliver* may be a little dissatisfied:⁵⁶ But I was resolved to fit the Work as much as possible to the general Capacity of Readers. However, if my own Ignorance in Sea-Affairs shall have led me to commit some Mistakes, I alone am answerable for them: And if any Traveller hath a Curiosity to see the whole Work at large, as it came from the Hand of the Author, I will be ready to gratify him.

As for any further Particulars relating to the Author, the Reader will receive Satisfaction from the first Pages of the Book.

Richard Sympson.

54 *had spoke it*: the theme of truthful deception has already been announced by Swift in the Horatian epigraph to the frontispiece portrait, and is present also in works on which Swift drew when composing *GT*, such as Lucian's *The True History* and More's *Utopia*.

55 *innumerable Passages*: on the sea-language of *GT*, and its parallels in the work of William Dampier, see above p. 7, n. 13. The disavowal of stylistic refinement is a common feature in the tradition of *serio ludere* into which Swift placed *GT*. Compare More's remarks in the letter to Peter Giles which serves as a preface to *Utopia*: 'And then if the matter had to be set forth with eloquence, not just factually, there is no way I could have done that, however hard I worked, for however long a time' (*Utopia*, pp. 3–4).

56 *a little dissatisfied*: note Swift's annotation, dated 1720, to Thomas Herbert's *A Relation of Some Yeares Travaille into Africa and Greater Asia* (1634): 'If this Book were stript of its Impertinence, Conceitedness and tedious Digressions, it would be almost worth reading, and would then be two thirds smaller than it is' (Davis, vol. V, p. 243).

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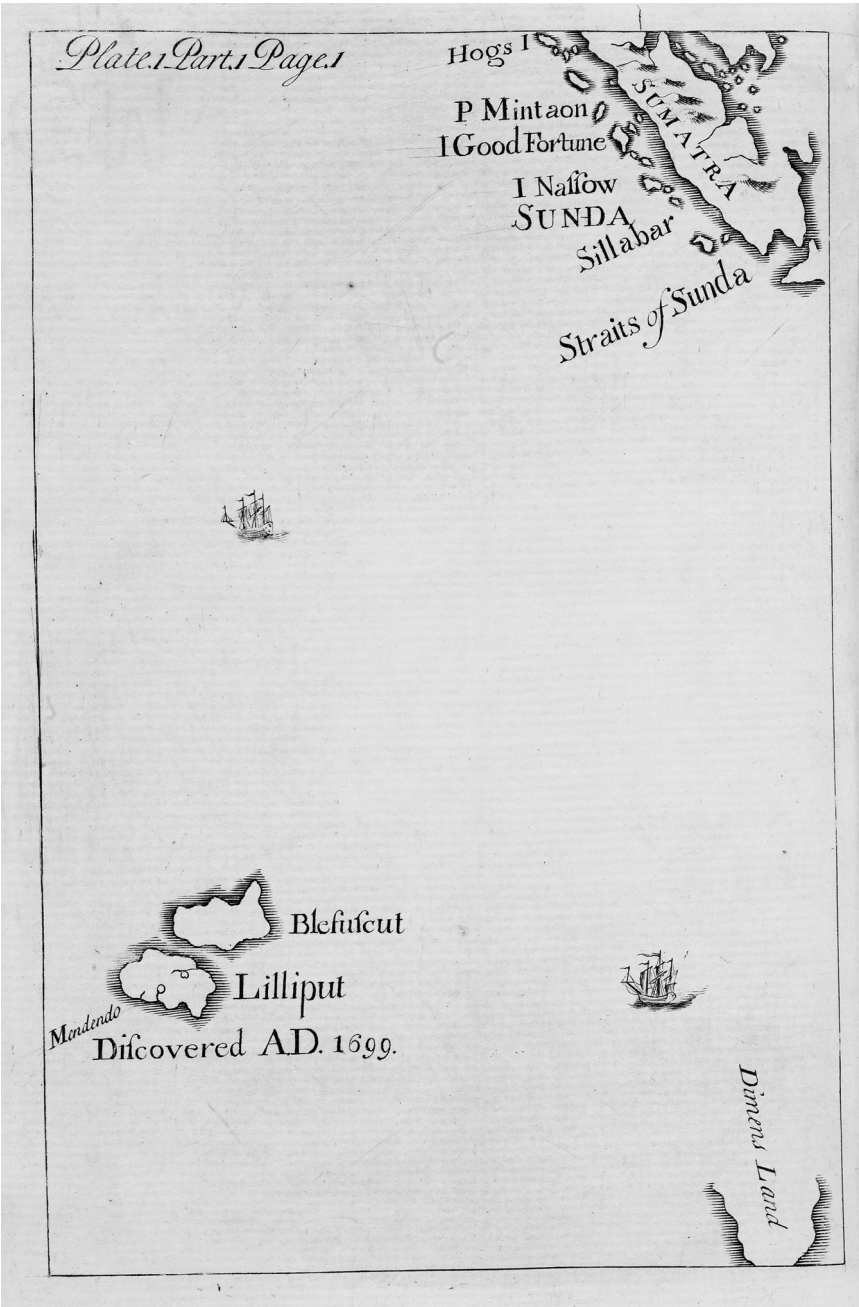


Figure 3. Map of Lilliput

PART I.

A VOYAGE to *Lilliput*.¹

CHAPTER I.

The Author giveth some Account of himself and Family, his first Inducements to travel. He is shipwrecked, and swims for his Life; gets safe on shoar in the Country of Lilliput; is made a Prisoner, and carried up the Country.

My Father had a small Estate in *Nottinghamshire*; I was the Third of five Sons.² He sent me to *Emanuel-College* in *Cambridge*,³ at Fourteen Years

1 *Lilliput*: cf. Johnson's dismissal: 'When once you have thought of big men and little men, it is very easy to do all the rest' (Boswell, *Life*, vol. II, p. 319). For the medieval and early modern myth of a race of pygmies inhabiting northern latitudes, see Simon Grynaeus, *Novus orbis regionum ac insularum veteribus incognitarum* (Basil, 1532) and Olaus Magnus, *Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus* (Rome, 1555). Nicolas Malebranche had speculated on the distorting effects of proportion by positing first a world of 'little Men' and then 'an Earth infinitely vaster than this we inhabit' (Malebranche, *Treatise Concerning the Search after Truth*, tr. T. Taylor (1700), p. 16. Cf. 'The Dean's Reasons', lines 51–2; Williams, *Poems*, p. 900). John Boyle, Earl of Orrery compared the first two parts of *Gulliver's Travels* to Cyrano de Bergerac, a work which also involves play with scale (*Remarks*, p. 93). Cf. also Hythlodæus's comment in *Utopia* that 'man-in-general' is 'colossal and bigger than any giant' (*Utopia*, p. 64). The Scriblerian jeu d'esprit 'The Origine of Sciences' makes satiric capital out of a race of 'Pygmaeans' (Pope, *Prose Works*, vol. II, p. 286). Deane Swift thought that Parts I and II of *Gulliver's Travels* were both 'intirely political', and that their meaning was 'very near the surface' (*Essay*, p. 207). Peterborough's comment to Swift in a letter of 18 April 1711 that 'Those Junto pigmies if not destroyed will grow up to Giants' reveals that in the years 1710–14 paradoxes of scale might carry political meanings (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. I, p. 342). On the names made up for *Gulliver's Travels*, see Paul Odell Clark, 'A Gulliver Dictionary', *Studies in Philology*, 50 (1953), 592–624.

2 *five Sons*: these details suggest Gulliver occupies the middle station in life praised by Robinson Crusoe's father (Defoe, *Crusoe*, pp. 4–6). Swift disdained to mention Defoe, referring to him in *A Letter Concerning the Sacramental Test* (1709) as 'the Fellow that was pilloried, I have forgot his Name' (Davis, vol. II, p. 113). Nevertheless, he was clearly aware of Defoe's character and writings. Defoe was active in the crisis of the Kentish petition, which elicited *The Contests and Dissensions* from Swift. Like Swift, Defoe was employed by Harley.

3 *Emanuel-College in Cambridge*: the college of Swift's early patron, Sir William Temple. For its Puritan character at this time, see Ehrenpreis, vol. I, pp. 93–4. In 1645 Richard Holdsworth, chaplain-in-ordinary to Charles I, had been ejected as Master of Emmanuel on account of

old,⁴ where I resided three Years, and applied my self close to my Studies: But the Charge of maintaining me (although I had a very scanty Allowance) being too great for a narrow Fortune; I was bound Apprentice to Mr. *James Bates*, an eminent Surgeon in *London*, with whom I continued four Years; and my Father now and then sending me small Sums of Money, I laid them out in learning Navigation, and other Parts of the Mathematicks, useful to those who intend to travel, as I always believed it would be some time or other my Fortune to do. When I left Mr. *Bates*, I went down to my Father; where, by the Assistance of him and my Uncle *John*, and some other Relations, I got Forty Pounds, and a Promise of Thirty Pounds a Year to maintain me at *Leyden*:⁵ There I studied Physick⁶ two Years and seven Months, knowing it would be useful in long Voyages.

Soon after my Return from *Leyden*, I was recommended by my good Master Mr. *Bates*, to be Surgeon to the *Swallow*,⁷ Captain *Abraham Pannell*

his royalist connections. In July 1651 William Sancroft, the future Archbishop of Canterbury and the subject of one of Swift's early odes (Williams, *Poems*, pp. 33–42), was deprived of his fellowship at Emmanuel for refusing the engagement to the newly formed Commonwealth.

4 *Fourteen Years old*: Swift's own age when he entered Trinity College Dublin.

5 *Leyden*: Temple praised Leiden as 'the neatest and cleanliest kept' of all towns in the United Provinces (Temple, vol. I, p. 46). Its university, founded in 1575, was originally 'an engine of Dutch resistance to Spain [and] . . . one of the intellectual weapons of international Calvinism' (Grafton, vol. II, p. 373). In the seventeenth century it was regarded as an alternative to English universities. On 4 September 1645 John Aubrey's tutor, William Browne, advised his pupil not to return to Oxford but instead to enrol at Leiden, where he might study 'as cheape . . . and more safe' (Bodl. MS Aubrey 12, fol. 35^v). In the early eighteenth century it influenced the organization of Scottish universities (Phillipson, *Adam Smith*, p. 79). In Swift's day Leiden was particularly famous for the study of medicine or 'physic'. Bernard Mandeville graduated from Leiden as Doctor of Medicine on 30 March 1691 (*Fable of the Bees*, vol. I, pp. xviii–xix). Another medical graduate (at least according to his tombstone) was John Partridge, the target of Swift's Bickerstaff hoax (*DNB*; Davis, vol. II, pp. 139–50). The celebrated Hermann Boerhaave (1668–1738; FRS, 1730) was Professor of Physic there when *GT* was published. Connotations of irreligion hung around the town and its university. Johann Bockholdt, the leader of the Münster Anabaptists, was originally a tailor from Leyden. In 1741 Nathan Alcock would be denied the degree of MA by Oxford on the grounds that his years spent studying physic in Leiden had made him 'not heartily attached to the Church of England' (Prest, *Blackstone*, pp. 50–1). Swift's dismissive reference to '*Jack of Leyden*' in Section 9 of *A Tale of a Tub* suggests his awareness of these connotations (*CWJS*, vol. I, p. 109; Davis, vol. I, p. 107; cf. also Sheridan, p. 367 and *John Bull*, p. 95). Cf. also Dolores J. Palomo, 'The Dutch Connection: The University of Leiden and Swift's Academy of Lagado', *HLQ*, 41 (1977), 27–35.

6 *Physick*: i.e. medicine.

7 *Surgeon to the Swallow*: for the most part Swift used the names of real ships; see Maurice J. Quinlan, 'Lemuel Gulliver's Ships', *Philological Quarterly*, 46 (1967), 412–17 and H. J. Real and H. J. Vienken, 'Lemuel Gulliver's Ships Once More', *N&Q*, New Series, 30 (1983), 518–19.

Commander; with whom I continued three Years and a half, making a Voyage or two into the *Levant*,⁸ and some other Parts. When I came back, I resolved to settle in *London*, to which Mr. *Bates*, my Master, encouraged me; and by him I was recommended to several Patients. I took Part of a small House in the *Old Jury*,⁹ and being advised to alter my Condition, I married Mrs. *Mary Burton*,¹⁰ second Daughter to Mr. *Edmond Burton*, Hosier,¹¹ in *Newgate-street*,¹² with whom I received four Hundred Pounds for a Portion.¹³

But, my good Master *Bates*¹⁴ dying in two Years after, and I having few Friends, my Business began to fail; for my Conscience would not suffer me to imitate the bad Practice of too many among my Brethren. Having therefore consulted with my Wife, and some of my Acquaintance, I determined to go again to Sea. I was Surgeon successively in two Ships, and made several Voyages, for six Years, to the *East* and *West-Indies*,¹⁵ by which I got some Addition to my Fortune. My Hours of Leisure I spent in reading the best Authors, ancient and modern; being always provided with a good Number of Books; and when I was ashore, in observing the Manners

8 *Levant*: the eastern Mediterranean.

9 *Old Jury*: the Old Jewry; the commercial and legal centre of the City of London.

10 *Mrs. Mary Burton*: on 19 October 1685 John Fernley was arraigned for high-treason on grounds of having sheltered James Burton, a Rye House Plot conspirator and a fugitive from Monmouth's army after it had been routed at Sedgemoor. His wife, 'Mrs. Mary Burton', was sworn to give evidence at the trial (Thomas Salmon, *Tryals for High-Treason, and Other Crimes. Part IV* [1720], p. 409). 'Mrs.' did not at this time necessarily imply marriage.

11 *Hosier*: one who makes or deals in hose (stockings and socks) and frame-knitted or woven underclothing generally (*OED*). Defoe had started life as a wholesale hosier (Backscheider, *Defoe*, p. 30).

12 *Newgate-street*: a street in the heart of the City of London, just north of St Paul's.

13 *Portion*: a dowry, or marriage portion (*OED*, 1 d). Four hundred pounds was a substantial sum of money, equivalent to approximately £80,000 or \$160,000 in 2011.

14 *Master Bates*: possibly a pun on 'masturbates' (although the *OED*'s first occurrence of the verb 'masturbate' is dated 1839). For Swift's delight in puns, see in particular *A Modest Defence of Punning* and *A Discourse to Prove the Antiquity of the English Tongue* (Davis, vol. IV, pp. 203–10 and 229–39). The pernicious consequences of masturbation figure in a number of publications broadly contemporary with *GT*: e.g. *Onania* (fourth edition, 1718; eighth edition, 1723; fifteenth edition, 1730); *A Supplement to the Onania* (1725); John Marten, *A Treatise of the Venereal Disease* (seventh edition, 1711).

15 *East and West-Indies*: the 'East Indies' refers to the islands east of India, particularly the Malay archipelago; the 'West Indies' refers to the islands of central America. The reference to the West Indies may hint that Gulliver is involved in the slave trade, since the sugar plantations of the West Indies depended upon slave labour.

and Dispositions of the People, as well as learning their Language; wherein I had a great Facility by the Strength of my Memory.

The last of these Voyages not proving very fortunate, I grew weary of the Sea, and intended to stay at home with my Wife and Family. I removed from the *Old Jury* to *Fetter-Lane*, and from thence to *Wapping*,¹⁶ hoping to get Business among the Sailors; but it would not turn to account.¹⁷ After three Years Expectation that things would mend, I accepted an advantageous Offer from Captain *William Prichard*,¹⁸ Master of the *Antelope*,¹⁹ who was making a Voyage to the *South-Sea*. We set sail from *Bristol*, *May* 4th, 1699,²⁰ and our Voyage at first was very prosperous.

It would not be proper for some Reasons, to trouble the Reader with the Particulars of our Adventures in those Seas:²¹ Let it suffice to inform him, that in our Passage from thence to the *East-Indies*, we were driven by a violent Storm to the Northwest of *Van Diemen's Land*.²² By an Observation,²³ we found ourselves in the Latitude of 30 Degrees 2 Minutes South. Twelve of our Crew were dead by immoderate Labour, and ill Food;

16 *Fetter-Lane . . . Wapping*: Fetter Lane is a street in the City of London running north off Fleet Street. Wapping is a dockland area, east of the City, on the north bank of the Thames opposite Rotherhithe.

17 *turn to account*: yield a profit.

18 *William Prichard*: a name with interesting connotations in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Like Swift a High-Church Tory, Sir William Prichard (1631/2–1705) had been elected Lord Mayor of London for 1682–3 in circumstances of high controversy, and had attempted to push forward Charles II's policy of weakening the influence of the Whigs in the City. Prichard later became President of St Bartholomew's hospital, and was the dedicatee of Robert Pitt's *The Crafts and Frauds of Physick Expos'd* (second edition, 1703).

19 *Antelope*: on 3 June 1699, William Dampier encountered 'the *Antelope* of London, commanded by Captain *Hammond*, and bound for the Bay of Bengal' (*A Voyage to New Holland* (1703), p. 108).

20 *May 4th, 1699*: this date allows us to work out the following approximate chronology for the main events of Gulliver's life before his first voyage: 1699, sets sail; 1690, begins six years of voyages to the East and West Indies, James Bates dies; 1688, marries Mary Burton; 1684, voyage to the Levant; 1681, studies physic at Leyden; 1677, bound apprentice to James Bates; 1674, enters Emmanuel College, Cambridge, aged fourteen years; 1660, Lemuel Gulliver born. Swift was born in 1667. See also the chronology of *GT* (above, pp. xxi–xxiii).

21 *those Seas*: the first of a number of silences in Gulliver's account of his travels. Such phrases occur also often in Dampier's writings, e.g. *A Voyage to New Holland* (1703), sig. A6^v, and pp. 3 and 45.

22 *Van Diemen's Land*: between 1642 and 1855, the name for the island off the south-east coast of Australia now known as Tasmania; so named after Anthony van Diemen, governor-general of the Dutch East Indian settlements, 1636–45.

23 *Observation*: the measurement of the altitude of the sun (or other celestial object) by means of an astronomical instrument, in order to ascertain latitude or longitude (*OED*, 7 b).

the rest were in a very weak Condition. On the fifth of *November*,²⁴ which was the beginning of Summer in those Parts, the Weather being very hazy, the Seamen spied a Rock, within half a Cable's length²⁵ of the Ship; but the Wind was so strong, that we were driven directly upon it, and immediately split. Six of the Crew, of whom I was one, having let down the Boat into the Sea, made a Shift²⁶ to get clear of the Ship, and the Rock. We rowed by my Computation, about three Leagues,²⁷ till we were able to work no longer, being already spent with Labour while we were in the Ship. We therefore trusted ourselves to the Mercy of the Waves;²⁸ and in about half an Hour the Boat was overset by a sudden Flurry from the North. What became of my Companions in the Boat, as well as of those who escaped on the Rock, or were left in the Vessel, I cannot tell; but conclude they were all lost. For my own Part, I swam as Fortune directed me, and was pushed forward by Wind and Tide. I often let my Legs drop, and could feel no Bottom:²⁹ But when I was almost gone, and able to struggle no longer, I found myself within my Depth; and by this Time the Storm was much abated. The Declivity was so small,³⁰ that I walked near a Mile before I got to the Shore, which I conjectured was about Eight o'Clock in the Evening. I then advanced forward near half a Mile, but could not discover any Sign of Houses or Inhabitants; at least I was in so weak a Condition, that I did not observe them. I was extremely tired, and

24 *fifth of November*: the anniversary both of the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot in 1605 and of the landing of William of Orange at Torbay in 1688; hence, a notable date in the Protestant calendar.

25 *half a Cable's length*: a cable is a unit of nautical measurement of just over 600 feet (c. 183 metres) (*OED*, 2 c).

26 *made a Shift*: to make a successful effort (*OED*, 'shift', 6 a and b).

27 *three Leagues*: a league is roughly equivalent to three nautical miles.

28 *Mercy of the Waves*: a common phrase in voyage literature of the time: e.g. W. R. Chetwood, *Voyages and Adventures of Capt. Robert Boyle* (1726), p. 101; W. R. Chetwood, *Voyages, Dangerous Adventures and Imminent Escapes of Capt. Richard Falconer* (1720), book III, p. 75. It also occurs in anti-Hanoverian satire: e.g. Anon., *Hanover Tales* (second edition, 1721), p. 71.

29 *feel no Bottom*: cf. the metaphor Swift used when replying to Archbishop King, 1 October 1711, who had advised him to engage himself while in London 'for the public good': 'But, my Lord, to ask a Man floating at Sea, what he designs to do when he gets ashore, is too hasty a Question: Let him get there first, and rest, and dry himself, and then look about him' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. I, pp. 376 and 385).

30 *Declivity was so small*: cf. 'But before I plunge into the Depths of the Book itself, I must be forced to wade through the Shallows of a long Preface' (*Remarks Upon Tindall's Rights of the Christian Church*; Davis, vol. II, pp. 73–4).

with that, and the Heat of the Weather, and about half a Pint of Brandy that I drank as I left the Ship, I found my self much inclined to sleep. I lay down on the Grass, which was very short and soft; where I slept sounder than ever I remember to have done in my Life, and as I reckoned, above Nine Hours; for when I awaked, it was just Day-light. I attempted to rise, but was not able to stir: For as I happened to lie on my Back, I found my Arms and Legs were strongly fastened on each Side to the Ground; and my Hair, which was long and thick, tied down in the same Manner. I likewise felt several slender Ligatures across my Body, from my Armpits to my Thighs.³¹ I could only look upwards; the Sun began to grow hot, and the Light offended mine Eyes. I heard a confused Noise about me, but in the Posture I lay, could see nothing except the Sky. In a little time I felt something alive moving on my left Leg, which advancing gently forward over my Breast, came almost up to my Chin; when bending mine Eyes downwards as much as I could, I perceived it to be a human Creature not six Inches high,³² with a Bow and Arrow in his Hands, and a Quiver at his Back. In the mean time, I felt at least Forty more of the same Kind (as I conjectured) following the first. I was in the utmost Astonishment, and roared so loud, that they all ran back in a Fright; and some of them, as I was afterwards told, were hurt with the Falls they got by leaping from my Sides upon the Ground. However, they soon returned; and one of them, who ventured so far as to get a full Sight of my Face, lifting up his Hands and Eyes by way of Admiration, cried out in a shrill, but distinct Voice, *Hekinah Degul*:³³ The others repeated the same Words several times, but I then knew not what they meant. I lay all this while, as the Reader may

31 *to my Thighs*: an echo of Philostratus's description of Hercules tied down by pygmies (*Imagines*, II.22; see Ehrenpreis, vol. III, p. 467). Swift owned a copy of the *Imagines* (Paris, 1608); see *Library and Reading*, pp. 1421–5. According to Theophilus Swift, Swift had annotated the volume with the praise that it was 'neither disagreeable nor useless' ('nec illepida nec inutilia'), and added that he had been greatly pleased by it ('quae autem mihi maxime arriserunt'). Cf. also Samson bound by the Philistines (Judges 15: 9–14); and note that the Lilliputians plan to blind Gulliver, as Samson was blinded by the Philistines. There is perhaps a general parallel with Satan returning to consciousness on the burning lake of Hell (*Paradise Lost*, I.50–75).

32 *six Inches high*: the scale of proportion in Lilliput is therefore one to twelve, and in Part II this is reversed. It was a ratio of significance to Swift. In a letter to the Earl of Peterborough, written on 28 April 1726 and thus exactly contemporary with *GT*, Swift estimated the 'riches of Ireland, compared with England, to be as one to twelve' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. II, p. 644).

33 *Hekinah Degul*: for speculations on the 'foreign' languages in *GT*, see Paul Odell Clark, 'A Gulliver Dictionary', *SP*, 50 (1953), 592–624.

believe, in great Uneasiness: At length, struggling to get loose, I had the Fortune to break the Strings, and wrench out the Pegs that fastened my left Arm to the Ground; for, by lifting it up to my Face, I discovered the Methods they had taken to bind me; and, at the same time, with a violent Pull, which gave me excessive Pain, I a little loosened the Strings that tied down my Hair on the left Side; so that I was just able to turn my Head about two Inches. But the Creatures ran off a second time, before I could seize them; whereupon there was a great Shout in a very shrill Accent; and after it ceased, I heard one of them cry aloud, *Tolgo Phonac*; when in an Instant I felt above an Hundred Arrows discharged on my left Hand, which pricked me like so many Needles; and besides, they shot another Flight into the Air, as we do Bombs³⁴ in *Europe*; whereof many, I suppose, fell on my Body, (though I felt them not) and some on my Face, which I immediately covered with my left Hand.³⁵ When this Shower of Arrows was over, I fell a groaning with Grief and Pain; and then striving again to get loose, they discharged another Volly larger than the first; and some of them attempted with Spears to stick me in the Sides; but, by good Luck, I had on me a Buff Jerkin,³⁶ which they could not pierce. I thought it the most prudent Method to lie still; and my Design was to continue so till Night, when my left Hand being already loose, I could easily free myself: And as for the Inhabitants, I had Reason to believe I might be a Match for the greatest Armies they could bring against me, if they were all of the same Size with him that I saw. But Fortune disposed otherwise of me. When the People observed I was quiet, they discharged no more Arrows: But by the Noise increasing, I knew their Numbers were greater; and about four Yards from me, over-against my right Ear, I heard a Knocking for above an Hour, like People at work; when turning my Head that Way, as well as the Pegs and Strings would permit me, I saw a Stage erected about a Foot and a half from the Ground, capable of holding four of the Inhabitants, with two or three Ladders to mount it: From whence one of them, who

34 *Bombs*: shells.

35 *left Hand*: compare Gulliver's predicament here with Swift's image of the disputes of the learned in *The Battel of the Books*: 'Now, it must here be understood, that *Ink* is the great missive Weapon, in all Battels of the *Learned*, which, convey'd thro' a sort of Engine, call'd a *Quill*, infinite Numbers of these are darted at the Enemy, by the Valiant on each side, with equal Skill and Violence, as if it were an Engagement of *Porcupines*' (*CWJS*, vol. I, p. 145; Davis, vol. I, p. 143).

36 *Buff Jerkin*: a short leather jacket.

seemed to be a Person of Quality, made me a long Speech, whereof I understood not one Syllable. But I should have mentioned, that before the principal Person began his Oration, he cried out three times *Langro Dehul san*: (these Words and the former were afterwards repeated and explained to me.) Whereupon immediately about fifty of the Inhabitants came, and cut the Strings that fastened the left side of my Head, which gave me the Liberty of turning it to the right, and of observing the Person and Gesture of him who was to speak. He appeared to be of a middle Age, and taller than any of the other three who attended him; whereof one was a Page, who held up his Train, and seemed to be somewhat longer than my middle Finger; the other two stood one on each side to support him. He acted every part of an Orator; and I could observe many Periods of Threatnings, and others of Promises, Pity, and Kindness. I answered in a few Words, but in the most submissive Manner, lifting up my left Hand and both mine Eyes to the Sun, as calling him for a Witness; and being almost famished with Hunger, having not eaten a Morsel for some Hours before I left the Ship, I found the Demands of Nature so strong upon me, that I could not forbear shewing my Impatience (perhaps against the strict Rules of Decency) by putting my Finger frequently on my Mouth, to signify that I wanted Food. The *Hurgo* (for so they call a great Lord, as I afterwards learnt) understood me very well: He descended from the Stage, and commanded that several Ladders should be applied to my Sides, on which above an hundred of the Inhabitants mounted, and walked towards my Mouth, laden with Baskets full of Meat, which had been provided, and sent thither by the King's Orders³⁷ upon the first Intelligence he received of me. I observed there was the Flesh of several Animals, but could not distinguish them by the Taste. There were Shoulders, Legs, and Loins shaped like those of Mutton, and very well dressed, but smaller than the Wings of a Lark. I eat them by two or three at a Mouthful; and took three Loaves at a time, about the bigness of Musket Bullets. They supplied me as fast as they could, shewing a thousand Marks of Wonder and Astonishment at my Bulk and Appetite. I then made another Sign that I wanted Drink. They found by my eating that a small Quantity would not suffice me; and being a most ingenious People, they slung up with great Dexterity one of their

37 *King's Orders*: Gulliver varies between referring to the monarch of Lilliput as a king and as an emperor (e.g. below, p. 56).

largest Hogsheads;³⁸ then rolled it towards my Hand, and beat out the Top; I drank it off at a Draught, which I might well do, for it hardly held half a Pint, and tasted like a small Wine of *Burgundy*,³⁹ but much more delicious. They brought me a second Hogshead, which I drank in the same Manner, and made Signs for more, but they had none to give me. When I had performed these Wonders, they shouted for Joy, and danced upon my Breast, repeating several times as they did at first, *Hekinah Degul*. They made me a Sign that I should throw down the two Hogsheads, but first warned the People below to stand out of the Way, crying aloud, *Borach Mivola*; and when they saw the Vessels in the Air, there was an universal Shout of *Hekinah Degul*. I confess I was often tempted, while they were passing backwards and forwards on my Body, to seize Forty or Fifty of the first that came in my Reach, and dash them against the Ground.⁴⁰ But the Remembrance of what I had felt, which probably might not be the worst they could do; and the Promise of Honour I made them, for so I interpreted my submissive Behaviour, soon drove out those Imaginations.⁴¹ Besides, I now considered my self as bound by the Laws of Hospitality to a People who had treated me with so much Expence and Magnificence. However, in my Thoughts I could not sufficiently wonder at the Intrepidity of these diminutive Mortals, who durst venture to mount and walk on my Body, while one of my Hands was at Liberty, without trembling at the very Sight of so prodigious a Creature as I must appear to them. After some time, when they observed that I made no more Demands for Meat, there appeared before me a Person of high Rank from his Imperial Majesty. His Excellency having mounted on the Small of my Right Leg, advanced forwards up to my Face, with about a Dozen of his Retinue; And producing

38 *Hogsheads*: large casks for holding liquids, containing 63 old wine-gallons, equivalent to 52.5 imperial gallons (*OED*, 2). Given the scale of 1:12, which produces a scale of volume of 1:1728, the contents of a Lilliputian hogshead would be closer to a quarter of a pint than a half.

39 *small Wine of Burgundy*: a wine low in alcohol, hence unfortified (*OED*, 'small', 12).

40 *dash them against the Ground*: in the manner of the giant cyclops Polyphemus towards Odysseus and his crew: 'the cruel brute . . . jumped up, and reaching out towards my men, seized a couple and dashed their heads against the floor as though they had been puppies' (*Odyssey*, IX.287–90). Note the parallel allusion to Polyphemus in Part II (below, p. 122).

41 *soon drove out those Imaginations*: the first instance of a characteristic ethical doublet of prudence and principle which acts in Gulliver to inhibit an impulse to violence; cf. below, pp. 55, n. 44, 247, n. 20, 248, n. 26.

his Credentials under the Signet Royal,⁴² which he applied close to mine Eyes, spoke about ten Minutes, without any Signs of Anger, but with a kind of determinate Resolution;⁴³ often pointing forwards, which, as I afterwards found was towards the Capital City, about half a Mile distant, whither it was agreed by his Majesty in Council that I must be conveyed. I answered in few Words, but to no Purpose, and made a Sign with my Hand that was loose, putting it to the other, (but over his Excellency's Head, for Fear of hurting him or his Train) and then to my own Head and Body, to signify that I desired my Liberty. It appeared that he understood me well enough; for he shook his Head by way of Disapprobation, and held his Hand in a Posture to shew that I must be carried as a Prisoner. However, he made other Signs to let me understand that I should have Meat and Drink enough, and very good Treatment. Whereupon I once more thought of attempting to break my Bonds; but again, when I felt the Smart of their Arrows upon my Face and Hands, which were all in Blisters, and many of the Darts still sticking in them; and observing likewise that the Number of my Enemies encreased; I gave Tokens to let them know that they might do with me what they pleased. Upon this, the *Hurgo* and his Train withdrew, with much Civility and chearful Countenances. Soon after I heard a general Shout, with frequent Repetitions of the Words, *Peplom Selan*, and I felt great Numbers of the People on my Left Side relaxing the Cords to such a Degree, that I was able to turn upon my Right, and to ease my self with making Water; which I very plentifully did, to the great Astonishment of the People,⁴⁴ who conjecturing by my Motions what I was going to do, immediately opened to the right and left on that Side, to avoid the Torrent which fell with such Noise and Violence from me. But before this,

42 *Signet Royal*: a seal ring used on official business to authenticate a document (*OED*, 'signet', 2).

43 *determinate Resolution*: cf. Swift's use of this phrase in *The Drapier's Letters*: 'There is nothing remaining to preserve us from Ruin, but that the whole Kingdom should continue in a firm determinate Resolution never to receive or utter this FATAL Coin' (*Some Observations Upon a Paper*; Davis, vol. X, p. 46).

44 *Astonishment of the People*: cf. Swift's punning riddle in a letter of 28 March 1717 to Archdeacon Walls: 'Tell the Bishop of Clogher, that Dilly Ash had a slovenly way of urining as he lay in bed; I desire to know what sort of stone that was; make him guess; but I will tell you; It is Lay-pis Lazily Lapis lazuli: —' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. II, p. 235). Cf. also 'Dick's Variety', lines 5–6: 'That vulgar Talent I despise / Of pissing in the Rabble's Eyes' (Williams, *Poems*, p. 787); and 'Traulus', lines 29–30: 'Nor, in their Eyes at Random pisses, / But turns aside like mad Ulysses' (Williams, *Poems*, p. 796).

they had dawbed my Face and both my Hands with a sort of Ointment very pleasant to the Smell, which in a few Minutes removed all the Smart of their Arrows. These Circumstances, added to the Refreshment I had received by their Victuals and Drink, which were very nourishing, disposed me to sleep. I slept about eight Hours as I was afterwards assured; and it was no Wonder; for the Physicians, by the Emperor's Order, had mingled a sleeping Potion in the Hogsheads of Wine.

It seems that upon the first Moment I was discovered sleeping on the Ground after my Landing, the Emperor had early Notice of it by an Express;⁴⁵ and determined in Council that I should be tyed in the Manner I have related (which was done in the Night while I slept) that Plenty of Meat and Drink should be sent me, and a Machine⁴⁶ prepared to carry me to the Capital City.

This Resolution perhaps may appear very bold and dangerous, and I am confident would not be imitated by any Prince in *Europe* on the like Occasion; however, in my Opinion it was extremely Prudent as well as Generous. For supposing these People had endeavoured to kill me with their Spears and Arrows while I was asleep; I should certainly have awaked with the first Sense of Smart, which might so far have roused my Rage and Strength, as to enable me to break the Strings wherewith I was tyed; after which, as they were not able to make Resistance, so they could expect no Mercy.⁴⁷

These People are most excellent Mathematicians, and arrived to a great Perfection in Mechanicks by the Countenance and Encouragement of the Emperor, who is a renowned Patron of Learning. This Prince hath several Machines fixed on Wheels, for the Carriage of Trees and other great Weights. He often buildeth his largest Men of War, whereof some are Nine Foot long, in the Woods where the Timber grows, and has

45 *an Express*: a specially dispatched messenger (*OED*, 4 a).

46 *Machine*: a (usually wheeled) vehicle or conveyance, especially one drawn by a horse or horses, or other draught animal or animals (*OED*, 5 b).

47 *so they could expect no Mercy*: cf. the inference made by Gulliver that mercy will not be shown to those who do not and cannot resist with Swift's very careful discriminations about non-resistance and passive obedience in *The Sentiments of a Church-of-England Man* (Davis, vol. II, p. 16) and *The Examiner*, especially no. 33 (22 March 1710) and the distinction drawn in no. 39 (3 May 1711): 'What they [the Whigs] mean is the Principle of *Passive-Obedience* and *Non-Resistance*, which those who affirm, did, I believe, never intend should include *Arbitrary Power*' (Davis, vol. III, pp. 110–16 and 144–5).

them carried on these Engines three or four Hundred Yards to the Sea. Five Hundred Carpenters and Engineers were immediately set at work to prepare the greatest Engine they had. It was a Frame of Wood raised three Inches from the Ground, about seven Foot long and four wide, moving upon twenty two Wheels.⁴⁸ The Shout I heard, was upon the Arrival of this Engine, which, it seems, set out in four Hours after my Landing. It was brought parallel to me as I lay. But the principal Difficulty was to raise and place me in this Vehicle. Eighty Poles, each of one Foot high, were erected for this Purpose, and very strong Cords of the bigness of Packthread⁴⁹ were fastened by Hooks to many Bandages, which the Workmen had girt⁵⁰ round my Neck, my Hands, my Body, and my Legs. Nine Hundred of the strongest Men were employed to draw up these Cords by many Pullies fastned on the Poles; and thus in less than three Hours, I was raised and slung into the Engine, and there tyed fast. All this I was told; for while the whole Operation was performing, I lay in a profound Sleep, by the Force of that soporiferous Medicine infused into my Liquor. Fifteen-hundred of the Emperor's largest Horses, each about four Inches and a half high, were employed to draw me towards the Metropolis, which, as I said, was half a Mile distant.

About four Hours after we began our Journey, I awaked by a very ridiculous Accident; for the Carriage being stopt a while to adjust something that was out of Order, two or three of the young Natives had the Curiosity to see how I looked when I was asleep; they climbed up into the Engine, and advancing very softly to my Face, one of them, an Officer in the Guards, put the sharp End of his Half-Pike⁵¹ a good way up into my left Nostril, which tickled my Nose like a Straw, and made me sneeze violently: Whereupon they stole off unperceived; and it was three Weeks before I knew the Cause of my awaking so suddenly. We made a long March the remaining Part of the Day, and rested at Night with Five Hundred Guards

48 *twenty two Wheels*: Sir William Petty, a member of the Dublin Philosophical Society in the years when Swift was in residence at Trinity College Dublin, had constructed a model carriage of Lilliputian dimensions (Ehrenpreis, vol. I, p. 84).

49 *Packthread*: strong cord or twine used for sewing or tying up packs or bundles (*OED*, A). Swift employs this term in *GT* with surprising frequency: cf. below, pp. 57, 74, 233.

50 *girt*: secured with a strap of leather or cloth; but also bearing a technical nautical sense, referring to when a cable is so strained that it prevents a ship from turning with the changing tide (*OED*, 2).

51 *Half-Pike*: a small pike, used in ships for repelling boarders.

on each Side of me, half with Torches, and half with Bows and Arrows, ready to shoot me if I should offer to stir. The next Morning at Sun-rise we continued our March, and arrived within two Hundred Yards of the City-Gates about Noon. The Emperor, and all his Court, came out to meet us; but his great Officers would by no Means suffer his Majesty to endanger his Person by mounting on my Body.

At the Place where the Carriage stopt, there stood an ancient Temple, esteemed to be the largest in the whole Kingdom; which having been polluted⁵² some Years before by an unnatural Murder,⁵³ was, according to the Zeal of those People, looked upon as Prophane, and therefore had been applied to common Use, and all the Ornaments and Furniture carried away. In this Edifice it was determined I should lodge.⁵⁴ The great Gate fronting to the North was about four Foot high, and almost two Foot wide, through which I could easily creep. On each Side of the Gate was a small Window not above six Inches from the Ground.⁵⁵ Into that on the Left Side, the King's Smiths conveyed fourscore and eleven Chains, like those that hang to a Lady's Watch in *Europe*, and almost as large, which were locked to my Left Leg with six and thirty Padlocks.⁵⁶ Over against this Temple, on the other Side of the great Highway, at twenty Foot

52 *having been polluted*: cf. the story spread by Swift in *The Examiner* 22 (4 January 1710) that the Marquess of Wharton had defiled the altar in Gloucester cathedral: 'That worthy Patriot and true Lover of the Church . . . felt a pious Impulse to be a Benefactor to the Cathedral of Gloucester; but how to do it in the most decent, generous Manner, was the Question. At last he thought of an Expedient: One Morning or Night he stole into the Church, mounted upon the Altar, and there did that which in cleanly Phrase is called *disburthening of Nature*' (Davis, vol. III, p. 57). Compare Gulliver's discharging his body of that 'uneasy Load', below p. 43.

53 *unnatural Murder*: see Long note 8.

54 *I should lodge*: compare Swift's remark in a letter to Pope of 30 August 1716: 'I know it was anciently the custom to sleep in temples for those who would consult the Oracles' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. II, p. 177; cf. *Paradise Lost*, IX.21–4).

55 *six Inches from the Ground*: cf. the madman in 'A Digression Concerning Madness' in Section 9 of *A Tale of a Tub* who is employed in 'gravely taking the Dimensions of his Kennel; A Person of Foresight and Insight, tho' kept quite in the Dark' (*CWJS*, vol. I, p. 115; Davis, vol. I, p. 112).

56 *six and thirty Padlocks*: cf. the numerical coincidence in the boast of the hack author in Section 1 of *A Tale of a Tub* (1704), that 'Fourscore and eleven Pamphlets have I writ under three Reigns, and for the Service of six and thirty Factions' (*CWJS*, vol. I, p. 44; Davis, vol. I, p. 42); a coincidence lent depth by the fact that Swift eventually regretted his own involvement with political party as something that had fettered him (see Long note 13). Swift also recorded that his grandfather had been 'plundered by the roundheads six and thirty times' because of his loyalty to Charles I (Davis, vol. V, p. 189).

Distance, there was a Turret at least five Foot high. Here the Emperor ascended with many principal Lords of his Court, to have an Opportunity of viewing me, as I was told, for I could not see them. It was reckoned that above an hundred thousand Inhabitants came out of the Town upon the same Errand; and in spight of my Guards, I believe there could not be fewer than ten thousand, at several Times, who mounted upon my Body by the Help of Ladders. But a Proclamation was soon issued to forbid it, upon Pain of Death. When the Workmen found it was impossible for me to break loose, they cut all the Strings that bound me; whereupon I rose up with as melancholly a Disposition as ever I had in my Life. But the Noise and Astonishment of the People at seeing me rise and walk, are not to be expressed. The Chains that held my left Leg were about two Yards long, and gave me not only the Liberty of walking backwards and forwards in a Semicircle; but being fixed within four Inches of the Gate, allowed me to creep in, and lie at my full Length in the Temple.

CHAPTER II.

The Emperor of Lilliput, attended by several of the Nobility, comes to see the Author in his Confinement. The Emperor's Person and Habit described. Learned Men appointed to teach the Author their Language. He gains Favour by his mild Disposition. His Pockets are searched, and his Sword and Pistols taken from him.

When I found myself on my Feet, I looked about me, and must confess I never beheld a more entertaining Prospect. The Country round appeared like a continued Garden; and the inclosed Fields, which were generally Forty Foot square, resembled so many Beds of Flowers. These Fields were intermingled with Woods of half a Stang,¹ and the tallest Trees, as I could judge, appeared to be seven Foot high. I viewed the Town on my left Hand, which looked like the painted Scene of a City in a Theatre.

I had been for some Hours extremely pressed by the Necessities of Nature; which was no Wonder, it being almost two Days since I had last disburthened myself.² I was under great Difficulties between Urgency and Shame. The best Expedient I could think on, was to creep into my House, which I accordingly did; and shutting the Gate after me, I went as far as the Length of my Chain would suffer; and discharged my Body of that uneasy Load.³ But this was the only Time I was ever guilty of so uncleanly

1 *Stang*: a rood; a superficial measure of land of varying size depending on context, but defined in 1538 as a quarter of an acre.

2 *disburthened myself*: a euphemism which Swift possibly despised as a modern 'refinement'; cf. his remark in *The Examiner* 22 (4 January 1710) about 'that which in cleanly Phrase is called *disburthening of Nature*' (Davis, vol. III, p. 57). Cf. p. 41, n. 52 above.

3 *uneasy Load*: cf. p. 41, n. 52 above. Compare also the phrase Swift used in March 1737 when asking Orrery to transport the MS of the *Four Last Years of the Queen*: 'You are to carry a great Load for me to England when you are going thither' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. IV, p. 411). 'Uneasy Load' is also a phrase which the first readers of *GT*, and Swift himself, could have encountered in religious and political writings of the time. In his *The History of Job. A Sacred Poem* (1706), Daniel Baker employed it when evoking the prophet's need to speak: 'So is my Breast in Pain, till it discharge / Th' uneasy Load, and set my Thoughts at large' (p. 105). Jean François Baltus, in his *An Answer to Mr de Fontenelle's History of Oracles* (1709) used the phrase to refer to the obligations imposed by traditional religion: 'But in this Age one may be Sure, a new Opinion,

an Action; for which I cannot but hope the candid Reader will give some Allowance, after he hath maturely and impartially considered my Case, and the Distress I was in. From this Time my constant Practice was, as soon as I rose, to perform that Business in open Air, at the full Extent of my Chain; and due Care was taken every Morning before Company came, that the offensive Matter should be carried off in Wheel-barrows, by two Servants appointed for that Purpose. I would not have dwelt so long upon a Circumstance, that perhaps at first Sight may appear not very momentous; if I had not thought it necessary to justify my Character in Point of Cleanliness to the World; which I am told, some of my Maligners have been pleased, upon this and other Occasions, to call in Question.⁴

When this Adventure was at an End, I came back out of my House, having Occasion for fresh Air. The Emperor was already descended from the Tower, and advancing on Horseback towards me, which had like to have cost⁵ him dear; for the Beast, although very well trained, yet wholly unused to such a Sight, which appeared as if a Mountain moved before him, reared up on his hinder Feet: But that Prince, who is an excellent Horseman, kept his Seat, until his Attendants ran in, and held the Bridle, while his Majesty had Time to dismount. When he alighted, he surveyed me round with great Admiration, but kept beyond the Length of my Chains. He ordered his Cooks and Butlers, who were already prepared, to give me Victuals and Drink, which they pushed forward in a sort of

however ill prov'd, will not fail to gain its Followers, provided it favours the inclination Men have to Incredulity; undertakes to discharge them of that uneasy load, which the belief of Miracles imposes, and endeavours to lessen any of the Proofs or Traditions of Religion' (p. 8). John Philips had used it to describe the burdens of despotism in his *Bleinheim* (1705), dedicated to Swift's patron, Robert Harley: 'Long had the *Gallic* Monarch uncontrol'd / Enlarg'd his Borders, and of Human Force / Opponent slightly thought, in Heart elate, / As erst *Sesostris*, (proud *Aegyptian* King, / That Monarchs harness'd to his Chariot yok't, / (Base Servitude!) and his dethron'd Compeers / Lasht furious; they in sullen Majesty / Drew the uneasie Load)' (p. 2).

4 *call in Question*: a bull: since this phrase appears in the first edition, it refers to a response to *GT* which has yet to occur. For Swift on bulls, and the project of one of his followers to compile 'a tolerable Volume of English Bulls', see Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, pp. 327 and 340. The first of the *Drapier's Letters* begins with a famous bull: 'Therefore I do most earnestly exhort you as *Men*, as *Christians*, as *Parents*, and as *Lovers of your Country*, to read this Paper with the utmost Attention, or get it read to you by others' (Davis, vol. X, p. 3). Claude Rawson sees in this passage of *GT* a sudden closing of the gap between Swift and Gulliver, since prior to the publication of *GT* attacks on Swift's alleged indecency had indeed been provoked by *A Tale of a Tub* (Rawson, *Gulliver*, p. 7).

5 *had like to have cost*: had come near to, had narrowly missed (*OED*, 9 b).

Vehicles upon Wheels until I could reach them. I took these Vehicles, and soon emptied them all; twenty of them were filled with Meat, and ten with Liquor; each of the former afforded me two or three good Mouthfuls, and I emptied the Liquor of ten Vessels, which was contained in earthen Vials, into one Vehicle, drinking it off at a Draught; and so I did with the rest. The Empress, and young Princes of the Blood,⁶ of both Sexes, attended by many Ladies, sate at some Distance in their Chairs; but upon the Accident that happened to the Emperor's Horse, they alighted, and came near his Person; which I am now going to describe. He is taller by almost the Breadth of my Nail, than any of his Court; which alone is enough to strike an Awe into the Beholders. His Features are strong and masculine, with an *Austrian Lip*,⁷ and arched Nose,⁸ his Complexion olive,⁹ his Countenance¹⁰ erect, his Body and Limbs well proportioned,

6 *Princes of the Blood*: members of the royal family (*OED*, 9 a).

7 *Austrian Lip*: the undershot jaw which was an inbred feature of the Hapsburgs, and which figures prominently in their iconography: for references to it, see e.g. John Bancks, *The History of Germany* (1763), p. 277, and Thomas Salmon, *The History of the Life and Reign of her Late Majesty Queen Anne* (1740), in which during the visit of the Archduke Charles of Spain to Windsor in December 1703 'several Ladies of the first Quality' were presented to the king, and received 'the Honour of a Kiss from his *Austrian Lip*' (p. 120). Cf. Part III, Chapter 8 below, when Gulliver, having viewed European history 'for two or three Hundred Years past' could 'plainly discover from whence one Family derives a long Chin' (below, p. 297). In *The Consolidator* (1705) Defoe meets in the 'Lunar World' 'a certain Potent Prince call'd the *Eagle*, of an Ancient Family, whose *Lunar Name* I cannot well express, but in *English*, it signifies *the Men of the great Lip*; whether it was Originally a sort of a Nick Name, or whether they had any such thing as a great Lip Hereditary to the Family, by which they were distinguish'd, is not worth my while to Examine' (p. 280).

8 *arched Nose*: this recalls William III, who had an arched (or Roman) nose, which was prominently displayed in his iconography. Note Swift's association of Roman noses and Austrian lips with the mark of Cain at the conclusion of *Reasons Humbly Offered to the Parliament of Ireland for repealing the Sacramental Test* (1733) (Davis, vol. XII, p. 295). Thomas Sheridan recounts an anecdote of Swift and 'one Dr. Mills, a man remarkable for a large Roman nose, against whom Swift had taken a particular dislike' which culminates in Swift giving a punning mistranslation of a Latin text: '*Romanos* – you've a Roman nose – *rerum* – you're a rare rum – *dominos* – damn your nose' (Sheridan, pp. 374–5). Arthur Case finds anti-Hanoverian satire in the Emperor's appearance being 'almost the exact antithesis' of that of George I (*Four Essays*, p. 71).

9 *Complexion olive*: a characteristic attributed in the early eighteenth century to various non-European nations, including the Americans (Herman Moll, *A View of the Coasts, Countries and Islands within the Limits of the South-Sea Company* (1711), p. 23; *Atlas Geographus*, 5 vols. (1711–17), vol. V, pp. 31, 102, 775; Daniel Neal, *The History of New-England*, 2 vols. (1720), p. 24; George Shelvocke, *A Voyage Round the World* (1726), p. 106), the Persians (Sir John Chardin, *Travels in Persia* (1720), p. 119) and the Japanese (Patrick Gordon, *Geography Anatomiz'd* (1708), p. 302).

10 *Countenance*: bearing, demeanour, deportment (*OED*, 1).

all his Motions graceful, and his Deportment majestick. He was then past his Prime, being twenty-eight Years and three Quarters old, of which he had reigned about seven, in great Felicity, and generally victorious. For the better Convenience of beholding him, I lay on my Side, so that my Face was parallel to his, and he stood but three Yards off: However, I have had him since many Times in my Hand, and therefore cannot be deceived in the Description. His Dress was very plain and simple, the Fashion of it between the *Asiatick* and the *European*; but he had on his Head a light Helmet of Gold, adorned with Jewels, and a Plume on the Crest. He held his Sword drawn in his Hand, to defend himself, if I should happen to break loose; it was almost three Inches long, the Hilt and Scabbard were Gold enriched with Diamonds. His Voice was shrill, but very clear and articulate, and I could distinctly hear it when I stood up. The Ladies and Courtiers were all most magnificently clad, so that the Spot they stood upon seemed to resemble a Petticoat spread on the Ground, embroidered with Figures of Gold and Silver. His Imperial Majesty spoke often to me, and I returned Answers, but neither of us could understand a Syllable. There were several of his Priests and Lawyers present (as I conjectured by their Habits) who were commanded to address themselves to me, and I spoke to them in as many Languages as I had the least Smattering of, which were *High* and *Low Dutch*,¹¹ *Latin*, *French*, *Spanish*, *Italian*, and *Lingua Franca*;¹² but all to no purpose. After about two Hours the Court retired, and I was left with a strong Guard, to prevent the Impertinence, and probably the Malice¹³ of the Rabble, who were very impatient to croud about me as near as they durst; and some of them had the Impudence to shoot their Arrows at me as I sate on the Ground by the Door of my House; whereof one very narrowly missed my left Eye. But the Colonel ordered six of the Ring-leaders to be seized, and thought no Punishment so proper as to deliver them bound into my Hands, which some of his

11 *High and Low Dutch*: what are now called German and Dutch. For High Dutch, see also Part IV, Chapter 3 below, p. 348.

12 *Lingua Franca*: Italian for 'frankish tongue'; a mixed language or jargon used in the Levant, consisting largely of Italian words deprived of their inflexions (*OED*, 'lingua' 2 b). Gulliver had made 'a Voyage or two into the *Levant*' (above, p. 31).

13 *Malice*: a characteristic much more prevalent in the Lilliputians than in any other race visited by Gulliver: see below pp. 46, 65, 78, 94, 102 and 103. Cf. Swift's assurance to Archbishop King on 10 April 1711 that King is 'above the Malice of little People' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. I, p. 344).

Soldiers accordingly did, pushing them forwards with the But-ends of their Pikes into my Reach: I took them all in my right Hand, put five of them into my Coat-pocket; and as to the sixth, I made a Countenance as if I would eat him alive.¹⁴ The poor Man squalled terribly, and the Colonel and his Officers were in much Pain, especially when they saw me take out my Penknife: But I soon put them out of Fear; for, looking mildly, and immediately cutting the Strings he was bound with, I set him gently on the Ground, and away he ran. I treated the rest in the same Manner, taking them one by one out of my Pocket; and I observed, both the Soldiers and People were highly obliged at this Mark of my Clemency, which was represented very much to my Advantage at Court.

Towards Night I got with some Difficulty into my House, where I lay on the Ground, and continued to do so about a Fortnight; during which time the Emperor gave Orders to have a Bed prepared for me. Six Hundred Beds of the common Measure were brought in Carriages, and worked up in my House; an Hundred and Fifty of their Beds sown together made up the Breadth and Length, and these were four double,¹⁵ which however kept me but very indifferently from the Hardness of the Floor, that was of smooth Stone. By the same Computation they provided me with Sheets, Blankets, and Coverlets, tolerable enough for one who had been so long enured to Hardships as I.

As the News of my Arrival spread through the Kingdom, it brought prodigious Numbers of rich, idle, and curious People to see me; so that the Villages were almost emptied, and great Neglect of Tillage and Houshold Affairs must have ensued, if his Imperial Majesty had not provided by several Proclamations and Orders of State against this Inconveniency. He directed that those, who had already beheld me, should return home, and not presume to come within fifty Yards of my House, without Licence from Court; whereby the Secretaries of State got considerable Fees.

In the mean time, the Emperor held frequent Councils to debate what Course should be taken with me; and I was afterwards assured by a particular Friend, a Person of great Quality, who was as much in the *Secret*

14 *as if I would eat him alive*: again, in the manner of the cyclops Polyphemus (*Odyssey*, IX.287–93, 368–70 and 477–9).

15 *four double*: i.e. four deep.

as any; that the Court was under many Difficulties concerning me. They apprehended my breaking loose; that my Diet would be very expensive, and might cause a Famine. Sometimes they determined to starve me, or at least to shoot me in the Face and Hands with poisoned Arrows, which would soon dispatch me: But again they considered, that the Stench of so large a Carcase might produce a Plague in the Metropolis,¹⁶ and probably spread through the whole Kingdom. In the midst of these Consultations, several Officers of the Army went to the Door of the great Council-Chamber; and two of them being admitted, gave an Account of my Behaviour to the six Criminals above-mentioned; which made so favourable an Impression in the Breast of his Majesty, and the whole Board, in my Behalf, that an Imperial Commission was issued out, obliging all the Villages nine hundred Yards round the City, to deliver in every Morning six Beeves,¹⁷ forty Sheep, and other Victuals for my Sustenance;¹⁸ together with a proportionable Quantity of Bread and Wine, and other Liquors: For the due Payment of which his Majesty gave Assignments¹⁹ upon his Treasury. For this Prince lives chiefly upon his own Demesnes;²⁰ seldom, except upon great Occasions raising any Subsidies upon his Subjects, who are bound to attend him in his Wars at their own Expende.²¹ An Establishment was also made of Six Hundred Persons to be my Domesticks, who had Board-Wages allowed for their Maintenance, and Tents built for them very conveniently on each side of my Door. It was likewise ordered, that three hundred Taylors should make me a Suit of Cloaths after the Fashion

16 *Plague in the Metropolis*: see Long note 9.

17 *Beeves*: oxen or mature cattle.

18 *Victuals for my Sustenance*: Viscountess Bolingbroke's comment to Swift in a letter of 1 February 1727 that, should he visit Dawley, she would 'tuer le bœuf le plus pesant et le cochon le plus gras qui soit dans ma ferme[,] lun et lautre seront servis en entier sur lasiette de vostre Reverence' ('slaughter the heaviest cow and the fattest pig in my farm both to be served whole on your Reverence's dish') (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, p. 72) perhaps recollects this detail of Gulliver's diet in Lilliput.

19 *Assignments*: the setting apart of certain revenue to meet a claim (*OED*, 'assignment' 3).

20 *upon his own Demesnes*: on the income from the Crown lands. Temple noted that the revenue of the princes of the Low Countries 'consisted in their ancient Demesnes' (Temple, vol. I, p. 10). According to Blackstone, the insufficiency of the demesne lands of the English crown to support royal expenditure had become pressing after 'king William III had greatly impoverished the crown' (Blackstone, *Commentaries*, vol. I, p. 276).

21 *at their own Expende*: the system of deficit finance used by the Whigs to support the War of the Spanish Succession had been frequently attacked by Swift in *The Examiner* (Davis, vol. III); and the financial imprudence of the war is a major theme in *The Conduct of the Allies* (1711) (*CWJS*, vol. VIII, pp. 45–106; Davis, vol. VI, pp. 1–65).

of the Country:²² That, six of his Majesty's greatest Scholars should be employed to instruct me in their Language: And, lastly, that the Emperor's Horses, and those of the Nobility, and Troops of Guards, should be exercised in my Sight, to accustom themselves to me. All these Orders were duly put in Execution; and in about three Weeks I made a great Progress in Learning their Language; during which Time, the Emperor frequently honoured me with his Visits, and was pleased to assist my Masters in teaching me. We began already to converse together in some Sort; and the first Words I learnt, were to express my Desire, that he would please to give me my Liberty; which I every Day repeated on my Knees.²³ His Answer, as I could apprehend, was, that this must be a Work of Time,²⁴ not to be thought on without the Advice of his Council; and that first I must *Lumos Kelmin pesso desmar lon Emposo*; that is, *Swear a Peace with him and his Kingdom*. However, that I should be used with all Kindness; and he advised me to acquire by my Patience and discreet Behaviour, the good Opinion of himself and his Subjects. He desired I would not take it ill, if he gave Orders to certain proper Officers to search me; for probably I might carry about me several Weapons, which must needs be dangerous Things, if they answered the Bulk of so prodigious a Person.²⁵ I said, his Majesty

22 *Fashion of the Country*: the provision of clothes for Gulliver is a feature of each Part of *GT*: see below, pp. 148, 231–32 and 416. The attention paid to clothes is a point of contact between the imaginative worlds of *GT* and *A Tale of a Tub*.

23 *repeated on my Knees*: cf. Swift's comment to Jane Waring of 29 April 1696 that 'Liberty is doubtless the most valuable blessing of life' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. I, p. 124).

24 *a Work of Time*: cf. Ezra 10:13. In Section 6 of *A Tale of a Tub* Martin's careful attempt to 'rid his Coat of a huge Quantity of Gold Lace . . . proved to be a Work of Time' (*CWJS*, vol. I, p. 89; Davis, vol. I, p. 85). In *The Examiner* 21 (28 December 1710) Swift recommended 'Time and Mortality' as remedies for those 'Inconveniences in the Church, which are not to be cured, like those in the State, by a *Change of Ministry*' (Davis, vol. III, p. 51; see also Davis, vol. VI, p. 124).

25 *so prodigious a Person*: Curll linked this passage to the reprisals following the Jacobite rebellion of 1715: 'The *Inventory* here given, of the *Effects* found about Mr. *Gulliver* by the *State-Officers*, is extremely entertaining, and the Application would have been easily made in the Time of the *Preston* Rebellion' (*Key*, Part I, p. 9). A possible and contrasting private association of concealed weapons for Swift would have been with the Marquis de Guiscard's attempted assassination of Harley with a penknife in March 1710: see *The Examiner* 32 (15 March 1710); Davis, vol. III, pp. 106–10. On the enduring significance of that episode for Swift, see David Womersley, 'Souvenirs of Mortal Pain: Jonathan Swift and the Abbé Guiscard's Assassination Attempt on Lord Treasurer Harley', *TLS*, 8 January 2010. Case finds here an allusion to 'the investigation, by a committee of Whig lords, of one William Gregg, a clerk in Harley's office who had been guilty of treasonable correspondence with France' (*Four Essays*, p. 71).

should be satisfied, for I was ready to strip my self, and turn up my Pockets before him. This I delivered, part in Words, and part in Signs. He replied, that by the Laws of the Kingdom, I must be searched by two of his Officers: That he knew this could not be done without my Consent and Assistance; that he had so good an Opinion of my Generosity and Justice, as to trust their Persons in my Hands: That whatever they took from me should be returned when I left the Country, or paid for at the Rate which I would set upon them. I took up the two Officers in my Hands, put them first into my Coat-Pockets, and then into every other Pocket about me, except my two Fobs,²⁶ and another secret Pocket which I had no Mind should be searched, wherein I had some little Necessaries of no Consequence to any but my self. In one of my Fobs there was a Silver Watch, and in the other a small Quantity of Gold in a Purse. These Gentlemen, having Pen, Ink, and Paper about them, made an exact Inventory of every thing they saw; and when they had done, desired I would set them down, that they might deliver it to the Emperor. This Inventory I afterwards translated into *English*, and is Word for Word as follows.

IMPRIMIS,²⁷ In the right Coat-Pocket of the *Great Man Mountain* (for so I interpret the Words *Quinbus Flestrin*) after the strictest Search, we found only one great Piece of coarse Cloth, large enough to be a Foot-Cloth²⁸ for your Majesty's chief Room of State. In the left Pocket, we saw a huge Silver Chest, with a Cover of the same Metal, which we, the Searchers, were not able to lift. We desired it should be opened; and one of us stepping into it, found himself up to the mid Leg in a sort of Dust,²⁹ some part whereof flying up to our Faces, set us both a sneezing for several Times together. In his right Waistcoat-Pocket, we found a prodigious Bundle of white thin Substances, folded one over another, about the Bigness of three Men, tied with a strong Cable, and marked with black Figures; which we humbly conceive to be Writings; every Letter almost half as large as the Palm of our Hands. In the left there was a sort of Engine, from the Back of which

26 *Fobs*: a small pocket in the waistband of the breeches and used for carrying a watch, money or other valuables (*OED*, 1).

27 *IMPRIMIS*: in the first place.

28 *Foot-Cloth*: a cloth to set the feet upon, a carpet (*OED*, 2).

29 *up to the mid Leg in a sort of Dust*: cf. the parallel mishap suffered by Gulliver in Part II, Chapter 5, of leaping into a 'Cow-dung... just in the Middle up to my Knees' (below, p. 174).

were extended twenty long Poles, resembling the Pallisado's³⁰ before your Majesty's Court; wherewith we conjecture the *Man Mountain* combs his Head; for we did not always trouble him with Questions, because we found it a great Difficulty to make him understand us. In the large Pocket on the right Side of his middle Cover, (so I translate the Word *Ranfu-Lo*, by which they meant my Breeches) we saw a hollow Pillar of Iron,³¹ about the Length of a Man, fastened to a strong Piece of Timber, larger than the Pillar; and upon one side of the Pillar were huge Pieces of Iron sticking out, cut into strange Figures; which we know not what to make of. In the left Pocket, another Engine of the same kind. In the smaller Pocket on the right Side, were several round flat Pieces of white and red Metal,³² of different Bulk: Some of the white, which seemed to be Silver, were so large and heavy, that my Comrade and I could hardly lift them. In the left Pocket were two black Pillars irregularly shaped: we could not, without Difficulty, reach the Top of them as we stood at the Bottom of his Pocket: One of them was covered, and seemed all of a Piece; but at the upper End of the other, there appeared a white round Substance, about twice the bigness of our Heads. Within each of these was inclosed a prodigious Plate of Steel; which, by our Orders, we obliged him to shew us, because we apprehended they might be dangerous Engines. He took them out of their Cases, and told us, that in his own Country his Practice was to shave his Beard with one of these,³³ and to cut his Meat with the other. There were two Pockets which we could not enter: These he called his Fobs; they were two large Slits cut into the Top of his middle Cover, but squeezed close by the Pressure of his Belly. Out of the right Fob hung a great Silver Chain, with a wonderful kind of Engine at the Bottom. We directed him to draw out whatever was at the End of that Chain; which appeared

30 *Pallisado's*: a fence made of wooden pales or stakes fixed in the ground, forming an enclosure or defence (*OED*, 'palisade' 1).

31 *a hollow Pillar of Iron*: the Lilliputians' defamiliarized description of Gulliver's pistols has a parallel in Raphael's account of the first sight of Satan's artillery: 'A triple-mounted row of pillars laid / On wheels (for like to pillars most they seemed / Or hollowed bodies made of oak or fir / With branches lopped, in wood or mountain felled)' (*Paradise Lost*, VI.572–5).

32 *white and red Metal*: i.e. silver and copper.

33 *shave his Beard with one of these*: on 16 August 1725, in a letter to Charles Ford in which he also reports that he is 'fairly correcting and transcribing my Travells, for the Publick', Swift thanked Ford for a gift of razors: 'The Razors will be a great Treasure to me, for want of good ones I pass one hour in eight and fourty very miserably' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. II, p. 588).

to be a Globe, half Silver, and half of some transparent Metal: For on the transparent Side we saw certain strange Figures circularly drawn, and thought we could touch them, until we found our Fingers stopped with that lucid Substance.³⁴ He put this Engine to our Ears, which made an incessant Noise like that of a Water-Mill.³⁵ And we conjecture it is either some unknown Animal, or the God that he worships:³⁶ But we are more inclined to the latter Opinion, because he assured us (if we understood him right, for he expressed himself very imperfectly) that he seldom did any Thing without consulting it. He called it his Oracle, and said it pointed out the Time for every Action of his Life.³⁷ From the left Fob he took out a Net almost large enough for a Fisherman, but contrived to open and shut

34 *lucid Substance*: a phrase drawn from the scientific idiom of Swift's day: see *Philosophical Works*, volume III, p. 174 and *Philosophical Transactions*, 2 vols. (1721), vol. II, p. 128.

35 *Water-Mill*: cf. Swift's comparison, in a letter to Knightley Chetwode of October 1724, of the effects of his Ménière's disease to having 'the Noise of seven Watermills in my Ears' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. II, p. 524).

36 *God that he worships*: taken by Deane Swift to be an indication that the Lilliputians are 'rank idolaters', not Christians (*Essay*, p. 209 ['181']). Swift's friend Viscount Bolingbroke used the encounter between a timepiece and a people ignorant of such mechanisms as an illustration of the naturalness of inferences concerning intelligent design: 'Carry a clock to the wild inhabitants of the Cape of good hope. They will soon be convinced that intelligence made it: and none but the most stupid will imagine that this intelligence is in the hand that they see move, and in the wheels that they see turn. Those among them, who pretend to greater sagacity than the rest, may perhaps suspect that the workman is concealed in the clock, and there conducts invisibly all the motions of it. The first of these hottentot philosophers are, you see, more rational than atheists; the second are more so than the heathen naturalists; and the third are just at a pitch with some modern metaphysicians' (Bolingbroke, *Essays*, vol. II, pp. 59–60). The encounter between the Lilliputians and Gulliver's watch is also an inversion of one of Swift's illustrations of Tindal's failure to distinguish between 'what the Civil Power can hinder, and what it can do': 'so may I, who love as well as any Man to have in my own Family the Power in the last Resort, take a Turnip, then tye a String to it, and call it a Watch, and turn away all my Servants, if they refuse to call it so too' (Davis, vol. II, pp. 75–6).

37 *every Action of his Life*: Orrery observed this to be true of Swift himself: 'His hours of walking, and reading, never varied: His motions were guided by his watch, which was so constantly held in his hand, or placed before him upon his table, that he seldom deviated many minutes, in the daily revolution of his exercises and employments' (*Remarks*, p. 44). White Kennett's description of Swift preening himself in the antechamber at Windsor Castle in 1713 shows him using his watch as a social prop: 'He turned to the fire, and took out his gold watch' (Williams, *Corr.*, vol. V, p. 229). In his dotage Swift seems to have been puzzled by his watch (Ehrenpreis, vol. III, pp. 917–18). In *Some Free Thoughts Upon the Present State of Affairs* (1714), Swift employed the metaphor of the watch to express the discrete inner workings of Harley's ministry: 'Although the main Spring in a Watch [Harley] be out of Sight, there is an intermediate Communication between it and the smallest Wheel [Swift himself], or else no true Motion could be performed' (Davis, vol. VIII, p. 86).

like a Purse, and served him for the same Use: We found therein several massy Pieces of yellow Metal, which if they be of real Gold, must be of immense Value.³⁸

Having thus, in Obedience to your Majesty's Commands, diligently searched all his Pockets; we observed a Girdle about his Waist made of the Hyde of some prodigious Animal; from which, on the left Side, hung a Sword of the Length of five Men; and on the right, a Bag or Pouch divided into two Cells; each Cell capable of holding three of your Majesty's Subjects. In one of these Cells were several Globes or Balls of a most ponderous Metal, about the Bigness of our Heads, and required a strong Hand to lift them: The other Cell contained a Heap of certain black Grains, but of no great Bulk or Weight, for we could hold above fifty of them in the Palms of our Hands.

This is an exact Inventory of what we found about the Body of the *Man Mountain*; who used us with great Civility, and due Respect to your Majesty's Commission. Signed and Sealed on the fourth Day of the eighty ninth Moon of your Majesty's auspicious Reign.

Clefren Frelock, Marsi Frelock.

When this Inventory was read over to the Emperor, he directed me to deliver up the several Particulars. He first called for my Scymiter, which I took out, Scabbard and all. In the mean time he ordered three thousand of his choicest Troops, who then attended him, to surround me at a Distance, with their Bows and Arrows just ready to discharge: But I did not observe it; for mine Eyes were wholly fixed upon his Majesty. He then desired me to draw my Scymiter, which, although it had got some Rust by the Sea-Water, was in most Parts exceeding bright. I did so, and immediately all the Troops gave a Shout between Terror and Surprise; for the Sun shone clear, and the Reflexion dazzled their Eyes, as I waved the Scymiter to and fro

38 *immense Value*: cf. 'The Bubble', Swift's poem on the South Sea Bubble: 'Put in Your Money fairly told; / Presto be gone – Tis here ag'en, / Ladies, and Gentlemen, behold, / Here's ev'ry Piece as big as ten' (Williams, *Poems*, p. 251, lines 5–8). 'Presto' (Italian for 'swift') was the Duchess of Shrewsbury's affectionate name for Swift. In the light of later touches linking Gulliver to John Churchill, first Duke of Marlborough (see below p. 61, n. 16), it is worth remarking that in *The Publick Spirit of the Whigs* (1714) Swift accused Marlborough of possessing 'more ready Money than all the Kings of *Christendom* together' (Davis, vol. VIII, p. 53). The anonymous and scandalous *The Duke of M—'s Confession to a Jacobite Priest. February the 6th, 1711* (?1712) makes Marlborough acknowledge that he is 'the Richest Subject in *Europe*' (p. 4).

in my Hand.³⁹ His Majesty, who is a most magnanimous Prince, was less daunted than I could expect; he ordered me to return it into the Scabbard, and cast it on the Ground as gently as I could, about six Foot from the End of my Chain. The next Thing he demanded was one of the hollow Iron Pillars, by which he meant my Pocket-Pistols. I drew it out, and at his Desire, as well as I could, expressed to him the Use of it, and charging it only with Powder, which by the Closeness⁴⁰ of my Pouch, happened to escape wetting in the Sea, (an Inconvenience that all prudent Mariners take special Care to provide against) I first cautioned the Emperor not to be afraid; and then I let it off in the Air.⁴¹ The Astonishment here was much greater than at the Sight of my Scymiter. Hundreds fell down as if they had been struck dead; and even the Emperor, although he stood his Ground, could not recover himself in some time. I delivered up both my Pistols in the same Manner as I had done my Scymiter, and then my Pouch of Powder and Bullets; begging him that the former might be kept from Fire; for it would kindle with the smallest Spark, and blow up his Imperial Palace into the Air. I likewise delivered up my Watch, which the Emperor was very curious to see; and commanded two of his tallest Yeomen of the Guards to bear it on a Pole upon their Shoulders, as Dray-men in *England* do a Barrel of Ale. He was amazed at the continual Noise it made, and the Motion of the Minute-hand, which he could easily discern; for their Sight is much more acute than ours: He asked the Opinions of his learned Men about him, which were various and remote, as the Reader may well imagine without my repeating; although indeed I could not very perfectly

39 *to and fro in my Hand*: cf. Swift's probable recollection of this detail of *GT* in 'Directions for a Birth-day Song', his ironical celebration of the birthday of George II on 30 October 1729: 'Your Hero now another Mars is, / Makes mighty Armys turn their Arses. / Behold his glitt'ring Faulchion mow / Whole Squadrons with a single blow' (Williams, *Poems*, p. 461, lines 29–32). Compare the parallel detail in Part II, Chapter 7, when Gulliver is astonished by the drawn swords of the Brobdingnagian cavalry, 'as if ten thousand Flashes of Lightning were darting at the same time from every Quarter of the Sky' (below, p. 200).

40 *Closeness*: compactness, density, solidity (*OED*, 5).

41 *into the Air*: cf. the parallel passages in Part II, Chapter 7 when Gulliver explains the effects of gunpowder to the King of Brobdingnag ('rip up the Pavement, tear the Houses to Pieces, burst and throw Splinters on every Side, dashing out the Brains of all who came near'; below, pp. 191–92), and in Part IV, Chapter 5 when Gulliver describes the spectacle of European warfare for his Master Houyhnhnm ('I had seen them blow up a Hundred Enemies at once in a Siege, and as many in a Ship; and beheld the dead Bodies drop down in Pieces from the Clouds, to the great Diversion of all the Spectators'; below, p. 366). For the use of explosives to impress natives, see Rawson, *GGG*, pp. 66–7.

understand them. I then gave up my Silver and Copper Money, my Purse with nine large Pieces of Gold, and some smaller ones; my Knife and Razor, my Comb and Silver Snuff-Box, my Handkerchief and Journal Book. My Scymiter, Pistols, and Pouch, were conveyed in Carriages to his Majesty's Stores; but the rest of my Goods were returned me.

I had, as I before observed, one private Pocket which escaped their Search, wherein there was a Pair of Spectacles (which I sometimes use for the Weakness of mine Eyes)⁴² a Pocket Perspective,⁴³ and several other little Conveniences; which being of no Consequence to the Emperor, I did not think my self bound in Honour to discover; and I apprehended they might be lost or spoiled if I ventured them out of my Possession.⁴⁴

42 *Weakness of mine Eyes*: Delany records Swift's 'obstinate resolution' never to wear spectacles (*Observations*, pp. 145–6; cf. Sheridan, p. 242), notwithstanding his weak eyesight (Swift concluded his birthday poem to Stella in 1725 with the wish that 'Oh, ne'er may Fortune shew her Spight, / To make me *deaf*; and mend my *Sight*'; Williams, *Poems*, p. 758). When Bolingbroke, in a letter of 30 August 1729, urged Swift to employ 'your philosophical Spectacles' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, p. 254), the remark acquired point from both Swift's resolute avoidance of spectacles and this passage in *GT*.

43 *Pocket Perspective*: telescope.

44 *my Possession*: another characteristically Gulliverian yoking of casuistical principle and prudent self-interest.

CHAPTER III.

*The Author diverts the Emperor and his Nobility of both Sexes, in a very uncommon Manner. The Diversions of the Court of Lilliput described.*¹ *The Author hath his Liberty granted him upon certain Conditions.*

My Gentleness and good Behaviour had gained so far on the Emperor and his Court, and indeed upon the Army and People in general, that I began to conceive Hopes of getting my Liberty in a short Time. I took all possible Methods to cultivate this favourable Disposition. The Natives came by Degrees to be less apprehensive of any Danger from me. I would sometimes lie down, and let five or six of them dance on my Hand. And at last the Boys and Girls would venture to come and play at Hide and Seek in my Hair. I had now made a good Progress in understanding and speaking their Language. The Emperor had a mind one Day to entertain me with several of the Country Shows; wherein they exceed all Nations I have known, both for Dexterity and Magnificence. I was diverted with none so much as that of the Rope-Dancers, performed upon a slender white Thread, extended about two Foot, and twelve Inches from the Ground. Upon which, I shall desire Liberty, with the Reader's Patience, to enlarge a little.²

This Diversion is only practised by those Persons, who are Candidates for great Employments, and high Favour, at Court. They are trained in this Art from their Youth, and are not always of noble Birth, or liberal Education. When a great Office is vacant, either by Death or Disgrace, (which often happens) five or six of those Candidates petition the Emperor to

1 *Diversions of the Court of Lilliput described*: in his *Supplement to Mr. Samuel Puffendorf's Introduction to the History of Europe* (1710), Joducus Crull gives an account of the 'Sports and Pastimes' of the Laplanders, which includes 'Leaping; they get two Men who hold each a Rope or Stick at some distance from one another, sometimes to near a Man's height; they endeavour to Leap over these Sticks, and he that Leapeth highest is the Conqueror; the *Laplanders* being very active in Leaping, as well as Running' (p. 599); cf. below, p. 59.

2 *enlarge a little*: see Long note 10.

entertain his Majesty and the Court with a Dance on the Rope; and whoever jumps the highest without falling, succeeds in the Office. Very often the chief Ministers themselves are commanded to shew their Skill, and to convince the Emperor that they have not lost their Faculty. *Flimnap*,³ the Treasurer, is allowed to cut a Caper on the strait Rope, at least an Inch higher than any other Lord in the whole Empire. I have seen him do the *Summerset*⁴ several times together, upon a Trencher fixed on the Rope, which is no thicker than a common Packthread in *England*. My Friend *Reldresal*,⁵ principal Secretary for private Affairs, is, in my Opinion, if I am not partial, the second after the Treasurer; the rest of the great Officers are much upon a Par.

These Diversions are often attended with fatal Accidents, whereof great Numbers are on Record. I my self have seen two or three Candidates break a Limb. But the Danger is much greater, when the Ministers themselves are commanded to shew their Dexterity: For, by contending to excel themselves and their Fellows, they strain so far, that there is hardly one of them who hath not received a Fall; and some of them two or three. I was assured, that a Year or two before my Arrival,⁶ *Flimnap* would have infallibly broke his Neck, if one of the *King's Cushions*,⁷ that accidentally lay on the Ground, had not weakened the Force of his Fall.

3 *Flimnap*: identified in the *Key* as a satiric portrait of Sir Robert Walpole (*Key*, Part I, p. 13). For Swift and Walpole, see Long note 11.

4 *Summerset*: somersault.

5 *Reldresal*: identified in the *Key* as Charles Townshend, second Viscount Townshend (1674–1738); Whig politician and diplomat; associate of Somers, Marlborough and Walpole (who was also his brother-in-law, although by 1726 a rift had opened between them) (*Key*, Part I, p. 13).

6 *before my Arrival*: i.e. in 1697 or 1698, before Walpole's political career had begun and while he was still in residence at King's College, Cambridge.

7 *King's Cushions*: cf. *Drapier's Letters*, 'To Viscount Molesworth': 'I have read somewhere of an Eastern King, who put a Judge to Death for an iniquitous Sentence; and ordered his *Hide to be stuffed into a Cushion*, and placed upon the Tribunal for the Son to sit on; who was preferred to his Father's Office. . . . I wish the Relater had told us what Number of such *Cushions* there might be in that Country' (Davis, vol. X, p. 92; and note also, just below this passage, Swift's hostile comments on State decipherers, a topic to which he would return in Part III, Chapter 6 of *GT*). In Jeremy Collier's translation of Dacier's life of Marcus Aurelius, Swift could have read that the philosopher-emperor 'never thought any Persons, let their Condition be never so mean, beneath his Concern; his Care stoop'd even to the *Gladiators* and *Ropedancers*; ordering the first to fight with *Foins*, or Buttons upon their Swords; and that the other should have Feather-beds, or Mats spread under them, to prevent the Danger of a Fall' (*The Emperor Marcus Antoninus his Conversation with Himself* [1702], p. 1).

There is likewise another Diversion, which is only shewn before the Emperor and Empress, and first Minister, upon particular Occasions. The Emperor lays on a Table three fine silken Threads of six Inches long. One is Blue, the other Red, and the third Green.⁸ These Threads are proposed as Prizes, for those Persons whom the Emperor hath a mind to distinguish by a peculiar Mark of his Favour. The Ceremony is performed in his Majesty's great Chamber of State; where the Candidates are to undergo a Tryal of Dexterity very different from the former; and such as I have not observed the least Resemblance of in any other Country of the old or the new World.⁹ The Emperor holds a Stick in his Hands, both Ends parallel to the Horizon, while the Candidates advancing one by one, sometimes leap over the Stick,¹⁰ sometimes creep under it backwards and forwards

8 *the third Green*: identified in the *Key* as referring to the British orders of the Garter, the Bath and the Thistle (although in the first edition of *Gulliver's Travels* the colours were purple, yellow and white) (*Key*, Part I, p. 16; for the variant, see below, p. 678). The innocuous colours of the first edition may reflect Motte's prudence (see 'Textual introduction', below, p. 634). In Ford's interleaved copy and the Armagh copy of *Gulliver's Travels* they are corrected to the authentic colours of blue, red and green (see 'MS readings from particular copies', below, p. 736). As the order of the Bath had been revived by George I in only May 1725 this detail is probably another late addition to the text of Part I. The subject was topical in 1726, the Garter having been bestowed on Walpole in May, and the subject figures in Swift's correspondence: Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, p. 50 (Mrs Howard) and vol. IV, pp. 95–6 (William Pulteney). See 'Verses on the Revival of the Order of the Bath', which is prefaced by the note 'About 1726 The Order of the Bath was instituted or revived, under the ministry of S^r Rob^t Walpole': 'Quoth King Robin, our Ribbands I see are too few / Of St Andrew's the Green, and St George's the Blue / I must have another of Colour more gay / That will make all my Subjects with pride to obey' (Williams, *Poems*, p. 389, lines 1–4). Cf. also 'On Poetry: A Rapsody', lines 461–4 (Williams, *Poems*, p. 656). In *An Argument Against Abolishing Christianity* (1708) Swift had associated colours with parties (Davis, vol. II, p. 32; cf. Johnson, *Political Writings*, p. 57).

9 *or the new World*: the disavowal serves to cue the satirical application.

10 *leap over the Stick*: cf. the poem of 1714 'The Faggot', lines 35–44 (Williams, *Poems*, p. 190). The image revived in Swift's imagination in 1725: 'And he who will leap over a Stick for the King / Is qualified best for a Dog in a String' ('Verses on the Revival of the Order of the Bath', Williams, *Poems*, p. 389, lines 11–12). It was a metaphor for political subserviency already current in seventeenth-century political writing. Swift may have noted its use in Samuel Butler's *Hudibras*, a poem he knew well: 'Nor was the Dog a *Cacodemon*, / But a true Dog, that would shew tricks, / For th'*Emperor*, and leap o're sticks; / Would *fetch* and *carry*, was more civil / Then other *Dogs*' (*Hudibras*, Part II, Canto iii, lines 644–8). He may also have noted Arthur Mainwaring's use of the metaphor in *The Medley*, 4, 23 October 1710 (1712), p. 48. For other examples, see Anon., *Faults on Both Sides* (1710), p. 31; 'Satyr on the Whigish Lawyers' in George, Duke of Buckingham, *The Second Volume of Miscellaneous Works* (1705), p. 17; Anon., *A Political View of the Affairs of Great Britain and Ireland* (1715), p. 401 (cf. Anon., *The Secret History of the Late Ministry* [1715], p. 401); Thomas Brown, 'The Character of a Low-Church Magistrate', in *Works* (1715) vol. IV, p. 340; *The Briton*, no. 30 (1724),

several times, according as the Stick is advanced or depressed. Sometimes the Emperor holds one End of the Stick, and his first Minister the other; sometimes the Minister has it entirely to himself. Whoever performs his Part with most Agility, and holds out the longest in *leaping* and *creeping*,¹¹ is rewarded with the Blue-coloured Silk; the Red is given to the next, and the Green to the third, which they all wear girt twice round about the Middle; and you see few great Persons about this Court, who are not adorned with one of these Girdles.

The Horses of the Army, and those of the Royal Stables, having been daily led before me, were no longer shy, but would come up to my very Feet, without starting. The Riders would leap them over my Hand as I held it on the Ground; and one of the Emperor's Huntsmen, upon a large Courser, took my Foot, Shoe and all; which was indeed a prodigious Leap. I had the good Fortune to divert the Emperor one Day, after a very extraordinary Manner. I desired he would order several Sticks of two Foot high, and the Thickness of an ordinary Cane, to be brought me; whereupon his Majesty commanded the Master of his Woods to give Directions accordingly; and the next Morning six Wood-men arrived with as many Carriages, drawn by eight Horses to each. I took nine of these Sticks, and fixing them firmly in the Ground in a Quadrangular Figure, two Foot and a half square; I took four other Sticks, and tyed them parallel at each Corner, about two Foot from the Ground; then I fastened my Handkerchief to the nine Sticks that stood erect; and extended it on all Sides, till it was as tight as the Top of a Drum; and the four parallel Sticks rising about five Inches higher than the Handkerchief, served as Ledges on each Side. When I had finished my Work, I desired the Emperor to let a Troop of his best Horse, Twenty-four in Number, come and exercise upon this Plain. His Majesty approved of the Proposal, and I took them up one by one in my Hands,

p. 131; Samuel Croxall (tr.), *Fables of Aesop*, second edition (1724), p. 226; William Somerville, *Occasional Poems* (1727), pp. 179 and 286; *The Craftsman*, no. 55 (1728), p. 104; *The Champion*, 5 June 1740, 2 vols. (1743), vol. II, p. 303. *Gulliver Decypher'd* (1727) claims that this section was copied out 'Word for Word' from an earlier work (p. 28).

11 *leaping and creeping*: in 'Thoughts on Various Subjects' Swift wrote that 'AMBITION often puts Men upon doing the meanest Offices; so climbing is performed in the same Posture with Creeping' (Davis, vol. I, p. 245); cf. G. P. Marana, *Eight Volumes of Letters Writ by a Turkish Spy*, 8 vols. (1702–3), vol. V, p. 75: 'the Language of the Beasts, who by curvetting, creeping, leaping, frisking their Tails and other Postures, express their various Passions, Desires and Necessities'.

ready mounted and armed, with the proper Officers to exercise them. As soon as they got into Order, they divided into two Parties, performed mock Skirmishes, discharged blunt Arrows, drew their Swords, fled and pursued, attacked and retired; and in short discovered¹² the best military Discipline I ever beheld. The parallel Sticks secured them and their Horses from falling over the Stage; and the Emperor was so much delighted, that he ordered this Entertainment to be repeated several Days; and once was pleased to be lifted up, and give the Word of Command; and, with great Difficulty, persuaded even the Empress her self to let me hold her in her close Chair,¹³ within two Yards of the Stage, from whence she was able to take a full View of the whole Performance. It was my good Fortune that no ill Accident happened in these Entertainments; only once a fiery Horse that belonged to one of the Captains, pawing with his Hoof struck a Hole in my Handkerchief, and his Foot slipping, he overthrew his Rider and himself; but I immediately relieved them both: For covering the Hole with one Hand, I set down the Troop with the other, in the same Manner as I took them up. The Horse that fell was strained in the left Shoulder, but the Rider got no Hurt; and I repaired my Handkerchief as well as I could: However, I would not trust to the Strength of it any more in such dangerous Enterprizes.

About two or three Days before I was set at Liberty, as I was entertaining the Court with these Kinds of Feats, there arrived an Express to inform his Majesty, that some of his Subjects riding near the Place where I was first taken up, had seen a great black Substance lying on the Ground, very oddly shaped, extending its Edges round as wide as his Majesty's Bedchamber, and rising up in the Middle as high as a Man: That it was no living Creature, as they at first apprehended; for it lay on the Grass without Motion, and some of them had walked round it several Times: That by mounting upon each others Shoulders, they had got to the Top, which was flat and even; and, stamping upon it, they found it was hollow within: That they humbly conceived it might be something belonging to the *Man-Mountain*; and if his Majesty pleased, they would undertake to bring it with only five Horses. I presently knew what they meant; and was

12 *discovered*: displayed.

13 *close Chair*: a sedan chair, i.e. an enclosed chair which is carried by two servants on a pole connected with the top of the chair.

glad at Heart to receive this Intelligence. It seems, upon my first reaching the Shore, after our Shipwreck, I was in such Confusion, that before I came to the Place where I went to sleep, my Hat, which I had fastened with a String to my Head while I was rowing, and had stuck on all the Time I was swimming, fell off after I came to Land; the String, as I conjecture, breaking by some Accident which I never observed, but thought my Hat had been lost at Sea. I intreated his Imperial Majesty to give Orders it might be brought to me as soon as possible, describing to him the Use and the Nature of it: And the next Day the Waggoners arrived with it, but not in a very good Condition; they had bored two Holes in the Brim, within an Inch and a half of the Edge, and fastened two Hooks in the Holes; these Hooks were tied by a long Cord to the Harness, and thus my Hat was dragged along for above half an *English* Mile: But the Ground in that Country being extremely smooth and level, it received less Damage than I expected.¹⁴

Two Days after this Adventure, the Emperor having ordered that Part of his Army,¹⁵ which quarters in and about his Metropolis, to be in a Readiness, took a fancy of diverting himself in a very singular Manner. He desired I would stand like a *Colossus*,¹⁶ with my Legs as far asunder as

14 *than I expected*: for its eventual destruction, see Part III, Chapter 1 (below, p. 224).

15 *that Part of his Army*: the Emperor of Lilliput has a standing army, a subject of great contemporary controversy. Standing armies were detested by Swift: 'A standing army in England whether in time of peace or war is a direct absurdity. For, it is no part of our business to be a warlike nation, otherwise than by our fleets' ('Of Publick Absurdities in England', Davis, vol. V, p. 80; cf. Davis, vol. XIII, p. 112). See below, Part II, Chapter 6, for the opinion of the King of Brobdingnag on the subject (p. 186); and also Long note 12.

16 *Colossus*: originally the massive statue of the Sun God erected c. 300 BC at the entrance to the harbour of Rhodes; cited by Temple in 'An Essay upon the Ancient and Modern Learning' and again in his later review of that essay as a particular glory of the ancient world (Temple, vol. I, pp. 162 and 294). In the early eighteenth century the image of the colossus had been employed in political writing by both Whigs and Tories. In the anonymous Tory pamphlet, *Oliver's pocket looking-glass, new fram'd and clean'd, to give a clear view of the great modern Colossus* (second edition, 1712), 'Count Colossus' refers to Marlborough. Gulliver's eventual desertion of the Lilliputians may recall Marlborough's desertion of James II in 1688 to join William of Orange, and his urinating to extinguish the fire in the royal palace (see below, pp. 79–80) may also recall Marlborough's 'personal Irreverence' to Anne, on which this pamphlet particularly comments (p. 39). In 1716, in *Freeholder* 27, Joseph Addison had recounted the vision of 'Second-Sighted Sawney', an allegory of the recent Jacobite rebellion in which the 'Temple of Rebellion' has 'erected near it a great Colossus in Snow that had two Faces, and was drest like a Jesuit, with one of its Hands upon a Book, and the other grasping a Dagger' (*Freeholder*, pp. 149–51). Cf. also *The Universal Jester* (1718), p. 12: 'Some Travellers boasting of what they had seen and done when Abroad: Says one of them, Gentlemen, when

I conveniently could. He then commanded his General (who was an old experienced Leader, and a great Patron of mine) to draw up the Troops in close Order, and march them under me; the Foot by Twenty-four in a Breast,¹⁷ and the Horse by Sixteen, with Drums beating, Colours flying, and Pikes advanced. This Body consisted of three Thousand Foot, and a Thousand Horse. His Majesty gave Orders, upon Pain of Death, that every Soldier in his March should observe the strictest Decency, with regard to my Person; which, however, could not prevent some of the younger Officers from turning up their Eyes as they passed under me. And, to confess the Truth, my Breeches were at that Time in so ill a Condition, that they afforded some Opportunities for Laughter and Admiration.¹⁸

I had sent so many Memorials and Petitions for my Liberty, that his Majesty at length mentioned the Matter first in the Cabinet, and then in a full Council; where it was opposed by none, except *Skyresh Bolgolam*, who was pleased, without any Provocation, to be my mortal Enemy.¹⁹ But it was carried against him by the whole Board, and confirmed by the Emperor. That Minister was *Galbet*, or Admiral of the Realm; very much in his Master's Confidence, and a Person well versed in Affairs, but of a morose and sour Complexion.²⁰ However, he was at length persuaded to comply;

I was last at Rhodes . . . I went between the Colossus Legs, which Clapt too immediately, and blew all the Stuffing in my Head out at my Nose.'

17 *in a Breast*: in a line, abreast.

18 *Laughter and Admiration*: in Section 2 of *The Mechanical Operation of the Spirit* Swift writes of 'certain Fortune-tellers in *Northern America*, who have a Way of reading a Man's Destiny, by peeping in his *Breech*' (*CWJS*, vol. I, p. 184; Davis, vol. I, p. 186).

19 *my mortal Enemy*: Skyresh Bolgolam is at least in part a portrait of Daniel Finch, second Earl of Nottingham and seventh Earl of Winchelsea (1647–1730), a politician whose mother was the daughter of Daniel Harvey, a Levant merchant of London. In Swift's eyes, Nottingham was an apostate Tory who had sided with the Whigs in the final years of Anne's reign and thus had helped to bring down Harley's ministry: see 'An Excellent New Song' (Williams, *Poems*, pp. 141–5). Another candidate for the position of Swift's 'mortal Enemy', however, was John Sharp, Archbishop of York (1645?–1714), whom Swift suspected of acting in concert with the Duchess of Somerset to convince Queen Anne that Swift was no true Christian, and hence did not deserve preferment: see Williams, *JSt*, pp. 665 (where Swift refers to Sharp as 'my mortall Enemy') and 667. The anonymous *Essays Divine, Moral and Political* . . . *By the Author of the Tale of a Tub* (1714) alludes to the animosity between Swift and Sharp (p. ix). Swift seems to have read many of the attacks on him, even though he despised them: Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, pp. 483–4.

20 *morose and sour Complexion*: a detail which confirms the association between Skyresh Bolgolam and Nottingham. Swift often commented on Nottingham's dark complexion: 'His adust Complexion disposeth him to Rigor and Severity, which his Admirers palliate with the name of Zeal. No man had ever a sincerer Countenance, or more truly representing

but prevailed that the Articles and Conditions upon which I should be set free, and to which I must swear, should be drawn up by himself. These Articles were brought to me by *Skyresh Bolgolam* in Person, attended by two under Secretaries, and several Persons of Distinction. After they were read, I was demanded to swear to the Performance of them; first in the Manner of my own Country, and afterwards in the Method prescribed by their Laws; which was to hold my right Foot in my left Hand, to place the middle Finger of my right Hand on the Crown of my Head, and my Thumb on the Tip of my right Ear. But, because the Reader may perhaps be curious to have some Idea of the Style and Manner of Expression peculiar to that People, as well as to know the Articles upon which I recovered my Liberty; I have made a Translation of the whole Instrument, Word for Word, as near as I was able; which I here offer to the Publick.

GOLBASTO MOMAREN EVLAME GURDILO SHEFIN MULLY ULLY GUE, most Mighty Emperor of *Lilliput*, Delight and Terror of the Universe,²¹ whose Dominions extend five Thousand Blustrugs, (about twelve Miles in Circumference) to the Extremities of the Globe:²² Monarch of all Monarchs: Taller than the Sons of Men; whose Feet press down to the Center, and whose Head strikes against the Sun: At whose Nod the Princes of the Earth shake their Knees; pleasant as the Spring, comfortable as the Summer, fruitful as Autumn, dreadful as Winter. His most sublime Majesty

his Mind and Manners' (Davis, vol. VII, p. 11; cf. Davis, vol. VI, p. 139; Williams, *Poems*, pp. 161–6, p. 168 line 12, p. 495 line 84; Williams, *JSt*, pp. 430 and 548 and n. 2). It was a perception, and a language, which Swift shared with John Arbuthnot (*John Bull*, p. 20) and Charles Ford (letter to Swift of 14 August 1714; Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. II, p. 73).

21 *Terror of the Universe*: the vanity of royal titles had been commented on by Hugo Grotius in his *De Iure Belli et Pacis* (1625), II.22.xiii. Nevertheless, this was a standard form of royal compliment. In his *History of England*, 3 vols. (1718), Laurence Echard described the Black Prince as 'the Delight and Terror of Mankind' (vol. I, p. 345). In his *A Treatise Concerning the Supremacy of the Civil Magistrate* (Exeter, 1717), Francis Squire described George I as 'the Delight or Terror of every Man and Nation' (p. vi). It was therefore perhaps an indication of perceived regal ambitions and capacity that, in an address to the throne in 1708, Marlborough should have been described as 'at once the World's Wonder, Delight and Terror' (Boyer, *Annals*, vol. VII, p. 25). Suetonius described the Emperor Titus as 'the darling and delight of the human race' ('amor ac deliciae generis humani') ('Divus Titus', 1).

22 *Extremities of the Globe*: cf. Temple's evocation of human presumption in 'An Essay upon the Ancient and Modern Learning' (Temple, vol. I, p. 165; quoted below, p. 255, n. 21). Cf. also Erasmus Lewis's account in a letter to Swift of 30 June 1737 of the impotence of George II as compared with Walpole, which perhaps recalls this passage: 'Our little captain [George II] blusters, reviews, and thinks he governs the world, when in reality he does nothing; for the first minister stands possessed of all the regal power' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. IV, p. 455).

proposeth to the *Man-Mountain*, lately arrived at our Celestial Dominions, the following Articles, which by a solemn Oath he shall be obliged to perform.

FIRST, The *Man-Mountain* shall not depart from our Dominions, without our Licence under our Great Seal.

SECONDLY, He shall not presume to come into our Metropolis, without our express Order; at which time, the Inhabitants shall have two Hours Warning, to keep within their Doors.

THIRDLY, The said *Man-Mountain* shall confine his Walks to our principal high Roads; and not offer to walk or lie down in a Meadow, or Field of Corn.

FOURTHLY, As he walks the said Roads, he shall take the utmost Care not to trample upon the Bodies of any of our loving Subjects, their Horses, or Carriages; nor take any of our said Subjects into his Hands, without their own Consent.

FIFTHLY, If an Express require extraordinary Dispatch; the *Man-Mountain* shall be obliged to carry in his Pocket the Messenger and Horse, a six Days Journey once in every Moon, and return the said Messenger back (if so required) safe to our Imperial Presence.

SIXTHLY, He shall be our Ally against our Enemies in the Island of *Blefuscu*, and do his utmost to destroy their Fleet, which is now preparing to invade Us.

SEVENTHLY, That the said *Man-Mountain* shall, at his Times of Leisure, be aiding and assisting to our Workmen, in helping to raise certain great Stones, towards covering the Wall of the principal Park, and other our Royal Buildings.

EIGHTHLY, That the said *Man-Mountain* shall, in two Moons Time, deliver an exact Survey of the Circumference of our Dominions, by a Computation of his own Paces round the Coast.

LASTLY, That upon his solemn Oath to observe all the above Articles, the said *Man-Mountain* shall have a daily Allowance of Meat and Drink, sufficient for the Support of 1724 of our Subjects; with free Access to

our Royal Person, and other Marks of our Favour. Given at our Palace at *Belfaborac* the Twelfth Day of the Ninety-first Moon of our Reign.

I swore and subscribed to these Articles with great Chearfulness and Content, although some of them were not so honourable as I could have wished; which proceeded wholly from the Malice of *Skyresh Bolgolam* the High Admiral: Whereupon my Chains were immediately unlocked, and I was at full Liberty: The Emperor himself, in Person, did me the Honour to be by at the whole Ceremony. I made my Acknowledgments, by prostrating myself at his Majesty's Feet: But he commanded me to rise; and after many gracious Expressions, which, to avoid the Censure of Vanity, I shall not repeat; he added, that he hoped I should prove a useful Servant, and well deserve all the Favours he had already conferred upon me, or might do for the future.

The Reader may please to observe, that in the last Article for the Recovery of my Liberty, the Emperor stipulates to allow me a Quantity of Meat and Drink, sufficient for the Support of 1724²³ *Lilliputians*. Some time after, asking a Friend at Court how they came to fix on that determinate Number; he told me, that his Majesty's Mathematicians, having taken the Height of my Body by the Help of a Quadrant, and finding it to exceed theirs in the Proportion of Twelve to One, they concluded from the Similarity of their Bodies, that mine must contain at least 1724 of theirs, and consequently would require as much Food as was necessary to support that Number of *Lilliputians*. By which, the Reader may conceive an Idea of the Ingenuity of that People, as well as the prudent and exact Oeconomy of so great a Prince.²⁴

23 1724: a slight undercalculation, since 12^3 is 1728; see below.

24 *so great a Prince*: Swift could occasionally be careless in respect of arithmetic: see e.g. Downie, *Swift*, p. 217. However, the fulsomeness at the end of this chapter suggests that the miscalculation may be deliberate and that the 'prudent and exact Oeconomy' of the Emperor of Lilliput is in fact simply parsimony; see the 'Introduction', above, pp. lxxxiii–lxxxiv. Mrs Howard's reference to 'Lilliputian Mathematicians' in a letter to Swift of 10 November 1726 and Swift's reply making reference to multiplying dozens further suggest that '1724' is a deliberate irregularity (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, pp. 50 and 70). Note the subsequent plan of the Emperor and his counsellors to starve Gulliver 'by Degrees' (below, p. 102).

CHAPTER IV.

Mildendo, the Metropolis of Lilliput, described, together with the Emperor's Palace. A Conversation between the Author and a principal Secretary, concerning the Affairs of that Empire: The Author's Offers to serve the Emperor in his Wars.

The first Request I made after I had obtained my Liberty, was, that I might have Licence to see *Mildendo*, the Metropolis; which the Emperor easily granted me, but with a special Charge to do no Hurt, either to the Inhabitants, or their Houses. The People had Notice by Proclamation of my Design to visit the Town. The Wall which encompassed it, is two Foot and an half high, and at least eleven Inches broad, so that a Coach and Horses may be driven very safely round it; and it is flanked with strong Towers at ten Foot Distance. I stept over the great *Western Gate*, and passed very gently, and sideling¹ through the two principal Streets, only in my short Waistcoat, for fear of damaging the Roofs and Eaves of the Houses with the Skirts of my Coat. I walked with the utmost Circumspection, to avoid treading on any Stragglers, who might remain in the Streets, although the Orders were very strict, that all People should keep in their Houses, at their own Peril. The Garret Windows and Tops of Houses were so crowded with Spectators, that I thought in all my Travels I had not seen a more populous Place. The City is an exact Square, each Side of the Wall being five Hundred Foot long. The two great Streets² which run

1 *sideling*: with a sideward movement (*OED*, 1); cf. below, p. 178. Swift had used this uncommon word with satiric intent in *The Publick Spirit of the Whigs* (1714): 'He [Steele] hath a confused Remembrance of Words since he left the University, but has lost half their Meaning, and puts them together with no Regard but to their Cadence; as I remember a Fellow nailed up Maps in a Gentleman's Closet, some sideling, others upside down, the better to adjust them to the Pannels' (*CWJS*, vol. VIII, p. 248; Davis, vol. VIII, p. 36; cf. also *An Argument Against Abolishing Christianity* (1708); Davis, vol. II, p. 34).

2 *two great Streets*: the topography of Mildendo recalls that of a Roman military camp, of which Swift could have read in Polybius, Book VI. Swift possessed the separate Graevius printing of

cross and divide it into four Quarters, are five Foot wide. The Lanes and Alleys which I could not enter, but only viewed them as I passed, are from Twelve to Eighteen Inches. The Town is capable of holding five Hundred Thousand Souls. The Houses are from three to five Stories. The Shops and Markets well provided.

The Emperor's Palace is in the Center of the City, where the two great Streets meet. It is inclosed by a Wall of two Foot high, and Twenty Foot distant from the Buildings. I had his Majesty's Permission to step over this Wall; and the Space being so wide between that and the Palace, I could easily view it on every Side. The outward Court is a Square of Forty Foot, and includes two other Courts: In the inmost are the Royal Apartments, which I was very desirous to see, but found it extremely difficult; for the great Gates, from one Square into another, were but Eighteen Inches high, and seven Inches wide. Now the Buildings of the outer Court were at least five Foot high; and it was impossible for me to stride over them, without infinite Damage to the Pile, although the Walls were strongly built of hewn Stone, and four Inches thick. At the same time, the Emperor had a great Desire that I should see the Magnificence of his Palace: But this I was not able to do till three Days after, which I spent in cutting down with my Knife some of the largest Trees in the Royal Park, about an Hundred Yards distant from the City. Of these Trees I made two Stools, each about three Foot high, and strong enough to bear my Weight. The People having received Notice a second time, I went again through the City to the Palace, with my two Stools in my Hands. When I came to the Side of the outer Court, I stood upon one Stool, and took the other in my Hand: This I lifted over the Roof, and gently set it down on the Space between the first and second Court, which was eight Foot wide. I then stept over the Buildings very conveniently from one Stool to the other, and drew up the first after me with a hooked Stick. By this Contrivance I got into the inmost Court; and lying down upon my Side, I applied my Face to the Windows of the middle Stories, which were left open on Purpose, and discovered the most splendid Apartments that can be imagined. There I saw the Empress, and the young Princes in their several Lodgings, with their chief Attendants about them. Her Imperial Majesty was pleased to

this text (*Library and Reading*, p. 1482), and he refers repeatedly to this text in *A Discourse of the Contests and Dissensions* (1701) (Davis, vol. I, pp. 199, 200, 216, 217).

smile very graciously upon me, and gave me out of the Window her Hand to kiss.³

But I shall not anticipate the Reader with farther Descriptions of this Kind, because I reserve them for a greater Work, which is now almost ready for the Press;⁴ containing a general Description of this Empire, from its first Erection, through a long Series of Princes, with a particular Account of their Wars and Politicks, Laws, Learning, and Religion; their Plants and Animals, their peculiar Manners and Customs, with other Matters very curious and useful; my chief Design at present being only to relate such Events and Transactions as happened to the Publick, or to my self, during a Residence of about nine Months in that Empire.

One Morning, about a Fortnight after I had obtained my Liberty; *Redresal*, Principal Secretary (as they style him) of private Affairs, came to my House, attended only by one Servant. He ordered his Coach to wait at a Distance, and desired I would give him an Hour's Audience; which I readily consented to, on Account of his Quality, and Personal Merits, as well as of the many good Offices he had done me during my Sollicitations at Court. I offered to lie down, that he might the more conveniently reach my Ear; but he chose rather to let me hold him in my Hand during our Conversation. He began with Compliments on my Liberty; said, he might pretend to some Merit in it; but, however, added, that if it had not been for the present Situation of things at Court, perhaps I might not have obtained it so soon. For, *said he*, as flourishing a Condition as we appear to be in to Foreigners, we labour under two mighty Evils; a violent Faction at home, and the Danger of an Invasion by a most potent Enemy from abroad.⁵ As to the first, you are to understand, that for above seventy Moons past,

3 *gave me out of the Window her Hand to kiss*: an experience which Swift never enjoyed with Queen Anne, to whom he was never presented despite his close association with Harley and St John during the years 1710 to 1714. (I owe this insight to Ian Higgins.) Cf. Gulliver's kissing of the hand of the Emperor and Empress of Blefuscu on arrival and departure (below, pp. 105 and 110), his kissing of the hand of the farmer's son in Brobdingnag (below, p. 129), his kissing of the little finger of the Queen of Brobdingnag (below, p. 142), and finally his kissing of the hoof of his Houyhnhnm master on his departure from the land of the Houyhnhnms (below, p. 425).

4 *ready for the Press*: the first of a number of such teases, which underline the character of *GT* as in part a mock-book, and which serve to associate it with the mode of *A Tale of a Tub* (*CWJS*, vol. I, p. 4; Davis, vol. I, p. xl); cf. below, pp. 82, n. 1 and 415, n. 24.

5 *from abroad*: the situation of Lilliput invites comparison with the situation of England during the reign of Queen Anne, when the rage of party was at its height and the nation was engaged in a continental war to frustrate French ambitions to establish a universal monarchy.

there have been two struggling Parties in this Empire, under the Names of *Tramecksan*, and *Slamecksan*, from the high and low Heels on their Shoes, by which they distinguish themselves.⁶

It is alledged indeed, that the high Heels are most agreeable to our ancient Constitution:⁷ But however this be, his Majesty hath determined to make use of only low Heels in the Administration of the Government,⁸ and all Offices in the Gift of the Crown; as you cannot but observe; and particularly, that his Majesty's Imperial Heels are lower at least by a *Drurr* than any of his Court; (*Drurr* is a Measure about the fourteenth Part of an Inch.) The Animositities between these two Parties run so high, that they will neither eat nor drink, nor talk with each other.⁹ We compute the *Tramecksan*, or High-Heels, to exceed us in Number; but the Power is wholly on our Side.¹⁰ We apprehend his Imperial Highness, the Heir to

6 *distinguish themselves*: a reference to the High-Church Tory party and the Low-Church Whig party (sometimes referred to by Swift as simply 'the lower Party' or 'the low-party': *CWJS*, vol. VIII, p. 315; Davis, vol. VIII, pp. 101 and 122). Writing to Archbishop King from Leicester on 6 December 1707, Swift reported that he found 'the Parties as usuall, High and Low, and there is not a Chambermaid, Prentice or Schoolboy in this whole town, but what is warmly engaged on one side or tother' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. I, p. 164). In *The Sentiments of a Church-of-England Man* Swift noted that 'no religious Sects ever carried their mutual Aversions to greater Heights, than our State Parties have done; who, the more to enflame their Passions, have mixed Religious and Civil Animositities together; borrowing one of the Appellations from the Church, with the Addition of *High* and *Low*; how little soever their Disputes relate to the Term, as it is generally understood' (Davis, vol. II, p. 14). The idiom was common in the early eighteenth century: see Daniel Defoe (?), *The Secret History of State Intrigues in the Management of the Scepter* (1715), p. 20. In *A Letter to a Whig Lord*, Swift affected to marvel that men should find a source of party conflict 'in Points where *Whig* and *Tory* are no more concerned, than in the length or colour of your Perriwigs' (Davis, vol. VI, p. 131). See Long notes 13 and 17.

7 *ancient Constitution*: a defence of the ancient Saxon constitution was originally a characteristic of the Whigs rather than the Tories or 'high Heels'; see, e.g., that compendium of Whig political thought, James Tyrrell's *Bibliotheca Politica: or, an Enquiry into the Antient Constitution of the English Government* (1692–4; further editions in 1701, 1718 and 1727). However, in the years immediately preceding the publication of *GT* the ancient constitution might also be ruefully invoked by Jacobites when reflecting on the political errors of the Stuarts and deploring the regime of the Hanoverians: see, e.g. respectively, Sir Richard Bulstrode, *Memoirs and Reflections Upon the Reign and Government of King Charles the 1st and King Charles the 2nd* (1721), p. 11 and George Granville, *A Letter from a Noble-Man Abroad, to his Friend in England* (1722), p. 4. See also Pocock, *Ancient Constitution*. Cf. below, p. 188 and n. 54.

8 *of the Government*: members of the Tory party were excluded from holding office under George I (1714–27).

9 *with each other*: see Long note 13.

10 *on our Side*: Edmund Burke would assure Charles Fox in a letter of 8 October 1777 that 'the Whigs . . . are what they always were (except by the able use of opportunities) by far the weakest party in the Country' (Burke, *Correspondence*, vol. III, p. 383).

the Crown, to have some Tendency towards the High-Heels;¹¹ at least we can plainly discover one of his Heels higher than the other; which gives him a Hobble in his Gait.¹² Now, in the midst of these intestine Disquiets, we are threatened with an Invasion from the Island of *Blefuscu*, which is the other great Empire of the Universe, almost as large and powerful as this of his Majesty. For as to what we have heard you affirm, that there are other Kingdoms and States in the World, inhabited by human Creatures as large as your self, our Philosophers are in much Doubt; and would rather conjecture that you dropt from the Moon, or one of the Stars; because it is certain, that an hundred Mortals of your Bulk, would, in a short Time, destroy all the Fruits and Cattle of his Majesty's Dominions. Besides, our Histories of six Thousand Moons make no Mention of any other Regions, than the two great Empires of *Lilliput* and *Blefuscu*. Which two mighty Powers have, as I was going to tell you, been engaged in a most obstinate War for six and thirty Moons past.¹³ It began upon the following Occasion.¹⁴ It is allowed on all Hands, that the primitive Way of breaking Eggs before we eat them, was upon the larger End: But his present Majesty's Grand-father, while he was a Boy, going to eat

11 *towards the High-Heels*: it was hoped by many Tories that the Prince of Wales, who during the reign of his father, George I, was an enemy to Walpole, would favour the Tories on ascending the throne. This did not happen, however.

12 *Hobble in his Gait*: Arbuthnot and Gay both reported to Swift in November 1726 that this detail had been relished by the Princess of Wales (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, pp. 44 and 47; cf. the Gulliverian letter to Swift which Scott assumed was a joint composition of the Princess of Wales and Mrs Howard, and which indicates royal enjoyment of *GT*; Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, p. 79). Swift says that during May 1727 he saw the Princess of Wales twice in a week 'by her own Commands; she retains her old Civility, and I my old Freedom; she charges me without Ceremony, to be the Author of a bad Book, though I told her how angry the Ministry were; but she assures me that both she and the P—— were very well pleased with every Particular' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, p. 84). Gay perhaps alludes to this passage in his letter to Swift of 6 December 1730 (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, pp. 349–50).

13 *six and thirty Moons past*: hostilities had broken out between England and France in 1689, approximately thirty-six years before the first publication of *GT*, and had continued until 1713 with only four years of peace (1697–1701). The substitution of moon (i.e. month) for year indicates a temporal, as well as spatial, ratio of twelve to one in Lilliput.

14 *the following Occasion*: a comical allegory of the religious conflicts between Roman Catholics and Protestants which followed the Reformation, and which were also central to *A Tale of a Tub* (1704). The invention of the Big-Endians and the Little-Endians was a detail which caught the eye of *GT*'s first readers, as Mrs Howard's reference to it in a letter to Swift of c. 10 November 1726 shows: 'Many disputes has arise here, whither the Big-Endians and lesser-Endians's ever differ'd in opinion about the braking of Eggs, when they were either to be butter'd, or Poach'd? or whither this part of Cookery was ever known in Lilliput?' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, p. 50).

an Egg, and breaking it according to the ancient Practice, happened to cut one of his Fingers.¹⁵ Whereupon the Emperor his Father, published an Edict, commanding all his Subjects, upon great Penalties, to break the smaller End of their Eggs. The People so highly resented this Law, that our Histories tell us, there have been six Rebellions raised on that Account;¹⁶ wherein one Emperor lost his Life, and another his Crown.¹⁷ These civil Commotions were constantly fomented by the Monarchs of *Blefuscu*; and when they were quelled, the Exiles always fled for Refuge to that Empire.¹⁸ It is computed, that eleven Thousand Persons have, at several Times, suffered Death, rather than submit to break their Eggs at the smaller End. Many hundred large Volumes have been published upon this Controversy: But the Books of the *Big-Endians* have been long forbidden, and the whole Party rendred incapable by Law of holding Employments.¹⁹ During the Course of these Troubles, the Emperors of *Blefuscu* did frequently expostulate by their Ambassadors, accusing us of making a Schism in Religion, by offending against a fundamental Doctrine of our great Prophet *Lustrog*, in the fifty-fourth Chapter of the *Brundrecal*, (which is their *Alcoran*.)²⁰ This, however, is thought to be a meer Strain upon the Text: For the Words are these; *That all true Believers shall break their Eggs at the convenient End*: and which is the convenient End, seems,

15 *one of his Fingers*: cf. Swift's imitation of Horace, *Odes*, II.i: 'For Madmen, Children, Wits and Fools / Shou'd never meddle with Edg'd Tools' (Williams, *Poems*, p. 181, lines 31–2).

16 *on that Account*: cf. Swift's comment on the particular virulency of religious disputes in *The Advantages Propos'd by Repealing the Sacramental Test* (1732): 'For in Religious Quarrels, it is of little Moment how few or small the Differences are; especially when the Dispute is only about Power' (Davis, vol. XII, p. 247).

17 *another his Crown*: references to the execution of Charles I in 1649, and to the deposition or abdication of James II in 1689.

18 *fled for Refuge to that Empire*: France had offered asylum to English royalists during the Civil War and after 1688. Swift's friends Bolingbroke (in 1715) and Francis Atterbury (following his trial in 1723) had both sought refuge in France.

19 *holding Employments*: Swift was an unrepentant advocate of the confessional state, in which (as he put it in 1732): 'there is one certain Form of Worship and Ceremony, which is looked upon as the Established; and consequently only the Priests of that particular Form, are maintained at the publick Charge; and all Civil Employments are bestowed among those who comply (at least outwardly) with the same Establishment' (Davis, vol. XII, p. 243; cf. also Swift's earlier defence of the same principle in *The Sentiments of a Church-of-England Man*; Davis, vol. II, p. 6). In England the crucial pieces of legislation were the Test Acts, which had been passed since the Restoration (1661, 1672 and 1678), and which required the holders of public office to conform to the Church of England. See Long note 21.

20 *Alcoran*: the Koran.

in my humble Opinion, to be left to every Man's Conscience, or at least in the Power of the chief Magistrate to determine.²¹ Now the *Big-Endian* Exiles have found so much Credit in the Emperor of *Blefuscu's* Court; and so much private Assistance and Encouragement from their Party here at home, that a bloody War hath been carried on between the two Empires for six and thirty Moons with various Success; during which Time we have lost Forty Capital Ships, and a much greater Number of smaller Vessels, together with thirty thousand of our best Seamen and Soldiers; and the Damage received by the Enemy is reckoned to be somewhat greater than ours. However, they have now equipped a numerous Fleet, and are just preparing to make a Descent upon us: And his Imperial Majesty, placing great Confidence in your Valour and Strength, hath commanded me to lay this Account of his Affairs before you.

I desired the Secretary to present my humble Duty to the Emperor, and to let him know, that I thought it would not become me, who was a Foreigner, to interfere with Parties; but I was ready, with the Hazard of my Life, to defend his Person and State against all Invaders.²²

21 *to determine*: Gulliver's response here seems close to the opinions of Swift, who acknowledged a private right of conscience, but who also was adamant in the matter of public conformity: 'Liberty of conscience, properly speaking, is no more than the liberty of possessing our own thoughts and opinions, which every man enjoys without fear of the magistrate: But how far he shall publicly act in pursuance of those opinions, is to be regulated by the laws of the country' ('Thoughts on Religion', Davis, vol. IX, p. 263). This is also the sentiment of the King of Brobdingnag, in Part II, Chapter 6 (below, p. 187). In *The Sentiments of a Church-of-England Man* (1708), Swift wrote: 'any great Separation from the established Worship, although to a new one that is more pure and perfect, may be an Occasion of endangering the publick Peace; because, it will compose a Body always in Reserve, prepared to follow any discontented Heads, upon the plausible Pretexs of advancing *true Religion*, and opposing Error, Superstition, or Idolatry. For this Reason, *Plato* lays it down as a Maxim, that *Men ought to worship the Gods, according to the Larws of the Country*. . . So that, upon the whole, where *Sects* are tolerated in a State, it is fit they should enjoy a full Liberty of Conscience, and every other Privilege of free-born Subjects, *to which no Power is annexed*. And to preserve their Obedience upon all Emergencies, a Government cannot give them too much Ease, nor trust them with too little *Power*' (Davis, vol. II, pp. 11–12). See Long note 21.

22 *against all Invaders*: Gulliver's willingness to serve the Emperor of Lilliput in his wars reinforces the trace of parallelism with Marlborough which emerges fleetingly in Chapter 3 above. In his sermon on 'Doing Good' (1724) Swift noted that 'it hath been observed in most ages, that the greatest actions, for the benefit of the commonwealth, have been performed by the wisdom or courage, the contrivance or industry, of particular men, and not of numbers; and that the safety of a kingdom hath often been owing to those hands from whence it was least expected' (Davis, vol. IX, pp. 234–5).

CHAPTER V.

The Author by an extraordinary Stratagem¹ prevents an Invasion.² A high Title of Honour is conferred upon him. Ambassadors arrive from the Emperor of Blefuscu, and sue for Peace. The Empress's Apartment on fire by an Accident; the Author instrumental in saving the rest of the Palace.

The Empire of *Blefuscu*, is an Island situated to the North North-East Side of *Lilliput*, from whence it is parted only by a Channel of eight Hundred Yards wide. I had not yet seen it, and upon this Notice of an intended Invasion, I avoided appearing on that Side of the Coast, for fear of being discovered by some of the Enemies Ships, who had received no Intelligence of me; all intercourse between the two Empires having been strictly forbidden during the War, upon Pain of Death; and an Embargo³ laid by our Emperor upon all Vessels whatsoever. I communicated to his Majesty a Project I had formed of seizing the Enemies whole Fleet;⁴ which,

1 *extraordinary Stratagem*: cf. John Michelbourne, *Ireland Preserv'd: or the Siege of London-derry* (1705), in which the city is delivered by a comical 'extraordinary Stratagem' (p. 109).

2 *an Invasion*: in his 'Directions for a Birth-day Song' (1729), Swift recalled Gulliver's naval exploits in a context of ridicule: 'But now it comes into my mind, / We left a little Duke behind; / A Cupid in his face and size, / And only wants to want his eyes. / Make some provision for the Yonker, / Find him a Kingdom out to conquer; / Prepare a Fleet to waft him o'r'e, / Make Gulliver his Commodore, / Into whose pocket valiant Willy put, / Will soon subdue the Realm of Lilliput' (Williams, *Poems*, pp. 466–7, lines 199–208). The 'little Duke' is William Augustus, the future victor of Culloden (1745), who had been born in 1721 and was ennobled as Duke of Cumberland in 1726.

3 *Embargo*: a prohibitory order, forbidding the ships of a foreign power to enter or leave the ports of a country, or native ships to proceed thither, generally issued in anticipation of war (*OED*, 1).

4 *whole Fleet*: Gulliver's naval exploits reflect the Tory preference for waging war by sea rather than by land. In *The Conduct of the Allies* (1711) Swift passionately criticized the land campaigns led by Marlborough in the War of the Spanish Succession, and insisted on the greater rewards and lower costs of a sea campaign: 'But great Events often turn upon very small Circumstances. It was the Kingdom's Misfortune, that the Sea was not the Duke of *Marlborough's* Element, otherwise the whole Force of the War would infallibly have been bestowed there, infinitely to the Advantage of his Country, which would then have gone hand in hand with his own' (*CWJS*, vol. VIII, p. 64; Davis, vol. VI, p. 23). This Tory aspect of Gulliver is in clear tension

as our Scouts assured us, lay at Anchor in the Harbour ready to sail with the first fair Wind. I consulted the most experienced Seamen, upon the Depth of the Channel, which they had often plummed;⁵ who told me, that in the Middle at high Water it was seventy *Glumgluffs* deep, which is about six Foot of *European* Measure; and the rest of it fifty *Glumgluffs* at most. I walked to the North-East Coast over against *Blefuscu*; where, lying down behind a Hillock, I took out my small Pocket Perspective Glass,⁶ and viewed the Enemy's Fleet at Anchor, consisting of about fifty Men of War, and a great Number of Transports;⁷ I then came back to my House, and gave Order (for which I had a Warrant) for a great Quantity of the strongest Cable and Bars of Iron. The Cable was about as thick as Packthread, and the Bars of the Length and Size of a Knitting-Needle. I trebled the Cable to make it stronger; and for the same Reason I twisted three of the Iron Bars together, bending the Extremities into a Hook. Having thus fixed fifty Hooks to as many Cables, I went back to the North-East Coast, and putting off my Coat, Shoes, and Stockings, walked into the Sea in my Leathern Jerken, about half an Hour before high Water. I waded with what Haste I could, and swam in the Middle about thirty Yards until I felt the Ground; I arrived to the Fleet in less than half an Hour. The Enemy was so frightened when they saw me, that they leaped out of their Ships, and swam to Shore; where there could not be fewer than thirty thousand Souls. I then took my Tackling,⁸ and fastning a Hook to the Hole at the Prow of each, I tyed all the Cords together at the End. While I was thus employed, the Enemy discharged several Thousand Arrows, many of which stuck in my Hands and Face; and besides the excessive Smart, gave me much Disturbance in my Work. My greatest Apprehension was for mine Eyes, which I should have infallibly lost, if I had not suddenly thought of an Expedient. I kept, among other little Necessaries, a Pair of Spectacles in a private Pocket, which, as I observed before, had escaped

with the fleeting affinities between Gulliver and Marlborough which Swift elsewhere allows to be glimpsed.

5 *plummed*: measured the depth with a plumb line (*OED* sv 'plumb', 2 a).

6 *Perspective Glass*: pocket telescope. The phrase had some currency in Scriblerian satire: Pope had said of the 'true Genius for the Profund' that 'his eyes should be like unto the wrong end of a perspective glass, by which all the objects of nature are lessen'd' (Pope, *Prose Works*, vol. II, pp. 191 and 192).

7 *Transports*: a vessel employed in transporting soldiers, military stores or convicts (*OED*, 4).

8 *Tackling*: instruments designed for offensive purposes (*OED*, 3).

the Emperor's Searchers. These I took out, and fastened as strongly as I could upon my Nose; and thus armed went on boldly with my Work in spite of the Enemy's Arrows; many of which struck against the Glasses of my Spectacles, but without any other Effect, further than a little to discompose them. I had now fastened all the Hooks, and taking the Knot in my Hand, began to pull; but not a Ship would stir, for they were all too fast held by their Anchors; so that the boldest Part of my Enterprize remained. I therefore let go the Cord, and leaving the Hooks fixed to the Ships, I resolutely cut with my Knife the Cables that fastened the Anchors; receiving above two hundred Shots in my Face and Hands: Then I took up the knotted End of the Cables to which my Hooks were tyed; and with great Ease drew fifty of the Enemy's largest Men of War after me.

The *Blefuscutians*, who had not the least Imagination of what I intended, were at first confounded with Astonishment. They had seen me cut the Cables, and thought my Design was only to let the Ships run a-drift, or fall foul on each other:⁹ But when they perceived the whole Fleet moving in Order, and saw me pulling at the End; they set up such a Scream of Grief and Dispair, that it is almost impossible to describe or conceive. When I had got out of Danger, I stopt a while to pick out the Arrows that stuck in my Hands and Face, and rubbed on some of the same Ointment that was given me at my first Arrival, as I have formerly mentioned. I then took off my Spectacles, and waiting about an Hour until the Tyde was a little fallen, I waded through the Middle with my Cargo, and arrived safe at the Royal Port of *Lilliput*.

The Emperor and his whole Court stood on the Shore, expecting the Issue of this great Adventure. They saw the Ships move forward in a large Half-Moon; but could not discern me, who was up to my Breast in Water. When I advanced to the Middle of the Channel, they were yet more in Pain because I was under Water to my Neck. The Emperor concluded me to be drowned, and that the Enemy's Fleet was approaching in a hostile Manner: But he was soon eased of his Fears; for the Channel growing shallower every Step I made, I came in a short Time within Hearing; and holding up the End of the Cable by which the Fleet was fastened, I cried in a loud Voice, *Long live the most puissant Emperor of Lilliput!* This great Prince received me at my Landing with all possible Encomiums, and

9 *fall foul on each other*: to collide (OED, 'fall' 87 a).

created me a *Nardac* upon the Spot, which is the highest Title of Honour¹⁰ among them.

His Majesty desired I would take some other Opportunity of bringing all the rest of his Enemy's Ships into his Ports. And so unmeasurable is the Ambition of Princes, that he seemed to think of nothing less than reducing the whole Empire of *Blefuscu* into a Province, and governing it by a Viceroy;¹¹ of destroying the *Big-Indian* Exiles, and compelling that People to break the smaller End of their Eggs; by which he would remain sole Monarch of the whole World. But I endeavoured to divert him from this Design, by many Arguments drawn from the Topicks¹² of Policy as well as Justice: And I plainly protested, that I would never be an Instrument of bringing a free and brave People into Slavery: And when the Matter was debated in Council, the wisest Part of the Ministry were of my Opinion.¹³

This open bold Declaration of mine was so opposite to the Schemes and Politicks of his Imperial Majesty, that he could never forgive me: He mentioned it in a very artful Manner at Council, where, I was told, that some of the wisest appeared, at least by their Silence, to be of my Opinion; but others, who were my secret Enemies, could not forbear some Expressions, which by a Side-wind¹⁴ reflected on me. And from this Time began an Intrigue between his Majesty, and a Junta¹⁵ of Ministers

10 *highest Title of Honour*: cf. the Earl of Peterborough's playful bestowing of this title on Swift in a letter of 29 November 1726 (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, p. 61).

11 *Viceroy*: one who acts as the governor of a country, province, etc., in the name and by the authority of the supreme ruler; literally, a vice-king (*OED*, 1). In Swift's day Ireland was governed by an English Viceroy.

12 *Topicks*: a 'commonplace' or general maxim.

13 *of my Opinion*: another moment in which prudence and humanity are rival motives.

14 *Side-wind*: an indirect means, method, or manner (*OED*, 2), with a connotation of the malicious, surreptitious and underhand. Cf. Anon., *The English Theophrastus*, third edition (1708), p. 112: 'a kind of side-wind Satyr'; and Joseph Browne, *State Tracts* (1715), vol. I, p. 157: 'We did it by a Side-wind, so that we might never be called to Account.' A 'side-wind reflection' is a malicious insinuation, and the phrase is common in political writing of the early eighteenth century: e.g. Anon., *Aminadab's Letter to the Author of a Paper called, The Independent Whig* (1721), p. 24; Boyer, *Annals*, vol. III, p. 178; vol. X, pp. 264 and 277.

15 *Junta*: a body of men who have joined or combined for a common purpose, especially of a political character; a self-elected committee or council; a clique, faction or cabal; a club or coterie (*OED*, 1). Glossed by Swift in the *History of the Four Last Years* as a 'Cant name given to five Lords of that Party [i.e. the Whigs]' (Davis, vol. VII, p. 13, n.*). In his imitation of Horace's *Ep.* I. vii, Swift describes himself as one who had 'Libell'd all the Junta round'

maliciously bent against me, which broke out in less than two Months, and had like to have ended in my utter Destruction. Of so little Weight are the greatest Services to Princes, when put into the Balance with a Refusal to gratify their Passions.

About three Weeks after this Exploit, there arrived a solemn Embassy from *Blefuscu*, with humble Offers of a Peace; which was soon concluded upon Conditions very advantageous to our Emperor; wherewith I shall not trouble the Reader. There were six Ambassadors, with a Train of about five Hundred Persons; and their Entry was very magnificent, suitable to the Grandeur of their Master, and the Importance of their Business. When their Treaty was finished, wherein I did them several good Offices by the Credit I now had, or at least appeared to have at Court; their Excellencies, who were privately told how much I had been their Friend, made me a Visit in Form.¹⁶ They began with many Compliments upon my Valour and Generosity; invited me to that Kingdom in the Emperor their Master's Name; and desired me to shew them some Proofs of my prodigious Strength, of which they had heard so many Wonders; wherein I readily obliged them, but shall not interrupt the Reader with the Particulars.

When I had for some time entertained their Excellencies to their infinite Satisfaction and Surprise, I desired they would do me the Honour to present my most humble Respects to the Emperor their Master, the Renown of whose Virtues had so justly filled the whole World with Admiration, and whose Royal Person I resolved to attend before I returned to my own Country. Accordingly, the next time I had the Honour to see our Emperor, I desired his general Licence to wait on the *Blefusculian* Monarch, which he was pleased to grant me, as I could plainly perceive, in a very cold Manner; but could not guess the Reason, till I had a Whisper from a certain Person, that *Flimnap* and *Bolgolam* had represented my Intercourse with those Ambassadors, as a Mark of Disaffection,¹⁷ from

(Williams, *Poems*, p. 171, line 38). Note also the mocking use of the word in Scriblerian *jeux d'esprit* (e.g. Williams, *Poems*, p. 185).

16 *Visit in Form*: a formal visit.

17 *Mark of Disaffection*: the condition of want of loyalty to the current royal dynasty and administration. Cf. Swift to Pope, 3 September 1735: 'I heartily wish you were what they call disaffected, as I am' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. IV, p. 177). On 6 December 1737 Lord Bathurst had told Swift affectionately that he was 'a disaffected person, such y^u will be reputed as long as y^u live' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. IV, p. 482).

which I am sure my Heart was wholly free.¹⁸ And this was the first time I began to conceive some imperfect Idea of Courts and Ministers.¹⁹

It is to be observed, that these Ambassadors spoke to me by an Interpreter; the Languages of both Empires differing as much from each other as any two in *Europe*, and each Nation priding itself upon the Antiquity, Beauty, and Energy of their own Tongues, with an avowed Contempt for that of their Neighbour: Yet our Emperor standing upon the Advantage he had got by the Seizure of their Fleet, obliged them to deliver their Credentials, and make their Speech in the *Lilliputian* Tongue. And it must be confessed, that from the great Intercourse of Trade and Commerce between both Realms; from the continual Reception of Exiles, which is mutual among them; and from the Custom in each Empire to send their young Nobility and richer Gentry to the other, in order to polish themselves,²⁰ by seeing the World, and understanding Men and Manners; there are few Persons of Distinction, or Merchants, or Seamen, who dwell in the Maritime Parts, but what can hold Conversation in both Tongues; as I found some Weeks after, when I went to pay my Respects to the Emperor of *Blefuscu*, which in the Midst of great Misfortunes, through the Malice of my Enemies, proved a very happy Adventure to me, as I shall relate in its proper Place.

The Reader may remember, that when I signed those Articles upon which I recovered my Liberty, there were some which I disliked upon Account of their being too servile, neither could any thing but an extreme Necessity have forced me to submit. But being now a *Nardac*, of the highest Rank in that Empire, such Offices were looked upon as below my Dignity; and the Emperor (to do him Justice) never once mentioned them to me. However, it was not long before I had an Opportunity of doing his Majesty, at least, as I then thought, a most signal Service. I was alarmed at Midnight with the Cries of many Hundred People at my Door; by which

18 *wholly free*: note the very similar language Swift uses of himself in 'An Enquiry into the Behaviour of the Queen's Last Ministry': 'As my own Heart was free from all treasonable Thoughts, so I did little Imagine my self to be perpetually in the Company of Traytors' (Davis, vol. VIII, p. 134; cf. Ehrenpreis, vol. III, p. 447).

19 *Courts and Ministers*: see Long note 14.

20 *in order to polish themselves*: a parallel to English justifications for engaging in the Grand Tour of Europe. For an influential account of the moral and educational benefits of travel which duplicates many of the benefits listed by Gulliver, see, e.g., 'A Preface to the Reader, Concerning Travelling', in Richard Lassels, *The Voyage of Italy* (1670), sigs. a1^r–i5^r.

being suddenly awaked, I was in some Kind of Terror. I heard the Word *Burghum* repeated incessantly; several of the Emperor's Court making their Way through the Croud, intreated me to come immediately to the Palace, where her Imperial Majesty's Apartment was on fire, by the Carelessness of a Maid of Honour, who fell asleep while she was reading a Romance.²¹ I got up in an Instant; and Orders being given to clear the Way before me; and it being likewise a Moon-shine Night, I made a shift to get to the Palace without trampling on any of the People. I found they had already applied Ladders to the Walls of the Apartment, and were well provided with Buckets, but the Water was at some Distance. These Buckets were about the Size of a large Thimble, and the poor People supplied me with them as fast as they could; but the Flame was so violent, that they did little Good. I might easily have stifled it with my Coat, which I unfortunately left behind me for haste, and came away only in my Leathern Jerkin.²² The Case seemed wholly desperate and deplorable; and this magnificent Palace would have infallibly been burnt down to the Ground, if, by a Presence of Mind, unusual to me, I had not suddenly thought of an Expedient. I had the Evening before drank plentifully of a most delicious Wine, called *Glimigrim*, (the *Blefuscutians* call it *Flunec*, but ours is esteemed the better Sort) which is very diuretick.²³ By the luckiest Chance in the World, I

21 *reading a Romance*: a fictitious narrative in prose of which the scene and incidents are very remote from those of ordinary life (*OED*, 3). Swift disapproved strongly of such works. In 'Hints: Education of Ladyes' he wrote: 'No French Romances, and few plays for young Ladyes' (Davis, vol. XII, p. 308). In so doing, he was following what he says was the practice of Lord Falkland, who did not consult his waiting women on the choice of language 'because it was possible she might be conversant in Romances' (Davis, vol. IX, p. 65). In his view, romances aroused expectations which could not be fulfilled, as he stated in *A Letter to a Young Lady, on her Marriage* when he recommended: 'a Match of Prudence, and common Good-liking, without any Mixture of that ridiculous Passion which hath no Being, but in Play-Books and Romances' (Davis, vol. IX, p. 89). Nor was Swift always impressed by the care and dutifulness of servants. In the *Journal to Stella* he twice refers to fires which were caused by the carelessness of servants (Williams, *JSt*, pp. 502, 608 and 610). Laetitia Pilkington records that Swift's predecessor as Dean was 'extreamly fearful of Fire', and had constructed the Deanery with 'many Ways to escape in case of Danger' (Pilkington, vol. I, p. 81). Swift refers to this episode of *GT* in a letter of 28 November 1726 to Mrs Howard written in the character of Lemuel Gulliver (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, pp. 58–9).

22 *Leathern Jerkin*: in the letter of 'Lemuel Gulliver' to Mrs Howard of 28 November 1726, Swift refers to carrying away valuables from the palace fire in his 'wastecoat' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, p. 59).

23 *diuretick*: having the quality of exciting excretion or discharge of urine (*OED*, A). In Section 10 of *A Tale of a Tub* Swift described laughter as 'the most innocent of all *Diureticks*' (*CWJS*, vol. I, p. 119; Davis, vol. I, p. 117).

had not discharged myself of any Part of it. The Heat I had contracted by coming very near the Flames, and by my labouring to quench them, made the Wine begin to operate by Urine; which I voided in such a Quantity, and applied so well to the proper Places, that in three Minutes the Fire was wholly extinguished; and the rest of that noble Pile, which had cost so many Ages in erecting, preserved from Destruction.²⁴

It was now Day-light, and I returned to my House, without waiting to congratulate with the Emperor; because, although I had done a very eminent Piece of Service, yet I could not tell how his Majesty might resent the Manner by which I had performed it: For, by the fundamental Laws of the Realm, it is Capital²⁵ in any Person, of what Quality soever, to make water within the Precincts of the Palace.²⁶ But I was a little comforted by a Message from his Majesty, that he would give Orders to the Grand Justiciary for passing my Pardon in Form;²⁷ which, however, I could not obtain. And I was privately assured, that the Empress conceiving the

24 *from Destruction*: cf. Rabelais, *Gargantua and Pantagruel*, I.xvii, where Gargantua inundates the people of Paris with urine (Rabelais, p. 50). For a Scriblerian parallel, cf. the pissing competition in *The Dunciad*, II.157–90. In Section 11 of *A Tale of a Tub* one of Jack's 'Roguish' tricks is, whenever 'Curiosity attracted Strangers to Laugh, or to Listen' to him praying, 'he would of a sudden, with one Hand out with his Gear, and piss full in their Eyes, and with the other, all to bespatter them with Mud' (*CWJS*, vol. I, p. 126; Davis, vol. I, pp. 124–5). The sly indecency of the episode connects it to the notorious hint in Part II, Chapter 5 (below, p. 168) that Gulliver was used as a dildo by the maids of honour in Brobdingnag, where prodigious urination is also mentioned. For political interpretations of this episode see *Four Essays*, p. 75 and Lock, *Politics*, pp. 108–9. The conclusion of section I of Temple's 'Of Popular Discontents' is relevant: 'In such Cases when the Flame [the Commotions and Seditions of a People] breaks out, all that can be done is to remove as fast as can be all Materials that are like to increase it, to employ all Ways and Methods of quenching it, to repair the Breaches and Losses it has occasioned, and to bear with Patience what could not be avoided, or cannot be remedied' (Temple, vol. I, p. 259); for other instances, cf. Rawson, *GGG*, pp. 373–4, n. 96. Cf. also Toland's account of how the priest of Canops overcame the fire-god of the Chaldeans in his *The Agreement of the Customs of the East-Indians with those of the Jews* (1705), pp. 24–5.

25 *Capital*: punishable by death.

26 *within the Precincts of the Palace*: a possible bull, in that it would be impossible to avoid this absolutely. Cf. Swift's mockery of Cassinus's squeamishness about defecation (which however Swift seems partially to have shared), when he describes Cælia's need to defecate as 'A Crime that shocks all human Kind; / A Deed unknown to Female Race, / At which the Sun should hide his Face' ('Cassinus and Peter', lines 68–70; Williams, *Poems*, p. 595).

27 *in Form*: according to the rules or prescribed methods; also, as a matter of merely formal procedure, formally (*OED*, 11 b).

greatest Abhorrence²⁸ of what I had done, removed to the most distant Side of the Court, firmly resolved that those Buildings should never be repaired for her Use; and, in the Presence of her chief Confidants, could not forbear vowing Revenge.

28 *greatest Abhorrence*: according to Erasmus Lewis in a letter to Swift of 27 July 1714, Anne justified her dismissal of Oxford by reference to, *inter alia*, the fact that 'he never came to her at the time she appointed, that he often came drunk, that lastly to crown all he behav'd himself towards her with ill manner indecency & disrespect' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. II, p. 31). Charles Firth followed Sir Walter Scott in finding in this episode a ludicrous parallel with Anne's supposed disgust at *A Tale of a Tub* (Firth, p. 241): cf. Swift's versification of this, 'The Author upon Himself', esp. lines 47–52, in which Anne is referred to as 'a Royal Prude' (line 2; Williams, *Poems*, pp. 195 and 193).

CHAPTER VI.

Of the Inhabitants of Lilliput; their Learning, Laws, and Customs. The Manner of Educating their Children. The Author's Way of living in that Country. His Vindication of a great Lady.

Although I intend to leave the Description of this Empire to a particular Treatise,¹ yet in the mean time I am content to gratify the curious Reader with some general Ideas. As the common Size of the Natives is somewhat under six Inches, so there is an exact Proportion in all other Animals, as well as Plants and Trees:² For Instance, the tallest Horses and Oxen are between four and five Inches in Height, the Sheep an Inch and a half, more or less; their Geese about the Bigness of a Sparrow; and so the several Gradations downwards, till you come to the smallest, which, to my Sight, were almost invisible; but Nature hath adapted the Eyes of the *Lilliputians* to all Objects proper for their View: They see with great Exactness, but at no great Distance. And to show the Sharpness of their Sight towards Objects that are near, I have been much pleased with observing a Cook pulling³ a Lark, which was not so large as a common Fly;⁴ and a young Girl threading an invisible Needle with invisible Silk. Their tallest Trees are about seven Foot high; I mean some of those in the great Royal Park, the Tops whereof I could but just reach with my Fist clinched. The other Vegetables are in the same Proportion: But this I leave to the Reader's Imagination.

1 *a particular Treatise*: another 'mock-book' detail. Note the abrupt change in the style of this chapter, in which Lilliputian institutions are presented as embodiments of unconventional wisdom, as compared with the satire of earlier chapters.

2 *Plants and Trees*: on the ratio between the Lilliputian and the European, see above p. 34, n. 32.

3 *pulling*: plucking (*OED*, I 1).

4 *so large as a common Fly*: cf. the parallel episode in Part II, Chapter 3, in which Gulliver attacks Brobdingnagian flies, 'each of them as big as a *Dunstable* Lark' (below, p. 153).

I shall say but little at present of their Learning, which for many Ages hath flourished in all its Branches among them: But their Manner of Writing is very peculiar; being neither from the Left to the Right, like the *Europeans*; nor from the Right to the Left, like the *Arabians*; nor from up to down, like the *Chinese*; nor from down to up, like the *Cascagians*; but aslant from one Corner of the Paper to the other, like Ladies in *England*.⁵

They bury their Dead with their Heads directly downwards;⁶ because they hold an Opinion, that in eleven Thousand Moons they are all to rise again; in which Period, the Earth (which they conceive to be flat) will turn upside down, and by this Means they shall, at their Resurrection, be found ready standing on their Feet. The Learned among them confess the

5 *Ladies in England*: Swift was particular about handwriting, his own as well as that of others. In the *Journal to Stella* he asks 'What makes Presto [i.e. Swift] write so crooked?' (Williams, *JSt*, pp. 313–14), and he concludes his 'Hints: Education of Ladies' by regretting that 'not one in a million can properly be said to read or write, or understand' (Davis, vol. XII, p. 308). Exceptions to the rule would be praised, as when on 28 December 1730 Swift congratulated Mrs Whiteway on having 'neither the scrawl nor the spelling of your sex' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, p. 352; cf. Defoe, *Literature*, p. 111); those who exemplified it would be chided, as Mrs Pendarves records in her letter to Swift of 21 July 1733 (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, p. 671). Swift would have read about the ethnography of handwriting in Temple's 'Of Heroic Virtue', where Chinese writing is described as 'neither from the Left Hand to the Right like the *European*, nor from Right to Left like the *Asiatick* Languages, but from Top to Bottom of the Paper in one strait Line, and then beginning again at the Top till the Side be full' (Temple, vol. I, p. 201). There is a parallel passage in 'William Symson', *A New Voyage to the East-Indies* (1715), pp. 35–6, which R. W. Frantz believes was adapted from John Ovington, *Voyage to Suratt* (1696): see above, p. 7, n. 10. Gulliver's slur on the handwriting of English ladies was often referred to by Swift's correspondents; for examples, see Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, pp. 54, 520 and 702.

6 *directly downwards*: a detail drawn from actual travel literature. In Jean de Thevenot's *Voyages* (Paris, 1684) there is an account of inverted burial: see Dirk Passmann, 'Jean de Thevenot and Burials in Lilliput', *N&Q*, New Series, 33 (1986), 50–1. Upright burials are reported in John Huyghen Van Linschoten. *His Discours of Voyages into ye Easte & West Indies* (1598), p. 263, Herman Moll's *Atlas* (1709) and Thomas Herbert, *A Relation of Some Yeares Travaile* (1634), p. 89. Both these books were in Swift's library (*Library and Reading*, pp. 831–3 and 1077–9): see also Higgins, 'Hints'. For the peculiar burial practices of the ancient Greeks, see Diogenes Laertius, I.xlviii and Plutarch, 'Solon', X.3–4. Orrery alleged that this detail showed that Swift wished to place 'the resurrection . . . in a ridiculous and contemptible light' (*Remarks*, p. 94); an allegation vigorously rejected by Deane Swift (*Essay*, pp. 208–9). However, Orrery's comment draws attention to Swift's conspicuous silence on matters of religion in *GT*, which Hume explained to Gilbert Elliot of Minto on 18 February 1751 with some shrewdness: 'I have frequently had it in my Intentions to write a Supplement to *Gulliver*, containing the Ridicule of Priests. Twas certainly a Pity that Swift was a Parson. Had he been a Lawyer or Physician, we had nevertheless been entertain'd at the Expense of these Professions. But Priests are so jealous, that they cannot bear to be touch'd on that Head; and for a plain Reason: Because they are conscious they are really ridiculous' (Hume, *Letters*, vol. I, p. 153).

Absurdity of this Doctrine; but the Practice still continues, in Compliance to the Vulgar.

There are some Laws and Customs in this Empire very peculiar; and if they were not so directly contrary to those of my own dear Country, I should be tempted to say a little in their Justification. It is only to be wished, that they were as well executed. The first I shall mention, relateth to Informers. All Crimes against the State, are punished here with the utmost Severity; but if the Person accused make his Innocence plainly to appear upon his Tryal, the Accuser is immediately put to an ignominious Death; and out of his Goods or Lands, the innocent Person is quadruply recompensed for the Loss of his Time, for the Danger he underwent, for the Hardship of his Imprisonment, and for all the Charges he hath been at⁷ in making his Defence. Or, if that Fund be deficient, it is largely supplied by the Crown. The Emperor doth also confer on him some publick Mark of his Favour; and Proclamation is made of his Innocence through the whole City.

They look upon Fraud as a greater Crime than Theft, and therefore seldom fail to punish it with Death: For they alledge, that Care and Vigilance, with a very common Understanding, may preserve a Man's Goods from Thieves; but Honesty hath no Fence against superior Cunning: And since it is necessary that there should be a perpetual Intercourse of buying and selling, and dealing upon Credit; where Fraud is permitted or connived at, or hath no Law to punish it, the honest Dealer is always undone, and the Knave gets the Advantage. I remember when I was once interceeding with the King for a Criminal who had wronged his Master of a great Sum of Money, which he had received by Order, and ran away with; and happening to tell his Majesty, by way of Extenuation, that it was only a Breach of Trust; the Emperor thought it monstrous in me to offer, as a Defence, the greatest Aggravation of the Crime: And truly, I had little to say in Return, farther than the common Answer, that different Nations had different Customs;⁸ for, I confess, I was heartily ashamed.

⁷ *Charges he hath been at*: expenses he has incurred.

⁸ *different Customs*: possibly verging on the proverbial (see John Ray, *A Compleat Collection of English Proverbs*, third edition (1737), p. 91: 'So many *countries* so many customs'); cf. also the Latin tag, *tot homines, quot sententiae* ('as many opinions as men'). Although Gulliver shamefacedly appeals to variations in human nature, *GT* is premised upon the doctrine of a universal human nature, as Swift's exchange with the abbé Desfontaines demonstrates

Although we usually call Reward and Punishment, the two Hinges⁹ upon which all Government turns; yet I could never observe this Maxim to be put in Practice by any Nation except that of *Lilliput*.¹⁰ Whoever can there bring sufficient Proof that he hath strictly observed the Laws of his Country for Seventy-three Moons, hath a Claim to certain Privileges, according to his Quality and Condition of Life, with a proportionable Sum of Money out of a Fund appropriated for that Use: He likewise acquires the Title of *Snilpall*, or *Legal*, which is added to his Name, but doth not descend to his Posterity. And these People thought it a prodigious Defect of Policy among us, when I told them that our Laws were enforced only by Penalties, without any Mention of Reward.¹¹ It is upon this account

(Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, pp. 97–8 and 109–13; also below, pp. 611–18; discussed in the 'Introduction', above, pp. lxxxvi–lxxxvii). It was a doctrine Swift could have adopted from Temple, who in 'Of Heroic Virtue' wrote: 'human Nature is the same in these Remote, as well as the other more known and celebrated Parts of the World' (Temple, vol. I, p. 210). It was not, however, an uncontested view. Locke had sought to demonstrate the absence of an innate human nature by an appeal to history and to travel literature (*Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, I.iii.10). For this he was roundly mocked by his former pupil, Anthony Ashley Cooper, third Earl of Shaftesbury (*Several Letters Written by a Noble Lord to a Young Man at the University* (1716), pp. 39–40).

9 *two Hinges*: here again we see the influence of Temple, who in 'Of Heroic Virtue' had written of China that 'The two great Hinges of all Governments, Reward and Punishment, are no where turned with greater Care', and in 'Of Popular Discontents' had referred to 'those two Points, upon which all Laws seem to turn, Reward, and Punishment' (Temple, vol. I, pp. 203 and 267). In his 'Answer to Several Letters from Unknown Hands' Swift mordantly defended the possibility that the native Irish might improve, for 'supposing the size of a native's understanding just equal to that of a dog or horse, I have often seen those two animals to be civilized by rewards, at least as much as by punishments' (Davis, vol. XII, p. 88). However, the saying was a commonplace, and existed in slightly varying forms: see, e.g., John Donne, *Pseudo-Martyr* (1610), p. 258; Edward Stillingfleet, *Six Sermons* (1669), p. 190; *Human Understanding*, II.xxi 'Power'; Benjamin Calamy, *Sermons Preached Upon Several Occasions*, fifth edition (1715), p. 348; and Blackstone, *Commentaries*, vol. I, p. 56. In his sermon 'On the Testimony of Conscience' Swift had commented that 'Fear and Hope are the two greatest natural Motives of Men's Actions' (Davis, vol. IX, p. 155); his own *Project for the Advancement of Religion and the Reformation of Manners* (1709) was arguably an attempt to turn the hinge of reward, and to 'encourage those who, from the Hope of future Reward, and Dread of future Punishment, will be moved to act with Justice and Integrity' (Davis, vol. II, pp. 58–9). The doublet of hope and fear occurs frequently in Swift's poetry: e.g. Williams, *Poems*, p. 420, line 24; p. 557, lines 117–18; and p. 711, line 777.

10 *except that of Lilliput*: cf. the practice of the Utopians: 'They not only deter people from crime by penalties, but they incite them to virtue by public honours' (*Utopia*, p. 82).

11 *Mention of Reward*: one of the central contentions in Swift's *A Project for the Advancement of Religion and the Reformation of Manners* (1709) is that 'if Stations of Power, Trust, Profit, and Honour were constantly made the Rewards of Virtue and Piety; such an Administration must needs have a mighty Influence on the Faith and Morals of the whole Kingdom: And

that the Image of Justice, in their Courts of Judicature, is formed with six Eyes, two before, as many behind, and on each Side one, to signify Circumspection; with a Bag of Gold open in her right Hand, and a Sword sheathed in her left, to shew she is more disposed to reward than to punish.

In chusing Persons for all Employments,¹² they have more Regard to good Morals than to great Abilities: For, since Government is necessary to Mankind, they believe that the common Size of human Understandings, is fitted to some Station or other; and that Providence never intended to make the Management of publick Affairs a Mystery,¹³ to be comprehended only by a few Persons of sublime Genius,¹⁴ of which there seldom are three born in an Age: But, they suppose Truth, Justice, Temperance, and the like, to be in every Man's Power; the Practice of which Virtues, assisted by Experience and a good Intention, would qualify any Man for the Service of his Country, except where a Course of Study is required. But they thought the Want of Moral Virtues was so far from being supplied by superior Endowments of the Mind, that Employments could never be put into such dangerous Hands as those of Persons so qualified; and at least, that the Mistakes committed by Ignorance in a virtuous Disposition, would never be of such fatal Consequence to the Publick Weal, as the Practices¹⁵ of a Man, whose Inclinations led him to be corrupt, and had great Abilities to manage, to multiply, and defend his Corruptions.

Men of great Abilities would *then* endeavour to excel in the Duties of a religious Life, in order to qualify themselves for publick Service' (Davis, vol. II, pp. 61–2).

- 12 *all Employments*: cf. the *Project for the Advancement of Religion and the Reformation of Manners* (1709): 'if Piety and Virtue were once reckoned Qualifications necessary to Preference . . . Things would soon take a new Face, and Religion receive a mighty Encouragement: Nor would the publick Weal be less advanced; since of nine Offices in ten that are ill executed, the Defect is not in Capacity or Understanding, but in common Honesty' (Davis, vol. II, pp. 48–9).
- 13 *a Mystery*: cf. the King of Brobdingnag's abomination of 'all *Mystery, Refinement, and Intrigue*' in politics (below, p. 194). In Section 2 of *The Mechanical Operation of the Spirit* (1704) Swift undertakes to make it clear that 'this Mystery, of venting spiritual Gifts is nothing but a *Trade*, acquired by as much Instruction, and mastered by equal Practice and Application as others are' (*CWJS*, vol. I, p. 178; Davis, vol. I, pp. 180–1).
- 14 *sublime Genius*: a phrase used of William III: cf. George Stepney, *An Essay Upon the Present Interest of England* (1701), p. 34 and *A Collection of State Tracts*, 3 vols. (1705–7), vol. III, p. 164.
- 15 *Practices*: machinations, treachery; trickery, artifice (*OED*, 6 a).

In like Manner, the Disbelief of a Divine Providence renders a Man incapable of holding any publick Station:¹⁶ For, since Kings avow themselves to be the Deputies of Providence, the *Lilliputians* think nothing can be more absurd than for a Prince to employ such Men as disown the Authority under which he acteth.

In relating these and the following Laws, I would only be understood to mean the original Institutions, and not the most scandalous Corruptions into which these People are fallen by the degenerate Nature of Man. For as to that infamous Practice of acquiring great Employments by dancing on the Ropes, or Badges of Favour and Distinction by leaping over Sticks, and creeping under them; the Reader is to observe, that they were first introduced by the Grand-father of the Emperor now reigning; and grew to the present Height, by the gradual Increase of Party and Faction.

Ingratitude is among them a capital Crime,¹⁷ as we read it to have been in some other Countries: For they reason thus; that whoever makes ill Returns to his Benefactor, must needs be a common Enemy to the rest of Mankind, from whom he hath received no Obligation; and therefore such a Man is not fit to live.¹⁸

Their Notions relating to the Duties of Parents and Children differ extremely from ours.¹⁹ For, since the Conjunction of Male and Female is founded upon the great Law of Nature, in order to propagate and continue the Species; the *Lilliputians* will needs have it, that Men and Women are joined together like other Animals, by the Motives of Concupiscence; and that their Tenderness towards their Young, proceedeth from the like natural Principle: For which Reason they will never allow, that a Child is

16 *any publick Station*: in *Utopia* religious unbelievers are 'offered no honours, entrusted with no offices, and given no public responsibility' (*Utopia*, p. 95). In his *Pensées diverses* (1682), however, Pierre Bayle had tried to unsettle this assumption of the social and moral unreliability of atheists by arguing that they could possess private and public virtues to the same extent as believers. Swift owned a copy of this work (*Library and Reading*, pp. 167–9).

17 *capital Crime*: cf. the Chevalier Ramsay on the institutions of ancient Persia: 'The chief Aim of the Laws in antient Persia, was to prevent the Corruption of the Heart: And for this Reason, the Persians punish'd Ingratitude, a Vice against which there is no Provision made by the Laws of other Nations' (Ramsay, *Travels*, vol. I, p. 5).

18 *not fit to live*: cf. Macduff's response to Malcolm's distorted self portrait and the question whether 'such a one be fit to govern': 'Fit to govern? / No, not to live' (*Macbeth*, IV.iii.101–3).

19 *differ extremely from ours*: the harmful consequences of natural affections within the family are a frequent topic in utopian writing: see Plutarch, 'Lycurgus' (XIV–XVI); Xenophon, *Constitution of the Lacedaemonians* (II–III); Plato, *Republic* (V.ix, 460C–D); More, *Utopia* (pp. 63–4 and 99); and Tommaso Campanella, *La città del sole* (1602).

under any Obligation to his Father for begetting him, or to his Mother for bringing him into the World;²⁰ which, considering the Miseries of human Life, was neither a Benefit in itself, nor intended so by his Parents, whose Thoughts in their Love-encounters were otherwise employed. Upon these, and the like Reasonings, their Opinion is, that Parents are the last of all others to be trusted with the Education of their own Children.²¹ And therefore they have in every Town publick Nurseries, where all Parents, except Cottagers and Labourers, are obliged to send their Infants of both Sexes to be reared and educated when they come to the Age of twenty Moons; at which Time they are supposed to have some Rudiments of Docility. These Schools are of several Kinds, suited to different Qualities,

20 *into the World*: cf. Cyrano de Bergerac's *Histoire comique de la lune* (1657): 'Children have no Obligation to Parents, for their Generation; it being a Task to which they were in Duty bound' (*Voyage to the Moon*, p. 103). It is a position endorsed by Bernard Mandeville, who in 'The Fifth Dialogue' to *The Fable of the Bees* has his spokesman, Cleomenes, pronounce the maxim that 'I know no Obligation for Benefits that never were intended' in response to his friend Horatio's statement of the received opinion that 'there is no Right more natural, nor more reasonable, than that which Men have over their Children; and what we owe our Parents can never be repaid' (*Fable of the Bees*, vol. II, p. 224). Implicit within the Lilliputian position is a rejection of patriarchalism (that is to say, the attempt to ground political authority on the authority possessed by parents over children). The most notorious defence of patriarchalism known to Swift was Sir Robert Filmer's *Patriarcha* (composed 1635–42; first published, 1680), which had been attacked by John Locke in *Two Treatises of Government* (1690). Swift had echoed Locke's arguments against patriarchalism in the fragmentary 'Further Thoughts on Religion' (Davis, vol. X, p. 264): see Myrddin Jones, 'Further Thoughts on Religion: Swift's Relationship to Filmer and Locke', *RES*, 9 (1958), 284–6.

21 *their own Children*: cf. Temple's 'Introduction to the History of England' on the communal rearing of children among the ancient Britons as a consequence of their custom of holding women in common: 'Every Woman's Children were attributed to him that had married her; but all had a Share in the Care and Defence of the whole Society, since no Man knew which were his own . . . by such a Custom they avoided the common Mischiefs of . . . the Partiality of Parents in the Education of all their own Children . . . Considerations which have fallen under the Care of many famous Lawgivers' (Temple, vol. II, p. 532). Such 'famous Lawgivers' included Lycurgus (Plutarch, 'Lycurgus', XVI) and Xenophon (*Constitution of the Lacedaemonians*, II). In 'Of Friendship' Montaigne noted those 'philosophers who held such natural bonds in contempt – witness Aristippus: when he was being pressed about the affection which he owed to his children since they had sprung from him, he began to spit, saying that that sprang from him too, and that we also engender lice and worms' (*Essays*, p. 208). Commenting on the customs of the Turks, Viscount Molesworth had partially defended their policy of separating Christian children from their parents: 'The forcing away Children from the poor Christian Parents, is accounted a great hardship, though it be for the worldly Profit and Advancement of those Children; bating the point of Religion, it is a far less Mischief to deprive Parents of their Sons and Daughters, in order to maintain them well, than to leave a heavy Charge upon their Hands, after having taken away the possibility of Nourishing and Educating them' (Molesworth, *Denmark*, p. 240).

and to both Sexes. They have certain Professors well skilled in preparing Children for such a Condition of Life as befits the Rank of their Parents, and their own Capacities as well as Inclinations. I shall first say something of the Male Nurseries, and then of the Female.

The Nurseries for Males of Noble or Eminent Birth,²² are provided with grave and learned Professors, and their several Deputies. The Clothes and Food of the Children are plain and simple. They are bred up in the Principles of Honour, Justice, Courage, Modesty, Clemency, Religion, and Love of their Country: They are always employed²³ in some Business, except in the Times of eating and sleeping, which are very short, and two Hours for Diversions, consisting of bodily Exercises. They are dressed by Men until four Years of Age, and then are obliged to dress themselves, although their Quality be ever so great; and the Women Attendants, who are aged proportionably to ours at fifty, perform only the most menial Offices. They are never suffered to converse with Servants, but go together in small or greater Numbers to take their Diversions, and always in the Presence of a Professor, or one of his Deputies; whereby they avoid those early bad Impressions of Folly and Vice to which our Children are subject. Their Parents are suffered to see them only twice a Year; the Visit is not to last above an Hour; they are allowed to kiss the Child at Meeting and Parting; but a Professor, who always standeth by on those Occasions, will not suffer them to whisper, or use any fondling Expressions, or bring any Presents of Toys, Sweet-meats, and the like.²⁴

The Pension²⁵ from each Family for the Education and Entertainment of a Child, upon Failure of due Payment, is levied by the Emperor's Officers.

The Nurseries for Children of ordinary Gentlemen, Merchants, Traders, and Handicrafts, are managed proportionably after the same Manner;

22 *Noble or Eminent Birth*: cf. the reference to the education of the nobility in the letter to Sympson (above, p. 10); and see Long note 7. Erasmus in the *Education of a Christian Prince* insists on the importance of education for the well-born (*Education*, p. 72).

23 *always employed*: the elimination of idleness is another common feature of utopias: cf. Xenophon, *Constitution of the Lacedaemonians*, III.1–4 and *Utopia*, p. 50.

24 *Sweet-meats, and the like*: this avoidance of indulgence of children is echoed in the regime of the Houyhnhnms, Part IV, Chapter 8 (below, p. 405). Swift included the resolve 'Not to be fond of Children' in his list of memoranda 'When I come to be old' (Davis, vol. I, p. xxxvii).

25 *Pension*: payment for board and lodging, or for the board and education of a pupil at a school (*OED*, 7 a, citing this passage).

only those designed for Trades, are put out Apprentices at seven Years old; whereas those of Persons of Quality continue in their Exercises until Fifteen, which answers to One and Twenty with us: But the Confinement is gradually lessened for the last three Years.

In the Female Nurseries, the young Girls of Quality are educated much like the Males, only they are dressed by orderly Servants of their own Sex, but always in the Presence of a Professor or Deputy, until they come to dress themselves, which is at five Years old. And if it be found that these Nurses ever presume to entertain the Girls with frightful or foolish Stories,²⁶ or the common Follies practised by Chamber-Maids²⁷ among us; they are publicly whipped thrice about the City, imprisoned for a Year, and banished for Life to the most desolate Parts of the Country. Thus the young Ladies there are as much ashamed of being Cowards and Fools, as the Men; and despise all personal Ornaments²⁸ beyond Decency

26 *foolish Stories*: cf. *Directions to Servants* (1745), where the 'Directions to the CHILDRENS-MAID' specify 'Tell the Children Stories of Spirits, when they offer to cry, &c.' (Davis, vol. XIII, p. 63). In *An Essay Concerning the Nature and Guilt of Lying* (1702), a work which influenced Swift's depiction of lying in Part IV (below, p. 557, n. 7), Charles Brent wrote that 'Much less is the Nurse to be held absolutely guiltless of Lying, when she keeps charming into a Infant's ear so many false and foolish Tales, or when, to deter a Child from an ill thing, she tells a Bugbear Story' (pp. 30–1). Cf. also Plato, *Republic*, II.xvii, 376E–379. Erasmus stipulated that a prince should not spend his boyhood 'among silly women' (*Education*, p. 8). Martinus Scriblerus was influenced by 'the historical Traditions of his Nurse' (*Scriblerus*, p. 108). However, Mandeville took a contrary view in 'The Fourth Dialogue' of *The Fable of the Bees* (first published in 1729, and so conceivably written partially in response to *GT*). Mandeville's spokesman Cleomenes, when asked by Horatio if 'Children reap great Benefit from the non-sensical Chat of Nurses', replies that 'It is of inestimable Use to them, and teaches them to think, as well as speak, much sooner and better, than with equal aptitude of Parts they would do without', on the grounds that 'the more an Infant, in Health, is talk'd to, and jumb'l'd about, the better it is for it . . . and for its Attendance in this early Education, to the wisest Matron in the World, I would prefer an active young Wench, whose Tongue never stands still' (*Fable of the Bees*, vol. II, p. 169).

27 *Chamber-Maids*: the garrulousness of chamber-maids was a common topic amongst Swift's contemporaries. John Trenchard had deplored 'the many evils and barbarous consequences arising from the idle and foolish stories of witches, spirits, and apparitions, first infused into our tender minds by nurses, chamber-maids, and old women, and afterwards continued and improved by tutors and priests' (*Cato's Letters*, number 138, 27 July 1723, vol. II, p. 954). The anonymous author of *Useful Transactions in Philosophy* (1709) had regretted that 'It is with much Difficulty that we bridle the Tongues of Nurses, Midwives and Chamber-maids' (p. 30). Tom Brown had specified 'Chamber-Maids . . . telling Tales' as a modern folly (*A Collection of all the Dialogues* (1704), p. 302). Cf. also Davis, vol. IX, p. 65.

28 *personal Ornaments*: in Thomas More's *Utopia* 'diamonds and garnets' are given to small children as 'ornaments during the early years of childhood. But when they have grown a bit older and notice that only small children like this kind of toy, they lay them aside' (*Utopia*,

and Cleanliness; neither did I perceive any Difference²⁹ in their Education, made by their Difference of Sex, only that the Exercises of the Females were not altogether so robust; and that some Rules were given them relating to domestick Life, and a smaller Compass of Learning was enjoyned them: For, their Maxim is, that among People of Quality, a Wife should be always a reasonable and agreeable Companion, because she cannot always be young.³⁰ When the Girls are twelve Years old, which among them is the marriageable Age, their Parents or Guardians take them home, with great Expressions of Gratitude to the Professors, and seldom without Tears of the young Lady and her Companions.³¹

In the Nurseries of Females of the meaner Sort, the Children are instructed in all Kinds of Works proper for their Sex, and their several Degrees: Those intended for Apprentices are dismissed at seven Years old, the rest are kept to eleven.

The meaner Families who have Children at these Nurseries, are obliged, besides their annual Pension, which is as low as possible, to return to the Steward of the Nursery a small Monthly Share of their Gettings, to be a Portion for the Child; and therefore all Parents are limited in their Expences by the Law. For the *Lilliputians* think nothing can be more unjust, than that People, in Subservience to their own Appetites, should bring Children into the World, and leave the Burthen of supporting them

p. 61). Contrast the avidity of the Yahoos for 'shining Stones' in Part IV, Chapter 7 (below, p. 392).

29 *any Difference*: the education of women on a similar footing to that of men is a feature of ancient Sparta (Xenophon, *Constitution of the Lacedaemonians*, I.3–5; Plutarch, 'Lycurgus', XIV), of Plato's *Republic* (V.iii, 451E–452B) and of More's *Utopia* (pp. 50 and 63–4).

30 *always be young*: the practice of the Lilliputians conforms closely to what Swift recommended in *A Letter to a Young Lady, on her Marriage* (1723): 'You have but a very few Years to be young and handsome in the Eyes of the World; and as few Months to be so in the Eyes of a Husband, who is not a Fool . . . You must, therefore, use all Endeavours to attain to some Degree of those Accomplishments, which your Husband most values in other People, and for which he is most valued himself. You must improve your Mind . . . And when you can bring yourself to comprehend and relish the good Sense of others, you will arrive, in Time, to think rightly yourself, and to become a reasonable and agreeable Companion' (Davis, vol. IX, pp. 89–90). However, in Swift's writings equality of education for women does not always produce a level of attainment equal to that of men: see Davis, vol. IX, pp. 91–2 and *Cadenus and Vanessa* (Williams, *Poems*, p. 688, lines 51–66).

31 *and her Companions*: the emotional austerity of the Lilliputian education of girls would have chimed with the advice Swift gave to Thomas Sheridan in June 1735: 'Pray take care of spy ling your younger daughters, or sty ling them Pets' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. IV, p. 126).

on the Publick.³² As to Persons of Quality, they give Security to appropriate a certain Sum for each Child, suitable to their Condition; and these Funds are always managed with good Husbandry, and the most exact Justice.

The Cottagers and Labourers keep their Children at home, their Business being only to till and cultivate the Earth; and therefore their Education is of little Consequence to the Publick; but the Old and Diseased among them are supported by Hospitals: For begging is a Trade unknown in this Empire.³³

And here it may perhaps divert the curious Reader, to give some Account of my Domestick,³⁴ and my Manner of living in this Country, during a Residence of nine Months and thirteen Days. Having a Head mechanically turned,³⁵ and being likewise forced by Necessity, I had made for myself a Table and Chair convenient enough, out of the largest Trees in the Royal Park. Two hundred Sempstresses were employed to make me Shirts, and Linnen for my Bed and Table, all of the strongest and coarsest kind they could get; which, however, they were forced to quilt together in several Folds; for the thickest was some Degrees finer than Lawn.³⁶ Their Linnen is usually three Inches wide, and three Foot make a Piece. The Sempstresses took my Measure as I lay on the Ground, one standing at my Neck, and another at my Mid-Leg, with a strong Cord extended, that each held by the End, while the third measured the Length of the Cord with a Rule of an Inch long. Then they measured my right Thumb, and desired no more; for by a mathematical Computation, that twice round the Thumb

32 *the Burthen of supporting them on the Publick*: in his sermon on the 'Causes of the Wretched Condition of Ireland' Swift deplored the fact that 'whereas, in all industrious Nations, Children are looked on as a Help to their Parents, with us, for want of being early trained to work, they are an intolerable Burthen at Home, and a grievous Charge upon the Public, as appeareth from the vast Number of ragged and naked Children in Town and Country, led about by strolling Women, trained up in Ignorance and all Manner of Vice' (Davis, vol. IX, p. 201). Cf. the full title of *A Modest Proposal* (1729): *A Modest Proposal for Preventing the Children of Poor People in Ireland, from being a Burden to their Parents or Country; and for Making them Beneficial to the Publick* (Davis, vol. XII, p. 109).

33 *unknown in this Empire*: for Swift's resentment of begging, see especially *A Proposal for Giving Badges to the Beggars* (1737) (Davis, vol. XIII, pp. 127–40). Sheridan tells a story of Swift attending a beggar's wedding incognito, and then chiding the beggars when he afterwards met them on the road for he 'mortally hated those sturdy vagrants' (Sheridan, pp. 343–4).

34 *my Domestick*: not in *OED* in the sense used here, where the noun is apparently a contraction of 'domestic arrangements'.

35 *a Head mechanically turned*: an intelligence disposed towards practical contrivance.

36 *Lawn*: a kind of fine linen, resembling cambric, used for the sleeves of a bishop's gown (*OED*, 1 and 2).

is once round the Wrist, and so on to the Neck and the Waist; and by the Help of my old Shirt, which I displayed on the Ground before them for a Pattern, they fitted me exactly.³⁷ Three hundred Taylors were employed in the same Manner to make me Clothes; but they had another Contrivance for taking my Measure. I kneeled down, and they raised a Ladder from the Ground to my Neck; upon this Ladder one of them mounted, and let fall a Plum-Line from my Collar to the Floor, which just answered the Length of my Coat; but my Waist and Arms I measured myself. When my Cloaths were finished, which was done in my House, (for the largest of theirs would not have been able to hold them) they looked like the Patch-work made by the Ladies in *England*, only that mine were all of a Colour.

I had three hundred Cooks to dress my Victuals, in little convenient Huts built about my House, where they and their Families lived, and prepared me two Dishes a-piece. I took up twenty Waiters in my Hand, and placed them on the Table; an hundred more attended below on the Ground, some with Dishes of Meat, and some with Barrels of Wine, and other Liquors, slung on their Shoulders; all which the Waiters above drew up as I wanted, in a very ingenious Manner, by certain Cords, as we draw the Bucket up a Well in *Europe*. A Dish of their Meat was a good Mouthful, and a Barrel of their Liquor a reasonable Draught. Their Mutton yields to³⁸ ours, but their Beef is excellent. I have had a Sirloin so large, that I have been forced to make three Bits³⁹ of it; but this is rare. My Servants were astonished to see me eat it Bones and all, as in our Country we do the Leg of a Lark. Their Geese and Turkeys I usually eat at a Mouthful, and I must confess they far exceed ours. Of their smaller Fowl I could take up twenty or thirty at the End of my Knife.

One Day his Imperial Majesty being informed of my Way of living, desired that himself, and his Royal Consort; with the young Princes of the Blood of both Sexes, might have the Happiness (as he was pleased to call it) of dining with me. They came accordingly, and I placed them upon Chairs of State on my Table, just over against me, with their Guards about them. *Flimnap* the Lord High Treasurer attended there likewise, with his white

37 *fitted me exactly*: cf. the abysmal tailoring of Laputa in Part III, Chapter 2 (below, p. 232).

38 *yields to*: is inferior to (*OED*, 16 f, citing this passage).

39 *Bits*: mouthfuls (*OED*, 1 a).

Staff;⁴⁰ and I observed he often looked on me with a sour Countenance, which I would not seem to regard, but eat more than usual, in Honour to my dear Country, as well as to fill the Court with Admiration. I have some private Reasons to believe, that this Visit from his Majesty gave *Flimnap* an Opportunity of doing me ill Offices to his Master. That Minister had always been my secret Enemy, although he outwardly caressed me more than was usual to the Moroseness⁴¹ of his Nature. He represented to the Emperor the low Condition of his Treasury; that he was forced to take up Money at great Discount;⁴² that Exchequer Bills would not circulate under nine *per Cent.* below Par; that I had cost his Majesty above a Million and a half of *Sprugs*, (their greatest Gold Coin, about the Bigness of a Spangle;)⁴³ and upon the whole, that it would be adviseable in the Emperor to take the first fair Occasion of dismissing me.

I am here obliged to vindicate the Reputation of an excellent Lady,⁴⁴ who was an innocent Sufferer upon my Account. The Treasurer took a Fancy to be jealous of his Wife, from the Malice of some evil Tongues, who informed him that her Grace had taken a violent Affection for my Person; and the Court-Scandal ran for some Time that she once came privately to my Lodging. This I solemnly declare to be a most infamous

40 *white Staff*: the symbol of office of the Lord High Treasurer (*OED*, 1).

41 *sour Countenance* . . . *Moroseness*: see above p. 62, n. 20.

42 *great Discount*: at a reduced price. If the price of 'Exchequer Bills' (i.e. government bonds) are sold at 'nine *per Cent.* below Par', this would mean that a bill with a face value of 100 *Sprugs* could be bought for 91 *Sprugs*. Although Exchequer bills were only rarely at a discount, another government instrument of short-term finance, army debentures, had in fact been sold at a discount of 9 per cent in the summer of 1726, while Swift was in England to arrange the publication of *GT* (Langford, 'Swift and Walpole', Appendix; see also Coxe, *Memoirs*, vol. I, pp. 665–6). This sharp reflection on the current topic of Walpole's financial management may therefore be another last-minute addition to the text of *GT*. Later in the century government stock occasionally traded at much greater discounts; for instance at 74 in 1745–6 and at 77 in 1748, with an unofficial interest rate for government borrowing of 12 per cent (Anderson, *Austrian Succession*, pp. 191–2).

43 *Spangle*: a small round thin piece of glittering metal (usually brass) with a hole in the centre to pass a thread through, used for the decoration of textile fabrics and other materials of various sorts (*OED*, 1 a, citing this passage). Cf. 'The Fable of Midas': 'MIDAS, we are in Story told, / Turn'd ev'ry thing he touch't to Gold: / He chip't his Bread, the Pieces round / Glitter'd like Spangles on the Ground' (Williams, *Poems*, p. 156, lines 1–4).

44 *an excellent Lady*: the ludicrous idea that Gulliver had sexual relations with the Lilliputians recurs in the afterlife of *GT*. *Memoirs of the Court of Lilliput* (1727) plays on the erotic aspects of Part I of *GT*. The suspected liaison with the wife of Flimnap figures in *Lilliput. A Dramatic Entertainment* (1757), especially in scenes 1 and 2, and in the epilogue. In *Lilliput* (1796), the narrator is supposed to be the offspring of Gulliver and a nun of Blefuscu, 'Adeline Belciglia'.

Falshood, without any Grounds, farther than that her Grace was pleased to treat me with all innocent Marks of Freedom and Friendship. I own she came often to my House, but always publicly, nor ever without three more in the Coach, who were usually her Sister, and young Daughter, and some particular Acquaintance; but this was common to many other Ladies of the Court. And I still appeal to my Servants round, whether they at any Time saw a Coach at my Door without knowing what Persons were in it. On those Occasions, when a Servant had given me Notice, my Custom was to go immediately to the Door; and after paying my Respects, to take up the Coach and two Horses very carefully in my Hands, (for if there were six Horses, the Postillion always unharnessed four) and place them on a Table, where I had fixed a moveable Rim quite round, of five Inches high, to prevent Accidents. And I have often had four Coaches and Horses at once on my Table full of Company, while I sat in my Chair leaning my Face towards them; and when I was engaged with one Sett, the Coachmen would gently drive the others round my Table. I have passed many an Afternoon very agreeably in these Conversations: But I defy the Treasurer, or his two Informers, (I will name them, and let them make their best of it) *Clustril* and *Drunlo*, to prove that any Person ever came to me *incognito*, except the Secretary *Reldresal*, who was sent by express Command of his Imperial Majesty, as I have before related. I should not have dwelt so long upon this Particular, if it had not been a Point wherein the Reputation of a great Lady is so nearly concerned; to say nothing of my own; although I had the Honour to be a *Nardac*, which the Treasurer himself is not; for all the World knows he is only a *Clumglum*, a Title inferior by one Degree, as that of a Marquess is to a Duke in *England*; yet I allow he preceded me in right of his Post. These false Informations, which I afterwards came to the Knowledge of, by an Accident not proper to mention, made the Treasurer shew his Lady for some Time an ill Countenance, and me a worse: For although he were at last undeceived and reconciled to her, yet I lost all Credit with him; and found my Interest decline very fast with the Emperor himself, who was indeed too much governed by that Favourite.

CHAPTER VII.

The Author being informed of a Design to accuse him of High Treason, makes his Escape to Blefuscu.¹ His Reception there.

Before I proceed to give an Account of my leaving this Kingdom, it may be proper to inform the Reader of a private Intrigue which had been for two Months forming against me.²

I had been hitherto all my Life a Stranger to Courts, for which I was unqualified by the Meanness of my Condition.³ I had indeed heard and read enough of the Dispositions of great Princes and Ministers; but never expected to have found such terrible Effects of them in so remote a Country, governed, as I thought, by very different Maxims from those in *Europe*.

When I was just preparing to pay my Attendance on the Emperor of *Blefuscu*; a considerable Person at Court (to whom I had been very serviceable at a time when he lay under the highest Displeasure of his Imperial Majesty) came to my House very privately at Night in a close Chair,⁴ and without sending his Name, desired Admittance: The Chairmen were dismissed; I put the Chair, with his Lordship in it, into my Coat-Pocket; and giving Orders to a trusty Servant to say I was indisposed and gone to sleep, I fastened the Door of my House, placed the Chair on the Table, according to my usual Custom, and sat down by it. After the

1 *Escape to Blefuscu*: Gulliver's flight recalls the similar decision of Swift's friend Bolingbroke to escape to France in March 1715 from fear that the Whigs, triumphant and in office following the accession of George I, sought his life.

2 *forming against me*: Swift was prone to paranoid fantasies on this score, as he wrote to Pope on 20 September 1723: 'But I who am sunk under the prejudices of another Education, and am every day perswading my self that a Dagger is at my Throat, a halter about my Neck, or Chains at my Feet, all prepared by those in Power, can never arrive at the Serenity of Mind you profess' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. II, p. 469). *A Discourse of the Contests and Dissensions* (1701) had dwelt on the ingratitude shown by Athens towards her most deserving citizens, such as Aristides and Alcibiades (Davis, vol. I, pp. 206–7 and 208).

3 *Meanness of my Condition*: see Long note 14.

4 *close Chair*: see above, p. 60, n. 13.

common Salutations were over, observing his Lordship's Countenance full of Concern; and enquiring into the Reason, he desired I would hear him with Patience, in a Matter that highly concerned my Honour and my Life. His Speech was to the following Effect, for I took Notes of it as soon as he left me.

You are to know, said he, that several Committees of Council have been lately called in the most private Manner on your Account:⁵ And it is but two Days since his Majesty came to a full Resolution.

You are very sensible that *Skyris*⁶ *Bolgolam* (*Galbet*, or High Admiral) hath been your mortal Enemy⁷ almost ever since your Arrival. His original Reasons I know not; but his Hatred is much encreased since your great Success against *Blefuscu*, by which his Glory, as Admiral, is obscured. This Lord, in Conjunction with *Flimnap* the High Treasurer, whose Enmity against you is notorious on Account of his Lady; *Limtoc* the General, *Lalcon* the Chamberlain, and *Balmuff* the grand Justiciary, have prepared Articles of Impeachment against you, for Treason, and other capital Crimes.⁸

This Preface made me so impatient, being conscious of my own Merits and Innocence, that I was going to interrupt; when he intreated me to be silent; and thus proceeded.

5 *on your Account*: according to Ehrenpreis, Swift was 'denouncing the impeachment of Oxford and Bolingbroke when he recorded the charges against Quinbus Flestrin' (Ehrenpreis, vol. III, p. 447).

6 *Skyris*: compare the spelling above, p. 63.

7 *mortal Enemy*: see above, p. 62, n. 19.

8 *other capital Crimes*: Curll suggests that a connection with the misfortunes of Oxford following the accession of George I was widely made by *GT*'s first readers: 'the Severities threatned against poor *Lemuel*, some here have resembled to the late Earl of *O——d*'s Sufferings' (*Key*, Part I, p. 26). Writing in 1701 of impeachments of great men in Rome and Athens, Swift had noted that the tendency of such actions had been 'to discourage Men of Virtue and Abilities from engaging in the Service of the Publick; and help, on t'other Side, to introduce the Ambitious, the Covetous, the Superficial, and the Ill-designing; who are as apt to be bold and forward, and meddling, as the former are to be cautious and modest, and reserved' (Davis, vol. I, pp. 224–5). Swift was certainly much moved by the impeachments of Oxford, Bolingbroke and Ormonde, as he made clear in 'An Enquiry into the Behaviour of the Queen's Last Ministry' (1715): Davis, vol. VIII, p. 134. However, the impeachment of Gulliver can also be seen as a fantasy of what Swift would have wished for Marlborough. Swift's animus against Marlborough was pointed out in the 'Advertisement' to Millar's edition of the *History of the Four Last Years of the Queen*: 'He is not content with laying open again the many faults already publicly proved upon the late Duke of Marlborough, but insinuates a new crime, by seeming to attempt to acquit him of aspiring at the throne' (Davis, vol. VII, p. 175). For the passages alluded to, see Davis, vol. VII, pp. 7 and 30.

Out of Gratitude for the Favours you have done me, I procured Information of the whole Proceedings, and a Copy of the Articles, wherein I venture my Head for your Service.

Articles of Impeachment against **Quinbus Flestrin,**
(*the* Man-Mountain.)

ARTICLE I.

WHEREAS, by a Statute made in the Reign of his Imperial Majesty *Calin Deffar Plune*, it is enacted, That whoever shall make water within the Precincts of the Royal Palace, shall be liable to the Pains and Penalties of High Treason: Notwithstanding, the said *Quinbus Flestrin*, in open Breach of the said Law, under Colour of extinguishing the Fire kindled in the Apartment of his Majesty's most dear Imperial Consort, did maliciously, traitorously, and devilishly, by discharge of his Urine, put out the said Fire kindled in the said Apartment, lying and being within the Precincts of the said Royal Palace; against the Statute in that Case provided, &c. against the Duty, &c.

ARTICLE II.

THAT the said *Quinbus Flestrin* having brought the Imperial Fleet of *Blefuscu* into the Royal Port, and being afterwards commanded by his Imperial Majesty to seize all the other Ships of the said Empire of *Blefuscu*, and reduce that Empire to a Province, to be governed by a Vice-Roy from hence;⁹ and to destroy and put to death not only all the *Big-Endian Exiles*, but likewise all the People of that Empire, who would not immediately forsake the *Big-Endian* Heresy: He the said *Flestrin*, like a false Traitor against his most Auspicious, Serene, Imperial Majesty, did petition to be excused from the said Service, upon Pretence of Unwillingness to force the Consciences, or destroy the Liberties and Lives of an innocent People.

⁹ *governed by a Vice-Roy from hence*: it is the intention of the Emperor of Lilliput to place *Blefuscu* in the same politically dependent position as, in Swift's day, Ireland occupied in relation to England.

ARTICLE III.

THAT, whereas certain Embassadors arrived from the Court of *Blefuscu* to sue for Peace in his Majesty's Court: He the said *Flestrin* did, like a false Traitor, aid, abet, comfort, and divert the said Embassadors; although he knew them to be Servants to a Prince who was lately an open Enemy to his Imperial Majesty, and in open War against his said Majesty.

ARTICLE IV.

THAT the said *Quinbus Flestrin*, contrary to the Duty of a faithful Subject, is now preparing to make a Voyage to the Court and Empire of *Blefuscu*, for which he hath received only verbal Licence from his Imperial Majesty; and under Colour of the said Licence, doth falsly and traitorously intend to take the said Voyage, and thereby to aid, comfort, and abet the Emperor of *Blefuscu*, so late an Enemy, and in open War with his Imperial Majesty aforesaid.

There are some other Articles, but these are the most important, of which I have read you an Abstract.

In the several Debates upon this Impeachment, it must be confessed that his Majesty gave many Marks of his great *Lenity*; often urging the Services you had done him, and endeavouring to extenuate your Crimes. The Treasurer and Admiral insisted that you should be put to the most painful and ignominious Death, by setting Fire on your House at Night; and the General was to attend with Twenty Thousand Men armed with poisoned Arrows, to shoot you on the Face and Hands. Some of your Servants were to have private Orders to strew a poisonous Juice on your Shirts¹⁰ and Sheets, which would soon make you tear your own Flesh, and die in the utmost Torture. The General came into the same Opinion; so that for a long time there was a Majority against you. But his Majesty resolving, if possible, to spare your Life, at last brought off¹¹ the Chamberlain.

Upon this Incident, *Reldresal*, principal Secretary for private Affairs, who always approved himself your true Friend, was commanded by the Emperor to deliver his Opinion, which he accordingly did; and therein justified the

10 *poisonous Juice on your Shirts*: in Greek mythology Hercules died in agony as a result of wearing the robe his jealous wife Deianira had smeared with the poisonous blood of the dying centaur Nessus. The legend is dramatized in Sophocles' *Trachiniae*.

11 *brought off*: persuaded (OED, *sv* 'bring', 19 a).

good Thoughts you have of him. He allowed your Crimes to be great; but that still there was room for Mercy, the most commendable Virtue in a Prince, and for which his Majesty was so justly celebrated. He said, the Friendship between you and him was so well known to the World, that perhaps the most honourable Board might think him partial: However, in Obedience to the Command he had received, he would freely offer his Sentiments. That if his Majesty, in Consideration of your Services, and pursuant to his own merciful Disposition, would please to spare your Life, and only give order to put out both your Eyes;¹² he humbly conceived, that by this Expedient, Justice might in some measure be satisfied, and all the World would applaud the *Lenity* of the Emperor, as well as the fair and generous Proceedings of those who have the Honour to be his Counsellors. That the Loss of your Eyes would be no Impediment to your bodily Strength, by which you might still be useful to his Majesty.¹³ That Blindness is an Addition to Courage,¹⁴ by concealing Dangers from us; that the Fear you had for your Eyes, was the greatest Difficulty in bringing over the Enemy's Fleet; and it would be sufficient for you to see by the Eyes of the Ministers, since the greatest Princes do no more.¹⁵

12 *both your Eyes*: Swift would have read of such punishments in the travel literature he consulted while writing *GT*: see John Huyghen Van Linschoten. *His Discours of Voyages into ye Easte & West Indies* (1598), p. 14 and Higgins, 'Hints'. Cf. also Jeremiah 52:11 and Judges 16:12.

13 *useful to his Majesty*: the parallel seems to be with Samson (Judges 16:21). In a letter to Robert Cope of 9 October 1722 Swift referred to the Whigs as 'uncircumcised Philistines' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. II, p. 432). Samson was associated by some with William III. William Hamilton, Archdeacon of Armagh, preached on 5 November 1722 on 'The Dangers of Popery', and praised William III as a latter-day Samson: 'what . . . *Samson* and *Jephthae* were to *Israel*, the same was that Great Prince to us, even the Instrument of Divine Providence, in freeing us from Distress, and working a Great Deliverance for us' (*The Dangers of Popery* (Dublin, 1723), p. 12).

14 *an Addition to Courage*: *The Independent Whig* 23 (22 June 1720) said of the High-Church zeal of the supporters of Henry Sacheverell, 'Its Courage is Madness, and it is Bold thro' Blindness' (*Independent Whig* (1721), p. 171). In his *Discourse Upon the Pharisee* Bunyan said of the spiritually dull that 'Their Blindness gives them Boldness' (twelfth edition (1725), p. 132).

15 *do no more*: that ministers are the eyes of princes is an observation of great antiquity: see, e.g., Herodotus, I.114 and Flavius Vopiscus, *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, 'Divus Aurelianus', XLIII. It was a topos quoted by Francis Bacon in his *A Letter of Advice . . . to the Duke of Buckingham* (1661), in which he points out that because kings 'cannot possibly see all things with their own eyes, nor hear all things with their own ears; they must commit many great trusts to their Ministers; Kings must be answerable to God Almighty (to whom they are but Vassals) for their actions, and for their negligent Omissions. But the Ministers to Kings, whose eyes, ears, and hands, they are, must be answerable to God and man, for the breach of their duties, in violation of their trusts, whereby they betray them' (p. 3). Other examples may be found in Diego de Saavedra Fajardo, *The Royal Politician* (1700), p. 36; Anon., *The*

This Proposal was received with the utmost Disapprobation by the whole Board. *Bolgom*, the Admiral, could not preserve his Temper; but rising up in Fury, said, he wondered how the Secretary durst presume to give his Opinion for preserving the Life of a Traytor: That the Services you had performed, were, by all true Reasons of State,¹⁶ the great Aggravation of your Crimes; that you, who were able to extinguish the Fire, by discharge of Urine in her Majesty's Apartment (which he mentioned with Horror) might, at another time, raise an Inundation by the same Means, to drown the whole Palace; and the same Strength which enabled you to bring over the Enemy's Fleet, might serve, upon the first Discontent, to carry it back: That he had good Reasons to think you were a *Big-Indian* in your Heart; and as Treason begins in the Heart before it appears in Overt-Acts;¹⁷ so he accused you as a Traytor on that Account, and therefore insisted you should be put to death.

The Treasurer was of the same Opinion; he shewed to what Streights his Majesty's Revenue was reduced by the Charge of maintaining you, which would soon grow insupportable: That the Secretary's Expedient of putting out your Eyes, was so far from being a Remedy against this Evil, that it would probably increase it; as it is manifest from the common Practice of blinding some Kind of Fowl, after which they fed the faster, and grew sooner fat: That his sacred Majesty, and the Council, who are your Judges,

Apologies of Justin Martyr (1709), p. 156; John Dunton, *The State-Weathercocks* (1719), p. 60; and 'Honest Briton', *A Political View of the Affairs of Great Britain* (1715), p. 58. In his sermon on the martyrdom of Charles I, preached on 30 January 1726, Swift had used the topos to make an appeal for sympathetic judgement of the predicament of princes, 'who must see with other mens eyes, and hear with other mens ears, which are often wilfully blind and deaf. Such was the condition of the Martyr [Charles I], and is so, in some degree, of all other princes' (Davis, vol. IX, p. 229).

16 *Reasons of State*: a translation of the Italian *ragioni di stato*, meaning political considerations, usually of an amoral or Machiavellian complexion. For a helpful discussion, see Malcolm, *Reason of State*, esp. pp. 92–123.

17 *Overt-Acts*: a technical legal term for acts which can be proved to have been done, implying criminal intent (*OED*, 2 b, citing this passage). It is a phrase which recurs often in the transcripts of state trials: see, e.g., *A Compleat Collection of State-Tryals*, 4 vols. (1719), vol. IV, pp. 71, 95, 159, 331 and 568. Of particular significance to Swift, given what we know about his sympathies, may have been this passage from *The indictment, arraignment, tryal, and judgment, at large, of twenty-nine regicides, the murderers of His Most Sacred Majesty King Charles the 1st.* (1724), p. 86: 'This Indictment sets forth several Overt-Acts to prove this Imagination, for otherwise it is Secret in the Heart'. Cf. also William Sancroft, *Sermons* (1703), p. 92: 'Humane Laws exact only outward Compliances, assume not to themselves to judge the Heart, because they cannot discern it, nor take Cognizance of secret Thoughts and Purposes, further than they are declar'd by overt Acts.'

were in their own Consciences fully convinced of your Guilt; which was a sufficient Argument to condemn you to death, without the *formal Proofs required by the strict Letter of the Law*.¹⁸

But his Imperial Majesty fully determined against capital Punishment, was graciously pleased to say, that since the Council thought the Loss of your Eyes too easy a Censure, some other may be inflicted hereafter. And your Friend the Secretary humbly desiring to be heard again, in Answer to what the Treasurer had objected concerning the great Charge his Majesty was at in maintaining you; said, that his Excellency, who had the sole Disposal of the Emperor's Revenue, might easily provide against this Evil, by gradually lessening your Establishment; by which, for want of sufficient Food, you would grow weak and faint, and lose your Appetite, and consequently decay and consume in a few Months; neither would the Stench of your Carcass¹⁹ be then so dangerous, when it should become more than half diminished; and immediately upon your Death, five or six Thousand of his Majesty's Subjects might, in two or three Days, cut your Flesh from your Bones, take it away by Cart-loads, and bury it in distant Parts to prevent Infection; leaving the Skeleton as a Monument of Admiration to Posterity.²⁰

Thus by the great Friendship of the Secretary, the whole Affair was compromised.²¹ It was strictly enjoined, that the Project of starving you by Degrees should be kept a Secret; but the Sentence of putting out your Eyes was entered on the Books; none dissenting except *Bolgolam* the Admiral, who being a Creature of the Empress, was perpetually instigated by her Majesty to insist upon your Death; she having born perpetual Malice against you, on Account of that infamous and illegal Method you took to extinguish the Fire in her Apartment.

18 *Letter of the Law*: a reference to the trial of Swift's friend, Francis Atterbury, who had been charged with high treason, but against whom the government chose to proceed by means of a bill of pains and penalties because of the flimsiness and conjectural quality of the evidence against him. See Long note 5.

19 *Stench of your Carcass*: see Long note 9.

20 *a Monument of Admiration to Posterity*: the reference is to a funerary monument. Cf., e.g., Thomas Cox, *Magna Britannia*, 6 vols. (1720–31), vol. II, p. 979: 'a fair marble Monument, with the Skeleton of an Earl'; and Elijah Fenton, 'Phaon to Sappho', in *Poems on Several Occasions* (1717), pp. 158–9: 'a shrivel'd Skin / But ill conceal'd the Skeleton within; / A Monument of Time'.

21 *compromised*: agreed by the partial surrender of position or principles (*OED* 4).

In three Days your Friend the Secretary will be directed to come to your House, and read before you the Articles of Impeachment; and then to signify the great *Lenity* and Favour of his Majesty and Council; whereby you are only condemned to the Loss of your Eyes, which his Majesty doth not question you will gratefully and humbly submit to; and Twenty of his Majesty's Surgeons will attend, in order to see the Operation well performed, by discharging very sharp pointed Arrows into the Balls of your Eyes, as you lie on the Ground.

I leave to your Prudence what Measures you will take; and to avoid Suspicion, I must immediately return in as private a Manner as I came.

His Lordship did so, and I remained alone, under many Doubts and Perplexities of Mind.

It was a Custom²² introduced by this Prince and his Ministry, (very different, as I have been assured, from the Practices of former Times) that after the Court had decreed any cruel Execution, either to gratify the Monarch's Resentment, or the Malice of a Favourite; the Emperor always made a Speech to his whole Council, expressing his *great Lenity and Tenderness, as Qualities known and confessed by all the World*. This Speech was immediately published through the Kingdom; nor did any thing terrify the People so much as those Encomiums on his Majesty's Mercy; because it was observed, that the more these Praises were enlarged and insisted on, the more *inhuman* was the Punishment, and the *Sufferer more innocent*.²³ Yet, as to myself, I must confess, having never been designed for a Courtier, either by my Birth or Education,²⁴ I was so ill a Judge of Things, that I

22 *a Custom*: see Long note 15.

23 *more innocent*: cf. Swift's bitterly ironic comment in his letter to Robert Cope of 9 October 1722 on the treatment of Francis Atterbury, whom he believed (mistakenly) to be innocent of the charge of Jacobite conspiracy: 'It is a wonderful thing to see the Tories provoking his present majesty, whose clemency, mercy, and forgiving temper, have been so signal, so extraordinary, so more than humane, during the whole course his reign, which plainly appears, not only from his own speeches and declarations, but also from a most ingenious pamphlet just come over, relating to the wicked Bishop of Rochester' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. II, p. 432). The principle behind such passages is explained by Swift in 'Directions for a Birth-day Song': 'Thus your Encomiums, to be strong, / Must be apply'd directly wrong: / A Tyrant for his Mercy praise, / And crown a Royal Dunce with Bays' (Williams, *Poems*, p. 464, lines 117–20); cf. also Pope, 'To Augustus': 'A vile Encomium doubly ridicules; / There's nothing blackens like the ink of fools; / If true, a woful likeness, and if lyes, / "Praise undeserv'd is scandal in disguise."' (*TE*, vol. IV, p. 229, lines 410–13).

24 *Birth or Education*: in his 'Memoirs Relating to that Change which Happened in the Queen's Ministry', Swift referred to 'the small experience I have of courts' (although not much earlier

could not discover the *Lenity* and Favour of this Sentence; but conceived it (perhaps erroneously) rather to be rigorous than gentle. I sometimes thought of standing my Tryal; for although I could not deny the Facts alledged in the several Articles, yet I hoped they would admit of some Extenuations. But having in my Life perused many State-Tryals,²⁵ which I ever observed to terminate as the Judges thought fit to direct; I durst not rely on so dangerous a Decision, in so critical a Juncture, and against such powerful Enemies. Once I was strongly bent upon Resistance: For while I had Liberty, the whole Strength of that Empire could hardly subdue me, and I might easily with Stones pelt the Metropolis to Pieces: But I soon rejected that Project with Horror, by remembering the Oath²⁶ I had made to the Emperor, the Favours I received from him, and the high Title of *Nardac* he conferred upon me. Neither had I so soon learned the Gratitude of Courtiers,²⁷ to persuade myself that his Majesty's *present Severities*²⁸ *acquitted me of all past Obligations*.

in the same work he had made a contrasting claim: 'I had been for many years before [i.e. before 1710] no stranger to the court' (Davis, vol. VIII, pp. 126 and 119). See also Long note 14. Joseph Hall's traveller in *Mundus Alter et Idem* had also disavowed any affinity with the court: 'I do not loue of all things in the world, to tarry in court longer then needs must: No, I was neuer good courtier, nor (I hope) euer shall be' (Hall, *Discovery*, p. 123).

25 *many State-Tryals*: trials concerned with offences against the state and their punishment (*OED*, *sv* 'state' 38 d, citing this passage). Collections of the transcripts of such trials were frequently published, e.g. *A Compleat Collection of State-Tryals* (1719).

26 *remembering the Oath*: in the aftermath of the Glorious Revolution of 1688 a number of state oaths were imposed on English subjects, and these oaths were strengthened and widened after the accession of the Hanoverians in 1714. The Act of I W & M, s. 1, c. 8 imposed oaths of allegiance and supremacy on the holders of a wide range of public offices. The Act of I Geo I, s. 2, c. 13 broadened the category of those required to take the oaths, and in addition two or more JPs could require 'any Persons they shall suspect to be disaffected' to take the oaths. Moreover, at this point an oath of abjuration was added, which referred specifically to the Old Pretender, or James III (see *A Summary of the Penal Laws* (1716)). In an annotation to *Freeholder* 6 (9 January 1716), in which Addison dwelt on the allegiance to which a subject is obliged by oath, Swift wrote: 'Suppose a King grows a Beast, or a Tyrant, after I have taken an Oath: a 'prentice takes an Oath; but if his Master useth him barbarously, the lad may be excused if he wishes for a Better' (Davis, vol. V, p. 252).

27 *Gratitude of Courtiers*: proverbially evanescent. Cf. Benjamin Griffin, *The Masquerade: or, an Evening's Intrigues* (1717): 'Your Lovers Vows of Constancy and Fidelity, your Lawyers of Honesty and Sincerity, your Courtiers of Friendship and Gratitude, your sower devout Friends of Religion and Piety, in what do they all terminate, but the very Reverse?' (p. 23); cf. also St Evremont, *Works*, 3 vols. (1714), vol. I, p. 355 and Francis Osborne, *Miscellaneous Works*, eleventh edition, 2 vols. (1722), vol. II, p. 154.

28 *present Severities*: 'severities' was a term of art in early eighteenth-century political writing, being a euphemism for vindictive and exceptional penalties. It was especially common in the literature surrounding the trial of Sacheverell, who had himself recommended the use

At last I fixed upon a Resolution, for which it is probable I may incur some Censure, and not unjustly; for I confess I owe the preserving mine Eyes, and consequently my Liberty, to my own great Rashness and Want of Experience: Because if I had then known the Nature of Princes and Ministers, which I have since observed in many other Courts, and their Methods of treating Criminals less obnoxious than myself; I should with great Alacrity and Readiness have submitted to so *easy* a Punishment. But hurried on by the Precipitancy of Youth; and having his Imperial Majesty's Licence to pay my Attendance upon the Emperor of *Blefuscu*; I took this Opportunity, before the three Days were elapsed, to send a Letter to my Friend the Secretary, signifying my Resolution of setting out that Morning for *Blefuscu*, pursuant to the Leave I had got; and without waiting for an Answer, I went to that Side of the Island where our Fleet lay. I seized a large Man of War, tied a Cable to the Prow, and lifting up the Anchors, I stript myself, put my Cloaths (together with my Coverlet, which I carryed under my Arm) into the Vessel; and drawing it after me, between wading and swimming, arrived at the Royal Port of *Blefuscu*, where the People had long expected me: They lent me two Guides to direct me to the Capital City, which is of the same Name; I held them in my Hands until I came within two Hundred Yards of the Gate; and desired them to signify my Arrival to one of the Secretaries, and let him know, I there waited his Majesty's Commands. I had an Answer in about an Hour, that his Majesty, attended by the Royal Family, and great Officers of the Court, was coming out to receive me. I advanced a Hundred Yards; the Emperor, and his Train, alighted from their Horses, the Empress and Ladies from their Coaches; and I did not perceive they were in any Fright or Concern. I lay on the Ground to kiss his Majesty's and the Empress's Hand. I told his Majesty, that I was come according to my Promise, and with the Licence of the Emperor my Master, to have the Honour of seeing so mighty a Monarch,

of 'wholesome severities' against the Dissenters: see Anon., *The Doctor no Changeling: or, Sacheverell still Sacheverell* (1713), p. 18, and for the profuse use of the word, see Anon., *A Compleat History of the Whole Proceedings of the Parliament of Great Britain against Dr Henry Sacheverell* (1710), pp. 44, 92, 95, 101, 103, 104, 105, 115, 127, 129, 153, 8, 9, 13, 14, 137, 138, 220, 221, 222, 230. See also Sir Francis Grant, *A Key to the Plot* (1716), p. 6 and Anon., *A Secret History of One Year* (1714), p. 13. Closer in time to the publication of the first edition of *GT*, it had figured in the Whig attacks on the directors of the South Sea Company: see Thomas Gordon, *The Conspirators*, third edition (1721), p. vi (where it is urged that 'Miscreants' should be 'kept in Åwe by the Force of wholesome Severities') and (by the same author) *Francis Lord Bacon* (1721), p. 6.

and to offer him any Service in my Power, consistent with my Duty to my own Prince; not mentioning a Word of my Disgrace, because I had hitherto no regular Information of it, and might suppose²⁹ myself wholly ignorant of any such Design; neither could I reasonably conceive that the Emperor would discover the Secret while I was out of his Power: Wherein, however, it soon appeared I was deceived.

I shall not trouble the Reader with the particular Account of my Reception at this Court, which was suitable to the Generosity of so great a Prince; nor of the Difficulties I was in for want of a House and Bed, being forced to lie on the Ground, wrapt up in my Coverlet.

²⁹ *suppose*: a complicated moment of usage, in which the word vibrates between the broad senses of 'assume' and 'deceive', and in which *OED* 1 a ('to hold as a belief or opinion; to believe as a fact; to think, be of opinion') is less to the fore than 8 ('to entertain as an idea or notion sufficiently probable to be practically assumed as true'), together with traces of 12 ('to feign or pretend') or even 13 ('to substitute by artifice or fraud').

CHAPTER VIII.

The Author, by a lucky Accident, finds Means to leave Blefuscu; and, after some Difficulties, returns safe to his Native Country.

Three Days after my Arrival, walking out of Curiosity to the North-East Coast of the Island; I observed, about half a League off, in the Sea, somewhat that looked like a Boat overturned: I pulled off my Shoes and Stockings, and wading two or three Hundred Yards, I found the Object to approach nearer by Force of the Tide; and then plainly saw it to be a real Boat, which I supposed might, by some Tempest, have been driven from a Ship. Whereupon I returned immediately towards the City, and desired his Imperial Majesty to lend me Twenty of the tallest Vessels he had left after the Loss of his Fleet, and three Thousand Seamen under the Command of his Vice-Admiral. This Fleet sailed round, while I went back the shortest Way to the Coast where I first discovered the Boat; I found the Tide had driven it still nearer; the Seamen were all provided with Cordage, which I had beforehand twisted to a sufficient Strength. When the Ships came up, I stript myself, and waded till I came within an Hundred Yards of the Boat; after which I was forced to swim till I got up to it. The Seamen threw me the End of the Cord, which I fastened to a Hole in the fore-part of the Boat, and the other End to a Man of War: But I found all my Labour to little Purpose; for being out of my Depth, I was not able to work.¹ In this Necessity, I was forced to swim behind, and push the Boat forwards as often as I could, with one of my Hands; and the Tide favouring me, I advanced so far, that I could just hold up my Chin and feel the Ground. I rested two or three Minutes, and then gave the Boat another Shove, and so on till the Sea was no higher than my Arm-pits. And now the most laborious Part being over, I took out my other Cables which were stowed in one of the Ships, and fastening them

¹ *work*: to produce or cause by continued application of physical force (*OED*, 8 c; first instance cited, 1836).

first to the Boat, and then to nine of the Vessels which attended me; the Wind being favourable, the Seamen towed, and I shoved till we arrived within forty Yards of the Shore; and waiting till the Tide was out, I got dry to the Boat, and by the Assistance of two Thousand Men, with Ropes and Engines, I made a shift to turn it on its Bottom, and found it was but little damaged.

I shall not trouble the Reader with the Difficulties I was under by the Help of certain Paddles, which cost me ten Days making, to get my Boat to the Royal Port of *Blefuscu*; where a mighty Concourse of People appeared upon my Arrival, full of Wonder at the Sight of so prodigious a Vessel. I told the Emperor, that my good Fortune had thrown this Boat in my Way, to carry me to some Place from whence I might return into my native Country; and begged his Majesty's Orders for getting Materials to fit it up; together with his Licence to depart; which, after some kind Expostulations, he was pleased to grant.

I did very much wonder, in all this Time, not to have heard of any Express relating to me from our Emperor to the Court of *Blefuscu*. But I was afterwards given privately to understand, that his Imperial Majesty, never imagining I had the least Notice of his Designs, believed I was only gone to *Blefuscu* in Performance of my Promise, according to the Licence he had given me, which was well known at our Court; and would return in a few Days when that Ceremony was ended. But he was at last in pain at my long absence; and, after consulting with the Treasurer, and the rest of that Cabal; a Person of Quality was dispatched with the Copy of the Articles against me.² This Envoy had Instructions to represent to the Monarch of *Blefuscu*, the great *Lenity* of his Master, who was content to punish me no further than with the Loss of mine Eyes: That I had fled from Justice, and if I did not return in two Hours, I should be deprived of my Title of *Nardac*, and declared a Traitor. The Envoy further added; that in order to maintain the Peace and Amity between both Empires, his Master expected, that his Brother of *Blefuscu* would give Orders to have me sent back to *Lilliput*, bound Hand and Foot, to be punished as a Traitor.

The Emperor of *Blefuscu* having taken three Days to consult, returned an Answer consisting of many Civilities and Excuses. He said, that as for

2 *Articles against me*: a glance at the diplomatic protests made by Britain to France concerning the asylum extended to Jacobite exiles such as Bolingbroke and Ormonde in 1715.

sending me bound, his Brother knew it was impossible; that although I had deprived him of his Fleet, yet he owed great Obligations to me for many good Offices I had done him in making the Peace. That however, both their Majesties would soon be made easy; for I had found a prodigious Vessel on the Shore, able to carry me on the Sea, which he had given order to fit up with my own Assistance and Direction; and he hoped in a few Weeks both Empires would be freed from so insupportable an Incumbrance.³

With this Answer the Envoy returned to *Lilliput*, and the Monarch of *Blefuscu* related to me all that had past; offering me at the same time (but under the strictest Confidence) his gracious Protection, if I would continue in his Service; wherein although I believed him sincere, yet I resolved never more to put any Confidence in Princes or Ministers,⁴ where I could possibly avoid it; and therefore, with all due Acknowledgments for his favourable Intentions, I humbly begged to be excused. I told him, that since Fortune, whether good or evil, had thrown a Vessel in my Way; I was resolved to venture myself in the Ocean, rather than be an Occasion of Difference between two such mighty Monarchs. Neither did I find the Emperor at all displeased; and I discovered by a certain Accident, that he was very glad of my Resolution, and so were most of his Ministers.

These Considerations moved me to hasten my Departure somewhat sooner than I intended; to which the Court, impatient to have me gone, very readily contributed. Five hundred Workmen were employed to make two Sails to my Boat, according to my Directions, by quilting thirteen fold of their strongest Linnen together. I was at the Pains of making Ropes and Cables, by twisting ten, twenty or thirty of the thickest and strongest

3 *so insupportable an Incumbrance*: a phrase used in connection with Marlborough in the context of an anonymous attack on Swift's famous *Examiner* 16 (23 November 1710): 'To render his Grace odious to the People, that *Club* charges him with a Receipt of 240000 Pounds of the Publick Money, upon the Account of *Blenheim-House*, which, I may say, is no more his, than *St Paul's Church* is mine. It is a publick Monument of the *British* Courage, of the Generosity of the Queen, and an Ornament of the Kingdom. If it be brought into his Account, it must be by way of Rebate, as being an expensive piece of Magnificence, an useless and insupportable Incumbrance, a perpetual Drain to his Estate, and may hereafter prove the Destruction of his Family' (Anon., *The Speech of the Lord Haversham's Ghost* (1710), p. 4).

4 *Princes or Ministers*: for an account of Swift's own self-exile from the world of the court which employs language close to this, see the opening of 'An Enquiry into the Behaviour of the Queen's Last Ministry' (Davis, vol. VIII, p. 131). Deane Swift applied this passage of *GT* to Swift's own circumstances after the death of Sir William Temple (*Essay*, p. 109, n *). See also Long note 14.

of theirs. A great Stone that I happened to find, after a long Search by the Sea-shore, served me for an Anchor. I had the Tallow of three hundred Cows for greasing my Boat, and other Uses. I was at incredible Pains in cutting down some of the largest Timber Trees for Oars and Masts, wherein I was, however, much assisted by his Majesty's Ship-Carpenters, who helped me in smoothing them, after I had done the rough Work.

In about a Month, when all was prepared, I sent to receive his Majesty's Commands, and to take my leave. The Emperor and Royal Family came out of the Palace; I lay down on my Face to kiss his Hand, which he very graciously gave me; so did the Empress, and young Princes of the Blood. His Majesty presented me with fifty Purses of two hundred *Sprugs* a-piece, together with his Picture at full length,⁵ which I put immediately into one of my Gloves, to keep it from being hurt. The Ceremonies at my Departure were too many to trouble the Reader with at this time.

I stored the Boat with the Carcasses of an hundred Oxen, and three hundred Sheep, with Bread and Drink proportionable, and as much Meat ready dressed as four hundred Cooks could provide. I took with me six Cows and two Bulls alive, with as many Yews⁶ and Rams, intending to carry them into my own Country, and propagate the Breed. And to feed them on board, I had a good Bundle of Hay, and a Bag of Corn. I would gladly have taken a Dozen of the Natives; but this was a thing the Emperor would by no Means permit; and besides a diligent Search into my Pockets, his Majesty engaged my Honour not to carry away any of his Subjects, although with their own Consent and Desire.

Having thus prepared all things as well as I was able; I set sail on the Twenty-fourth Day of *September* 1701,⁷ at six in the Morning; and when I had gone about four Leagues to the Northward, the Wind being at South-East; at six in the Evening, I descried a small Island about half a League to the North West. I advanced forward, and cast Anchor on the Lee-side⁸ of the Island, which seemed to be uninhabited. I then took some Refreshment, and went to my Rest. I slept well, and as I conjecture at least

5 *at full length*: a portrait displaying the whole body (*OED* 2). Such portraits of princes were often exchanged between diplomatic missions.

6 *Yews*: an alternative spelling of 'ewes', or female sheep, current until the late eighteenth century (*OED*, 1 β).

7 *September 1701*: James II had died on 5 September 1701.

8 *Lee-side*: that side of any object which is turned away from the wind (*OED*, a).

six Hours; for I found the Day broke in two Hours after I awaked. It was a clear Night; I eat my Breakfast before the Sun was up; and heaving Anchor, the Wind being favourable, I steered the same Course that I had done the Day before, wherein I was directed by my Pocket-Compass. My Intention was to reach, if possible, one of those Islands, which I had reason to believe lay to the North-East of *Van Diemen's Land*.⁹ I discovered nothing all that Day; but upon the next, about three in the Afternoon, when I had by my Computation made Twenty-four Leagues from *Blefuscu*, I descried a Sail steering to the South-East; my Course was due East. I hailed her, but could get no Answer; yet I found I gained upon her, for the Wind slackened. I made all the Sail¹⁰ I could, and in half an Hour she spied me, then hung out her Antient,¹¹ and discharged a Gun. It is not easy to express the Joy I was in upon the unexpected Hope of once more seeing my beloved Country, and the dear Pledges¹² I left in it. The Ship slackned her Sails, and I came up with her between five and six in the Evening, *September 26*; but my Heart leapt within me to see her *English* Colours. I put my Cows and Sheep into my Coat-Pockets, and got on board with all my little Cargo of Provisions. The Vessel was an *English* Merchant-man, returning from *Japan* by the *North* and *South Seas*;¹³ the Captain, Mr. *John Biddel* of *Deptford*, a very civil Man, and an excellent Sailor. We were now in the Latitude of 30 Degrees South; there were about fifty Men in the Ship; and here I met an old Comrade of mine, one *Peter Williams*, who gave me a good Character to the Captain. This Gentleman treated me with Kindness, and desired I would let him know what Place I came from last, and whither I was bound; which I did in few Words; but he thought I was raving, and that the Dangers I underwent had disturbed my Head; whereupon I took my black Cattle and Sheep out of my Pocket, which, after great Astonishment, clearly convinced him of my Veracity. I then shewed him the Gold given me by the Emperor of *Blefuscu*, together with his Majesty's Picture at full Length, and some other Rarities of that Country.

9 *Van Diemen's Land*: see above, p. 32, n. 22.

10 *made all the Sail*: to spread additional sails in order to increase a ship's speed (*OED*, 'make', 71 b)

11 *Antient*: ensign, flag.

12 *dear Pledges*: i.e. his wife and children (*OED*, 2 d). Cf. 'On Poetry: A Rapsody': 'Infants dropt, the spurious Pledges / Of *Gipsies* littering under Hedges' (Williams, *Poems*, p. 641, lines 37–8).

13 *North and South Seas*: the north and south Pacific.

I gave him two Purses of two Hundred *Sprugs* each, and promised, when we arrived in *England*, to make him a Present of a Cow and a Sheep big with Young.

I shall not trouble the Reader with a particular Account of this Voyage, which was very prosperous for the most Part. We arrived in the *Downs*¹⁴ on the 13th of *April* 1702.¹⁵ I had only one Misfortune, that the Rats on board carried away one of my Sheep; I found her Bones in a Hole, picked clean from the Flesh. The rest of my Cattle I got safe on Shore, and set them a grazing in a Bowling-Green at *Greenwich*, where the Fineness of the Grass made them feed very heartily, although I had always feared the contrary: Neither could I possibly have preserved them in so long a Voyage, if the Captain had not allowed me some of his best Bisket,¹⁶ which rubbed to Powder, and mingled with Water, was their constant Food. The short Time I continued in *England*, I made a considerable Profit by shewing my Cattle to many Persons of Quality, and others:¹⁷ And before I began my second Voyage, I sold them for six Hundred Pounds. Since my last Return, I find the Breed is considerably increased, especially the Sheep; which I hope will prove much to the Advantage of the Woollen Manufacture, by the Fineness of the Fleeces.¹⁸

I stayed but two Months with my Wife and Family; for my insatiable Desire of seeing foreign Countries would suffer me to continue no longer. I left fifteen Hundred Pounds with my Wife, and fixed her in a good House at *Redriff*.¹⁹ My remaining Stock I carried with me, Part in Money, and Part in Goods, in Hopes to improve my Fortunes. My eldest Uncle, *John*, had left me an Estate in Land, near *Epping*, of about Thirty Pounds a Year;

14 *the Downs*: an open roadstead off the shore of Kent opposite the North Downs.

15 *April 1702*: in time for the coronation of Queen Anne, which took place on 23 April 1702.

16 *Bisket*: hard biscuit prepared for use on board ship (*OED*, *sv* 'ship', 9 a).

17 *showing my Cattle to many Persons of Quality, and others*: in Brobdingnag Gulliver will himself experience, and resent, such treatment (below, p. 140).

18 *Fineness of the Fleeces*: Curll related this passage to 'our Æra of Bubbles' (*Key*, Part I, pp. 27–8). Gulliver's pride in the 'Fineness of the Fleeces' of his Lilliputian sheep recalls the Whig slogan in the general election of 1710, '*Trade and Wool*': cf. Swift's letter to Bolingbroke of 7 August 1714 (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. II, p. 58). Swift deplored the consequences of the Irish woollen trade, however. In *A Proposal for the Universal Use of Irish Manufacture* (1720) he complained that English policy towards Ireland made 'our Wool a Drug to us, and a Monopoly to them; therefore, the politick Gentlemen of *Ireland* have depopulated vast Tracts of the best Land, for the feeding of Sheep' (Davis, vol. IX, p. 15).

19 *Redriff*: see p. 15, n. 51 above.

and I had a long Lease of the *Black-Bull* in *Fetter-Lane*,²⁰ which yielded me as much more: So that I was not in any Danger of leaving my Family upon the Parish.²¹ My Son *Johnny*, named so after his Uncle, was at the Grammar School,²² and a towardly²³ Child. My Daughter *Betty* (who is now well married, and has Children) was then at her Needle-Work.²⁴ I took Leave of my Wife, and Boy and Girl, with Tears on both Sides; and went on board the *Adventure*, a Merchant-Ship of three Hundred Tons, bound for *Surat*,²⁵ Captain *John Nicholas* of *Liverpool*, Commander. But my Account of this Voyage must be referred to the second Part of my Travels.

The End of the First Part.

20 *Fetter-Lane*: at this time there was a Black Bull inn in Holborn, opposite Fetter Lane.

21 *upon the Parish*: that is to say, a recipient of charity.

22 *Grammar School*: a class of schools, common in English provincial towns, founded in the sixteenth century or earlier for the teaching of Latin (*OED*, 1).

23 *towardly*: promising, 'hopeful', forward; apt to learn, docile: chiefly of young persons or their dispositions (*OED*, 2).

24 *Needle-Work*: compare the education of Lilliputian girls, above p. 91.

25 *Surat*: an Indian port, near Bombay.

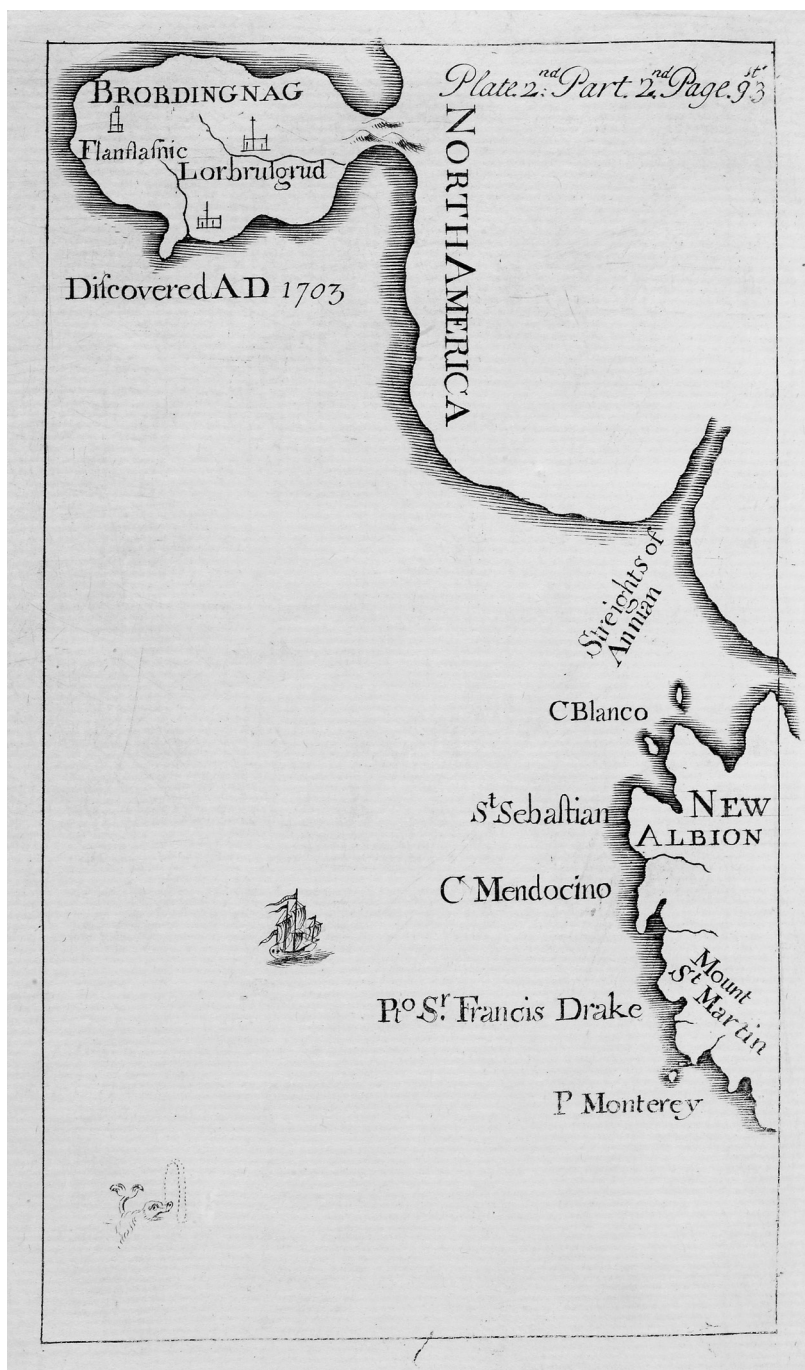


Figure 4. Map of Brobdingnag

PART II.

A VOYAGE to *Brobdingnag*.¹

CHAPTER I.

A great Storm described. The long Boat sent to fetch Water, the Author goes with it to discover the Country. He is left on Shoar, is seized by one of the Natives, and carried to a Farmer's House. His Reception there, with several Accidents that happened there. A Description of the Inhabitants.

Having been condemned by Nature² and Fortune to an active and restless Life; in ten Months after my Return, I again left my native Country, and took Shipping in the *Downs*³ on the 20th Day of June 1702, in the *Adventure*, Capt. *John Nicholas*, a *Cornish*⁴ Man, Commander, bound for *Surat*. We had a very prosperous Gale till we arrived at the *Cape of Good-hope*,⁵ where we landed for fresh Water; but discovering a Leak we

- 1 *Brobdingnag*: for the spelling, see p. 13, n. 44 above. Sheridan relates an anecdote relevant to Part II: 'During his residence at Quilca he wrote a great part of his *Gulliver's Travels*, and prepared the whole for the press. While he was upon the subject of the *Brobdingnaggs*, he used frequently to invite a Mr. Doughty, who lived in that neighbourhood to dine with him. He was of a gigantic stature; and supposed to be the strongest man in Ireland, as well as the most active. Swift used to take great delight in seeing him perform several of his feats, some of which were of so extraordinary a nature, that I should be afraid to relate them, lest it should impeach my credibility. Among these, Swift asked him whether he could carry on his back a monk's horse which happened to be in the court-yard at that time. Doughty, after having tied his legs, immediately took him up and threw him on his shoulders, with the same ease that another man would lift a sheep, and walked about with him for a long time without shrinking at all under his burden' (Sheridan, p. 351).
- 2 *condemned by Nature*: a phrase with religious overtones: see John Bunyan, *Sighs from Hell*, fourteenth edition (1722), p. 93 and William Darrell, *A Gentleman Instructed in the Conduct of a Virtuous and Happy Life* (1704), p. 48.
- 3 *the Downs*: see above p. 112, n. 14.
- 4 *a Cornish Man*: cf. above, p. 113, where Nicholas is said to be 'of Liverpool'.
- 5 *Cape of Good-hope*: the southernmost tip of the continent of Africa, and a common resting point in voyages to and from the East Indies: see William Dampier, *A New Voyage Round the World* (1697), p. 529: 'The Cape of *Good Hope* is the utmost bounds of the continent of

unshipped our Goods, and wintered there; for the Captain falling sick of an *Ague*,⁶ we could not leave the *Cape* till the End of *March*. We then set sail, and had a good Voyage till we passed the *Streights* of *Madagascar*;⁷ but having got Northward of that Island, and to about five Degrees South Latitude, the Winds, which in those Seas are observed to blow a constant equal Gale between the North and West, from the Beginning of *December* to the Beginning of *May*,⁸ on the 19th of *April* began to blow with much greater Violence, and more Westerly than usual; continuing so for twenty Days together, during which time we were driven a little to the East of the *Molucca* Islands,⁹ and about three Degrees Northward of the

Africa towards the South, lying in 34 d. 30 m S. lat. in a very temperate Climate.' Gulliver's experience closely parallels that of Dampier: 'Upon our arrival at the Cape, Captain *Heath* took an House to live in, in order to recover his health. Such of his Men as were able did so too, for the rest he provided Lodgings and paid their expences. Three or four of our men, who came ashore very sick, died, but the rest, by the assistance of the Doctors of the Fort, a fine Air, and good Kitchin and Cellar Physick, soon recovered their healths' (p. 542).

6 *an Ague*: a malarial fever, marked by successive fits or paroxysms, consisting of cold, hot and sweating stages (*OED*, 2).

7 *Streights of Madagascar*: an area notorious for piracy, slave-trading, and bad weather. See Long note 16.

8 *Beginning of May*: Swift has taken this information concerning winds from one of three sources, all of which reprint the same text: 'the aforesaid S. E. Winds extend to within two Degrees of the *Æquator*, during the Months of *June*, *July*, *August*, &c. to *November*, at which time between the *South Latitudes* of three and ten Degrees, being near the Meridian of the North end of *Madagascar*, and between two and twelve South Latitude, being near *Sumatra* and *Java*, the contrary Winds from the N. W. or between the *North* and *West*, set in and blow for half the Year, viz. from the beginning of *December* till *May*; and this *Monsoon* is observ'd as far as the *Molucca* Isles, of which more anon' (The Royal Society, *Miscellanea Curiosa*, 3 vols. (1705–6), vol. I, p. 68; cf. Edward Barlow, *Metereological Essays* (1715), pp. 102–3; Anon., *The Compleat Geographer* (1723), p. xlvii).

9 *Molucca Islands*: a group of islands near Indonesia, also known at this time as the 'Spice Islands'; 'The *MOLUCCA ISLANDS*, properly so called, are *Bachian*, *Machian*, *Motyr*, *Ternate* and *Tydore*, and lie to the Northward of *Amboyna*, under or very near the Equinoctial' (Salmon, *Modern History*, vol. II, p. 4). They were reputed to be 'the most unhealthy part of the *East-Indies*' (Daniel Defoe, *New Voyage Round the World* (1725), p. 49); but cf. Dryden, 'The Flower and the Leaf', line 327, where a 'Moluccan Breeze' is clearly salubrious. The Moluccas had been lost by Britain to the Dutch as a result of the Dutch seizure of the British factory at Amboyna in 1623, and so would be associated in the mind of an early eighteenth-century reader with a national grievance which seems to have rankled particularly with the Tories: 'The Places I have Named already are enough to chill the Blood of any Reader who is a well-wisher to his Country; yet I can't omit naming some other Places we lost by this Usurpation, as the *Molucca Islands*' (Robert Ferguson, *An Account of the Obligations the States of Holland have to Great Britain* (1711), p. 37). Cf. also Richard Hall, *The History of the Barbarous Cruelties and Massacres, Committed by the Dutch in the East Indies* (1712).

Line,¹⁰ as our Captain found by an Observation he took the 2d of *May*, at which time the Wind ceased, and it was a perfect Calm,¹¹ whereat I was not a little rejoiced. But he being a Man well experienced in the Navigation of those Seas, bid us all prepare against a Storm, which accordingly happened the Day following: For a Southern Wind, called the Southern *Monsoon*,¹² began to set in.

Finding it was like to overblow,¹³ we took in our Sprit-sail,¹⁴ and stood by to hand¹⁵ the Fore-sail;¹⁶ but making¹⁷ foul Weather, we looked the

10 *Northward of the Line*: north of the equator (*OED*, 'line' 2, 10 b).

11 *perfect Calm*: Gulliver's description of the fluctuating weather he encountered in the area of the Moluccas is paralleled in a number of works with which the first readers of *GT* could have been familiar: 'In other Seas, the Tranquility of the Air is secured from any irregular or hasty Commotion of the Tide, by the Constipation of *many Islands* pitch'd thick together, to hold their Superficies *steady*; as are those, on the *South-East of China*; which, being interspers'd with the *Philippine* and *Molucca Islands*, are so infested by *Hurricanes*, upon the breaking up of the *Monsoons* into Calms, as to be scarce *navigable*' (Edward Barlow, *Meteorological Essays* (1715), pp. 85–6); 'we came among the Moluccas, or Spice Islands. We passed those Seas with less Difficulty than in other Places, the Winds to the South of Iava, being more variable, and the Weather good, tho' sometimes we met with Squally Weather, and short Storms; but when we came in among the Spice Islands themselves, we had a Share of the Monsoones, or Trade Winds, and made use of them accordingly' (Daniel Defoe, *The Life, Adventures, and Pyracies of the Famous Captain Singleton* (1720), p. 232).

12 *Southern Monsoon*: a seasonal prevailing wind in the region of South and South-East Asia, blowing from the south-west between May and September and from the north-east between October and April; especially that which blows in the summer, which is usually accompanied by heavy and continuous rainfall (*OED*, 1 a).

13 *like to overblow*: to blow extremely hard, so that full sail cannot be carried (*OED*, 5, citing this passage). The flamboyantly technical nautical language in this paragraph was taken from Samuel Sturmy, *The Mariner's Magazine* (1669), pp. 17–18; see also E. H. Knowles, 'Dean Swift', *N&Q* (1868), 223. This small anthology of technical nautical language reveals that curiosity about (and even delight in) non-standard usage which existed in Swift alongside his linguistic authoritarianism. At the time of first publication of *GT*, however, its technicality was felt to be reminiscent of Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* (1719): see *Gulliver Decypher'd* (1727), p. 17. In 'Hints on Good Manners' Swift lays it down as a principle that 'For a man to talk in his own trade, or business, or faculty, is a great breach of good manners' (Davis, vol. IV, p. 222). For a later criticism of the inappropriateness of such displays of technical language, see Johnson's strictures on the diction of Dryden's *Annus Mirabilis* (1667) (Johnson, *Lives*, vol. II, pp. 133–4). See also Gulliver's comments on his 'Sea-Language' in his letter to Sympson (above, p. 12).

14 *Sprit-sail*: a sail attached to a yard slung under the bowsprit of large vessels (*OED*, 1).

15 *hand*: to take in, or furl, a sail (*OED*, 2).

16 *Fore-sail*: the principal sail set on the foremast; in square-rigged vessels the lowest square sail on the foremast; in fore-and-aft rigged, the triangular sail before the mast (*OED*).

17 *making*: to come in sight of (*OED*, 32).

Guns were all fast,¹⁸ and handed the Missen.¹⁹ The Ship lay very broad off,²⁰ so we thought it better spooning²¹ before the Sea, than trying²² or hulling.²³ We reef²⁴ the Foresail and set him, we hawled aft the Foresheet,²⁵ the Helm was hard a Weather.²⁶ The Ship wore bravely.²⁷ We belay'd the Foredown-hall;²⁸ but the Sail was split, and we hawl'd down the Yard,²⁹ and got the Sail into the Ship, and unbound all the things clear of it. It was a very fierce Storm; the Sea broke strange and dangerous. We hawl'd off upon the Lanniard of the Whipstaff³⁰, and helped the Man at Helm.³¹ We would not get down our Top-Mast, but let all stand, because she scudded before the Sea very well,³² and we knew that the Top-Mast being aloft, the Ship was the wholesomer,³³ and made better way through the Sea, seeing we had Sea room.³⁴ When the Storm was over, we set Fore-sail and Main-sail, and brought the Ship to.³⁵ Then we set the Missen, Maintop-Sail and the Foretop-Sail. Our Course was East North-east, the

18 *Guns were all fast*: secured the guns so that they would not move during the storm.

19 *Missen*: the principal sail on the mizzen-mast of a ship, which depending on the rig could be either the lowest sail on the mizzen-mast in a square-rigged vessel or the sail set on the after part of the mizzen-mast in a fore-and-aft rigged vessel (*OED*, 1 a).

20 *very broad off*: away from the wind.

21 *spooning*: to run before the wind or sea, to scud (*OED*, 1, citing this passage).

22 *trying*: lying to (*OED*, 17). In a gale, 'trying' involves balancing the sails so as to keep the bow of the ship to the sea, and thereby preventing her from rolling to windward in a trough.

23 *hulling*: to float or be driven by the force of the wind or current on the hull alone; to drift to the wind with sails furled (*OED*, 1).

24 *reef*: to reduce the extent of a sail by partially taking it in, thereby making the ship more controllable in strong winds (*OED*, I 1 a, citing this passage).

25 *hauled aft the Fore sheet*: to pull back the rope by which the lee corner of the foresail is held in place (*OED*, 'haul', 1 a; and 'fore-sheet', 1).

26 *hard a Weather*: hard over towards the windward side of the ship, that is in the direction from which the wind blows (*OED*).

27 *wore bravely*: came round smartly on the other tack by turning the head away from the wind (*OED*, 1). The crew are gybing (putting the stern of the boat through the wind) in order to run before it.

28 *belay'd the Foredown-hall*: fastened off the sheet used to pull down the foresail line.

29 *Yard*: a wooden spar, comparatively long and slender, slung at its centre from, and forward of, a mast and serving to support and extend a square sail which is bent to it (*OED*, 5).

30 *hawl'd off upon the Lanniard of the Whipstaff*: pulled at the rope attached to the tiller on the head of the rudder, thereby helping the helmsman.

31 *the Man at Helm*: the helmsman.

32 *she scudded before the Sea very well*: the ship ran well before the wind.

33 *wholesomer*: handled better (*OED*, 3 c).

34 *Sea room*: space at sea free from obstruction in which a ship can be manœuvred easily (*OED*).

35 *brought the Ship to*: brought the ship to a standstill by bringing it head to wind.

Wind was at South-west. We got the Star-board Tack aboard,³⁶ we cast off our Weather-braces and Lifts;³⁷ we set in the Lee-braces,³⁸ and hawl'd forward by the Weather-bowlings,³⁹ and hawl'd them tight, and belayed them,⁴⁰ and hawl'd over the Misen Tack to Windward,⁴¹ and kept her full and by as near as she would lye.⁴²

During this Storm, which was followed by a strong Wind West South-west, we were carried by my Computation about five hundred Leagues to the East, so that the oldest Sailor on Board could not tell in what part of the World we were. Our Provisions held out well, our Ship was staunch,⁴³ and our Crew all in good Health; but we lay in the utmost Distress for Water. We thought it best to hold on the same Course rather than turn more Northerly, which might have brought us to the North-west Parts of great *Tartary*,⁴⁴ and into the frozen Sea.⁴⁵

On the 16th Day of *June* 1703, a Boy on the Top-mast discovered Land. On the 17th we came in full View of a great Island or Continent, (for we knew not whether)⁴⁶ on the South-side whereof was a small Neck of Land jutting out into the Sea, and a Creek too shallow to hold a Ship of above one hundred Tuns. We cast Anchor within a League of this Creek, and our Captain sent a dozen of his Men well armed in the Long Boat, with Vessels for Water⁴⁷ if any could be found. I desired his leave to go with

36 *got the Star board Tack aboard*: trimmed the sails to put the ship on a starboard tack.

37 *cast off our Weather-braces and Lifts*: loosened the rigging on the windward side of the ship.

38 *set in the Lee-braces*: shortened the rigging on the leeward side of the ship.

39 *hawl'd forward by the Weather-bowlings*: pulled forward the windward side of the square sails by the bowlines.

40 *belayed them*: fastened them off, or made them secure (*OED*, 5 b).

41 *hawl'd over the Misen Tack to Windward*: pulled forward the rigging of the main sail of the mizzen mast on the windward side of the ship.

42 *kept her full and by as near as she would lye*: kept the ship as close to the wind as she would sail.

43 *staunch*: water-tight (*OED*, 1, citing this passage).

44 *great Tartary*: Siberia.

45 *frozen Sea*: the Arctic ocean.

46 *whether*: which of the two (*OED*, B).

47 *Vessels for Water*: barrels or other containers. Gulliver's situation when marooned amongst the Brobdingnagians is a literalizing of Epictetus's warning against becoming too attached to the pleasures of life (advice to which Swift was well-disposed, notwithstanding his aversion to Stoicism in general: cf. Davis, vol. I, p. 244): 'As in a voyage, when the ship is at anchor, if you go on shore to get water, you may amuse yourself with picking up a shell-fish or a truffle in your way; but your thoughts ought to be bent towards the ship, and perpetually attentive, lest the captain should call; and then you must leave all these things, that you may not have to be carried on board the vessel, bound like a sheep. Thus likewise in life,

them, that I might see the Country, and make what Discoveries I could. When we came to Land we saw no River or Spring, nor any Sign of Inhabitants. Our Men therefore wandered on the Shore to find out some fresh Water near the Sea, and I walked alone about a Mile on the other Side, where I observed the Country all barren and rocky. I now began to be weary, and seeing nothing to entertain my Curiosity, I returned gently down towards the Creek; and the Sea being full in my View, I saw our Men already got into the Boat, and rowing for Life to the Ship. I was going to hollow after them, although it had been to little purpose, when I observed a huge Creature walking after them in the Sea, as fast as he could: He waded not much deeper than his Knees, and took prodigious strides:⁴⁸ But our Men had the start of him half a League, and the Sea thereabouts being full of sharp pointed Rocks, the Monster was not able to overtake the Boat. This I was afterwards told, for I durst not stay to see the Issue⁴⁹ of that Adventure; but run as fast as I could the Way I first went; and then climbed up a steep Hill, which gave me some Prospect of the Country. I found it fully cultivated; but that which first surprized me was the Length of the Grass, which in those Grounds that seemed to be kept for Hay, was above twenty Foot high.⁵⁰

I fell into a high Road, for so I took it to be, although it served to the Inhabitants only as a foot Path through a Field of Barley. Here I walked on for sometime, but could see little on either Side, it being now near Harvest, and the Corn rising at least forty Foot. I was an Hour walking to the end of this Field; which was fenced in with a Hedge of at least one

if, instead of a truffle or shell-fish, such a thing as a wife or a child be granted you, there is no objection; but if the captain calls, run to the ship, leave all these things, and never look behind. But if you are old, never go far from the ship, lest you should be missing when called for' (Epictetus, *Enchiridion*, VII). Swift's library contained Ellis Walker's verse translation, *Epicteti Enchiridion made English, in a poetical paraphrase* (1692 or 1702); cf. pp. 11–12.

48 *prodigious strides*: an echo of the cyclops Polyphemus wading into the sea to pursue Aeneas's ship (*Aeneid*, III.655–91), and thus a parallel to the allusions to Polyphemus in Part I (above, pp. 37 and 47). Although Swift liked to suggest that he was slow to see literary parallels (for instance, insisting to Gay on 28 March 1728 that 'I did not understand that the Scene of Locket and Peachum's quarrels was an imitation of one between Brutus and Cassius till I was told it'; Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, p. 170), nevertheless a few months later on 28 June 1728 Pope asked Swift to look over the text of *The Dunciad* with a view to 'collecting the parallel passages of the Ancients' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, p. 186).

49 *Issue*: outcome.

50 *twenty Foot high*: approximately twelve times the equivalent in Europe, and thus the inverse of the ratio in Lilliput.

hundred and twenty Foot high, and the Trees so lofty that I could make no Computation of their Altitude. There was a Stile to pass from this Field into the next: It had four Steps, and a Stone to cross over when you came to the utmost. It was impossible for me to climb this Stile, because every Step was six Foot high, and the upper Stone above twenty. I was endeavouring to find some Gap in the Hedge; when I discovered one of the Inhabitants in the next Field advancing towards the Stile, of the same Size with him whom I saw in the Sea pursuing our Boat. He appeared as Tall as an ordinary Spire-steeple; and took about ten Yards at every Stride, as near as I could guess. I was struck with the utmost Fear and Astonishment, and ran to hide my self in the Corn, from whence I saw him at the Top of the Stile, looking back into the next Field on the right Hand; and heard him call in a Voice many Degrees louder than a speaking Trumpet;⁵¹ but the Noise was so High in the Air, that at first I certainly thought it was Thunder. Whereupon seven Monsters like himself came towards him with Reaping-Hooks⁵² in their Hands, each Hook about the largeness of six Scythes. These People were not so well clad as the first, whose Servants or Labourers they seemed to be. For, upon some Words he spoke, they went to reap the Corn in the Field where I lay. I kept from them at as great a Distance as I could, but was forced to move with extream Difficulty; for the Stalks of the Corn were sometimes not above a Foot distant, so that I could hardly squeeze my Body betwixt them. However, I made a shift to go forward till I came to a part of the Field where the Corn had been laid⁵³ by the Rain and Wind: Here it was impossible for me to advance a step; for the Stalks were so interwoven that I could not creep through, and the Beards of the fallen Ears so strong and pointed, that they pierced through my Cloaths into my Flesh. At the same time I heard the Reapers not above an hundred Yards behind me. Being quite dispirited with Toil, and wholly overcome by Grief and Despair, I lay down between two Ridges, and heartily wished I might there end my Days. I bemoaned my desolate Widow, and Fatherless Children: I lamented my own Folly and Wilfulness in attempting a second Voyage against the Advice of all my Friends and Relations. In this terrible Agitation of Mind I could not forbear thinking

51 *speaking Trumpet*: a kind of trumpet (chiefly used at sea), so contrived as to carry the voice to a great distance, or to cause it to be heard above loud noises (*OED*).

52 *Reaping-Hooks*: large hooks used in the reaping of corn or other cereals.

53 *laid*: flattened.

of *Lilliput*, whose Inhabitants looked upon me as the greatest Prodigy that ever appeared in the World; where I was able to draw an Imperial Fleet in my Hand, and perform those other Actions which will be recorded for ever in the Chronicles of that Empire, while Posterity shall hardly believe them, although attested by Millions. I reflected what a Mortification it must prove to me to appear as inconsiderable in this Nation, as one single *Lilliputian* would be among us. But, this I conceived was to be the least of my Misfortunes: For, as human Creatures are observed to be more Savage and cruel in Proportion to their Bulk;⁵⁴ what could I expect but to be a Morsel in the Mouth⁵⁵ of the first among these enormous Barbarians⁵⁶ who should happen to seize me? Undoubtedly Philosophers are in the Right when they tell us, that nothing is great or little otherwise than by Comparison:⁵⁷ It might have pleased Fortune to let the *Lilliputians* find some Nation, where the People were as diminutive with respect to them, as they were to me. And who knows but that even this prodigious Race of Mortals⁵⁸ might be equally overmatched in some distant Part of the World, whereof we have yet no Discovery?

54 *in Proportion to their Bulk*: for examples of the traditional connection between gigantism and cruelty, see *Odyssey*, IX; Ludovico Ariosto, tr. Sir John Harington, *Orlando Furioso*, XV.313; Edmund Spenser, *The Faerie Queene*, IV.x.16 and V.xii.15; *Measure for Measure*, II.ii.108–10; and *Paradise Lost*, I.197–200. In his *Dictionary* Johnson would note that ‘the idea of a giant is always associated with pride, brutality, and wickedness’ (*sv* ‘giant’). For an example of Swift equating giants with ‘Tumults and Seditions’, see *The Examiner* 14 (Davis, vol. III, p. 9).

55 *a Morsel in the Mouth*: cf. the parallel instance in Part I, Chapter 2, when Gulliver places in his mouth one of the ringleaders of the rabble who fire arrows at him, and makes as if to eat him (above, p. 47). Gulliver’s fear is swiftly realized by the Farmer’s infant son (below, p. 130).

56 *enormous Barbarians*: the connection between barbarism and gigantism goes back to Tacitus’s *Germania*, in which he talks of the ‘large frames’ (*magna corpora*) of the Germans (III, IV): Tacitus was one of Swift’s favourite authors, to whom he often alluded and from whom he liked to quote (*Library and Reading*, pp. 1788–90). For examples of the topos from later in the century, see Richard Glover, *The Atheniad* (1787), III.xxi.276 and III.xxviii.294 and Edward Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, vol. I, p. 84. However, the inhabitants of Brobdingnag prove to be the reverse of barbarous.

57 *otherwise than by Comparison*: Swift may have in mind this passage from John Wilkins, *Mathematical and Philosophical Works* (1708): ‘The Words *Great* and *Little*, are relative Terms, and do import a Comparison to something else’ (p. 208). It is a notion which returned in the afterlife of *GT*: ‘So it is, that nothing is really deform’d or ridiculous in itself; and that whatever appears so to our eyes, is singular and uncommon only by comparison’ (*The Travels of Mr John Gulliver*, 2 vols. (1731), vol. II, p. 16).

58 *prodigious Race of Mortals*: in the early eighteenth century the phrase ‘race of mortals’ was frequently used in pejorative contexts: ‘a strange prodigious Race of Men amongst us, who . . . labour to shake off the Yoak [as they are pleased to term it,] of Government, as

Scared and confounded as I was, I could not forbear going on with these Reflections; when one of the Reapers approaching within ten Yards of the Ridge where I lay, made me apprehend that with the next Step I should be squashed to Death under his Foot, or cut in two with his Reaping Hook. And therefore when he was again about to move, I screamed as loud as Fear could make me. Whereupon the huge Creature trod short, and looking round about under him for some time, at last espied me as I lay on the Ground. He considered a while with the Caution of one who endeavours to lay hold on a small dangerous Animal in such a Manner that it shall not be able either to scratch or to bite him; as I my self have sometimes done with a *Weasel in England*. At length he ventured to take me up behind by the middle between his Fore-finger and Thumb, and brought me within three Yards of his Eyes, that he might behold my Shape more perfectly. I guessed his Meaning; and my good Fortune gave me so much Presence of Mind, that I resolved not to struggle in the least as he held me in the Air above sixty Foot from the Ground; although he grievously pinched my Sides, for fear I should slip through his Fingers. All I ventured was to raise mine Eyes towards the Sun, and place my Hands together in a supplicating Posture, and to speak some Words in an humble melancholy Tone, suitable to the Condition I then was in. For, I apprehended every Moment that he would dash me against the Ground, as we usually do any little hateful Animal which we have a Mind to destroy. But my good Star would have it, that he appeared pleased with my Voice and Gestures, and began to look upon me as a Curiosity; much wondering to hear me pronounce articulate Words, although he could not understand them. In the mean time I was not able to forbear Groaning and shedding Tears, and turning my Head towards my Sides; letting him know, as well as I could, how cruelly I was hurt by the Pressure of his Thumb and Finger.

well Civil as Ecclesiastical' (Anon., *Miscellanies Historical and Philological* (1703), p. 177; 'there is hardly any where to be found a more insipid Race of Mortals, than those whom we Moderns are contented to call Poets' (Shaftesbury, 'Advice to an Author', in *Characteristicks*, vol. I, p. 207); 'yet are our Poets not held as formerly, in devout Reverence, but are, perhaps, the most contemptible Race of Mortals now in this Kingdom' ('E.F.', *A Letter of Advice to a Young Poet* (Dublin, 1721), p. 11 – a work sometimes attributed to Swift; Davis, vol. IX, pp. 323–45); 'the most ungrateful, factious, fickle Race of Mortals under the Sun' (Delarivier Manley, *A Modest Enquiry* (Dublin, 1714), p. 15). The phrase recurs in Part III, Chapter 2 (below, p. 226) and Part IV, Chapter 7 (below, p. 388).

He seemed to apprehend my Meaning; for, lifting up the Lappet⁵⁹ of his Coat, he put me gently into it, and immediately ran along with me to his Master, who was a substantial Farmer, and the same Person I had first seen in the Field.

The Farmer having (as I supposed by their Talk) received such an Account of me as his Servant could give him, took a piece of a small Straw, about the Size of a walking Staff, and therewith lifted up the Lappets of my Coat; which it seems he thought to be some kind of Covering that Nature had given me.⁶⁰ He blew my Hairs aside to take a better View of my Face. He called his Hinds⁶¹ about him, and asked them (as I afterwards learned) whether they had ever seen in the Fields any little Creature that resembled me. He then placed me softly on the Ground upon all four; but I got immediately up, and walked slowly backwards and forwards, to let those People see I had no Intent to run away. They all sate down in a Circle about me, the better to observe my Motions. I pulled off my Hat, and made a low Bow towards the Farmer: I fell on my Knees, and lifted up my Hands and Eyes, and spoke several Words as loud as I could: I took a Purse of Gold out of my Pocket, and humbly presented it to him. He received it on the Palm of his Hand, then applied it close to his Eye, to see what it was, and afterwards turned it several times with the Point of a Pin, (which he took out of his Sleeve,) but could make nothing of it. Whereupon I made a Sign that he should place his Hand on the Ground: I then took the Purse, and opening it, poured all the Gold into his Palm. There were six *Spanish*-Pieces of four Pistoles⁶² each, besides twenty or thirty smaller Coins. I saw him wet the Tip of his little Finger upon his Tongue, and take up one of my largest Pieces, and then another; but he seemed to be wholly ignorant what they were. He made me a Sign to put them again into my Purse, and the Purse again into my Pocket; which after offering to him several times, I thought it best to do.

59 *Lappet*: the flap or skirt (of a coat); also the lapel (*OED*, 3, citing this passage). However, here it seems to refer to the flap of a pocket.

60 *that Nature had given me*: cf. the similar error of the Houyhnhnms concerning Gulliver's clothes in Part IV, Chapter 3 (below, p. 348).

61 *Hinds*: agricultural labourers (*OED*, 2).

62 *Pistoles*: Spanish gold coins worth slightly less than a pound. *Intelligencer* 19 implies that a 'Double Pistole' is an inconveniently large sum of money for common purposes (Davis, vol. XII, p. 55).

The Farmer by this time was convinced I must be a rational Creature. He spoke often to me, but the Sound of his Voice pierced my Ears like that of a Water-Mill;⁶³ yet his Words were articulate enough. I answered as loud as I could in several Languages; and he often laid his Ear within two Yards of me, but all in vain, for we were wholly unintelligible to each other. He then sent his Servants to their Work, and taking his Handkerchief out of his Pocket, he doubled and spread it on his Hand, which he placed flat on the Ground with the Palm upwards, making me a Sign to step into it, as I could easily do, for it was not above a Foot in thickness. I thought it my part to obey; and for fear of falling, laid my self at full Length upon the Handkerchief, with the Remainder of which he lapped me up to the Head for further Security; and in this Manner carried me home to his House. There he called his Wife, and shewed me to her; but she screamed and ran back as Women in *England* do at the Sight of a Toad or a Spider. However, when she had a while seen my Behaviour, and how well I observed the Signs her Husband made, she was soon reconciled, and by Degrees grew extremely tender of me.

It was about twelve at Noon, and a Servant brought in Dinner. It was only one substantial Dish of Meat (fit for the plain Condition of an Husband-Man)⁶⁴ in a Dish of about four and twenty Foot Diameter. The Company were the Farmer and Wife, three Children, and an old Grandmother: When they were sat down, the Farmer placed me at some Distance from him on the Table, which was thirty Foot high from the Floor. I was in a terrible Fright, and kept as far as I could from the Edge, for fear of falling. The Wife minced a bit of Meat, then crumbled some Bread on a Trencher,⁶⁵ and placed it before me. I made her a low Bow, took out my Knife and Fork, and fell to eat; which gave them exceeding Delight. The Mistress sent her Maid for a small Dram-cup,⁶⁶ which held about two Gallons; and filled it with Drink: I took up the Vessel with much difficulty in both Hands, and in a most respectful Manner drank to

63 *Water-Mill*: cf. above, p. 52, n. 35.

64 *the plain Condition of an Husband-Man*: cf. Swift's nostalgia for the simplicity and integrity he associated with 'English Yeomen of the old Stamp' in Part III, Chapter 8 (below, p. 303).

65 *Trencher*: a flat piece of wood, square or circular, on which meat was served and cut up; a plate or platter of wood, metal, or earthenware (*OED*, II 2).

66 *Dram-cup*: a cup suitable for a small draught of cordial, stimulant, or spirituous liquor (*OED*, 'dram', 3a and 6).

her Ladyship's Health, expressing the Words as loud as I could in *English*; which made the Company laugh so heartily, that I was almost deafened with the Noise. This Liquour tasted like a small⁶⁷ Cyder, and was not unpleasant. Then the Master made me a Sign to come to his Trencher side; but as I walked on the Table, being in great surprize⁶⁸ all the time, as the indulgent Reader will easily conceive and excuse, I happened to stumble against a Crust, and fell flat on my Face, but received no hurt. I got up immediately, and observing the good People to be in much Concern, I took my Hat (which I held under my Arm out of good Manners) and waving it over my Head, made three Huzza's, to shew I had got no Mischief by the Fall. But advancing forwards toward my Master (as I shall henceforth call him) his youngest Son who sate next him, an arch⁶⁹ Boy of about ten Years old, took me up by the Legs, and held me so high in the Air, that I trembled every Limb; but his Father snatched me from him; and at the same time gave him such a Box on the left Ear, as would have felled an *European Troop of Horse*⁷⁰ to the Earth; ordering him to be taken from the Table. But, being afraid the Boy might owe me a Spight;⁷¹ and well remembring how mischievous all Children among us naturally are to Sparrows, Rabbits, young Kittens, and Puppy-Dogs; I fell on my Knees, and pointing to the Boy, made my Master understand, as well as I could, that I desired his Son might be pardoned. The Father complied, and the

67 *small*: of low alcoholic strength (*OED*, 12).

68 *surprize*: alarm, terror, or perplexity (*OED*, 4).

69 *arch*: clever, cunning, crafty, roguish, waggish (*OED*, 2); perhaps here with an overtone of malice.

70 *an European Troop of Horse*: cf. the parallel, but inverted, detail in Part I, Chapter 3 (p. 59 above).

71 *might owe me a Spight*: this passage recalls Hugo Grotius's discrimination of slight injuries, for which there is no right of revenge, from other more serious injuries: 'There are some of Opinion, that if a Man is in Danger of receiving a Box on the Ear, or any Injury of the like Nature, he has a Right of revenging so small a Crime, even by the Death of him that attempts it' (*De Iure Belli et Pacis*, II.i.10). Swift was familiar with the work of Grotius, and on 12 June 1714 he recommended to John Gay that he read *De Iure Belli et Pacis* as preparation for diplomatic service (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. I, p. 615; cf. James O'Toole, 'A New Book from Swift's Library', *SSStud*, 9 (1994), 113–17 for the discovery of Swift's copy of *De Iure Belli et Pacis*). Swift's attitude towards Grotius was, however, darkened by the fact that he regarded the author of the *Mare Liberum* (1609) as the legal theorist of that Dutch misbehaviour on the international stage which is so condemned in Part III of *GT*: see Roger Coke, *A Detection of the Court and State of England*, 3 vols. (1719), vol. I, p. 317, and below, p. 217. For other moments in *GT* where Swift engages with the continental natural law tradition of Grotius and Pufendorf, see below pp. 253, 362, n. 5, 364, nn. 15 and 16, 368, n. 36, 374, n. 6, 441, n. 24.

Lad took his Seat again; whereupon I went to him and kissed his Hand, which my Master took, and made him stroak me gently with it.

In the Midst of Dinner my Mistress's favourite Cat⁷² leapt into her Lap. I heard a Noise behind me like that of a Dozen Stocking-Weavers⁷³ at work; and turning my Head, I found it proceeded from the Purring of this Animal, who seemed to be three Times larger than an Ox, as I computed by the View of her Head, and one of her Paws, while her Mistress was feeding and stroaking her. The Fierceness of this Creature's Countenance altogether discomposed me; although I stood at the further End of the Table, above fifty Foot off; and although my Mistress held her fast for fear she might give a Spring, and seize me in her Talons. But it happened there was no Danger; for the Cat took not the least Notice of me when my Master placed me within three Yards of her. And as I have been always told, and found true by Experience in my Travels, that flying, or discovering Fear before a fierce Animal, is a certain Way to make it pursue or attack you; so I resolved in this dangerous Juncture to shew no Manner of Concern.⁷⁴ I walked with Intrepidity five or six Times before the very Head of the Cat, and came within half a Yard of her; whereupon she drew her self back, as if she were more afraid of me: I had less Apprehension concerning the Dogs, whereof three or four came into the Room, as it is usual in Farmers Houses;⁷⁵ one of which was a Mastiff equal in Bulk to

72 *favourite Cat*: Edmund Curll connected this moment in *GT* to 'Montaigne's Puss', the famous passage in the 'Apology for Raymond Sebond' when Montaigne speculates: 'When I play with my cat, how do I know that she is not passing time with me rather than I with her?' (*Essays*, p. 505; *Key*, Part I, p. 5).

73 *Stocking-Weavers*: stocking frames; machines for producing material composed of the looped stitch used in knitting. Gulliver's father-in-law is a hosier (above, p. 31).

74 *shew no Manner of Concern*: on the importance of not showing fear, see Machiavelli, *Discourses*, II.14: 'it is the interest of all Princes to be very cautious of condescending from their dignity, or stooping willingly to any thing that might give the Enemy an opinion of his weakness or pusillanimity. . . whose nature commonly is such, that upon the discovery of their impotence or fear, his desires encrease, and new things are successively demanded'. Cf. also George Granville's 'To MYRA. *The Vision*': 'Women like Cowards, tame to the Severe, / Are only Fierce, when they discover Fear' (*Poems Upon Several Occasions* (1712), p. 90). That a display of power can be as effective as power itself is a classical topos, see *Aeneid*, V.231 ('possunt, quia posse videntur'; 'they are potent because they seem so'), notoriously and ludicrously reworked by Dryden in *The Conquest of Granada*, Part II, II.iii.106 ('And I can do all this, because I dare').

75 *Farmers Houses*: for Swift's trenchant view of farmers' houses in Ireland, see his *A Short View of the State of Ireland* (1727): 'The Families of Farmers, who pay great Rents, living in Filth and Nastiness upon Butter-milk and Potatoes, without a Shoe or Stocking to their Feet; or a House so convenient as an *English Hog-sty*, to receive them' (Davis, vol. XII, p. 10).

four Elephants, and a Grey-hound somewhat taller than the Mastiff, but not so large.

When Dinner was almost done, the Nurse came in with a Child of a Year old in her Arms; who immediately spied me, and began a Squall⁷⁶ that you might have heard from *London-Bridge* to *Chelsea*;⁷⁷ after the usual Oratory of Infants, to get me for a Play-thing. The Mother out of pure Indulgence took me up, and put me towards the Child, who presently seized me by the Middle, and got my Head in his⁷⁸ Mouth where I roared so loud that the Urchin was frightened, and let me drop; and I should infallibly have broke my Neck, if the Mother had not held her Apron under me.⁷⁹ The Nurse to quiet her Babe made use of a Rattle, which was a Kind of hollow Vessel filled with great Stones, and fastned by a Cable to the Child's Waist: But all in vain, so that she was forced to apply the last Remedy by giving it suck. I must confess no Object ever disgusted me so much as the Sight of her monstrous Breast, which I cannot tell what to compare with, so as to give the curious Reader an Idea of its Bulk, Shape and Colour. It stood prominent six Foot, and could not be less than sixteen in Circumference. The Nipple was about half the bigness of my Head, and the Hue⁸⁰ both of that and the Dug so varified with Spots, Pimples and Freckles, that nothing could appear more nauseous: For I had a near Sight of her, she sitting down the more conveniently to give Suck, and I standing on the Table. This made me reflect upon the fair Skins of our *English* Ladies, who appear so beautiful to us, only because they are of our own Size, and their Defects not to be seen but through a magnifying Glass,⁸¹ where we

76 *Squall*: a discordant or violent scream; a loud, harsh cry (*OED*, 1).

77 *London-Bridge to Chelsea*: i.e. from the City of London to beyond the West End; approximately four miles. The figure of speech underlines Gulliver's character as a Londoner.

78 *Head in his Mouth*: another parallel to the passage in Part I, Chapter 2, when Gulliver pretends to be about to eat a Lilliputian (above, p. 47).

79 *held her Apron under me*: a parallel to Flimnap's being saved from a fall which would 'have infallibly broke his Neck' by the Emperor of Lilliput's cushions in Part I, Chapter 3 (above, p. 57).

80 *Hue*: used here in its more precise sense, current in Swift's day but now archaic, of the external appearance of the face and skin, or complexion, particularly in women (*OED*, 2), rather than referring generally to colour (*OED*, 3a).

81 *magnifying Glass*: Swift's imagination often dwelt on the effects, at once revelatory and distorting, produced by optical instruments. Cf. 'The Lady's Dressing Room': 'The Virtues we must not let pass, / Of *Celia's* magnifying Glass. / When frighted *Strephon* cast his Eye on't / It shew'd the Visage of a Gyant' (Williams, *Poems*, p. 527, lines 59–62); and *Intelligencer* no. 9: 'if you should look at him [the young Gentleman] in his Boyhood through the

find by Experiment that the smoothest and whitest Skins look rough and coarse, and ill coloured.

I remember when I was at *Lilliput*, the Complexions of those diminutive People appeared to me the fairest in the World: And talking upon this Subject with a Person of Learning there, who was an intimate Friend of mine; he said, that my Face appeared much fairer and smoother when he looked on me from the Ground, than it did upon a nearer View when I took him up in my Hand, and brought him close; which he confessed was at first a very shocking Sight. He said, he could discover great Holes in my Skin;⁸² that the Stumps of my Beard were ten Times stronger than the Bristles of a Boar; and my Complexion made up of several Colours altogether disagreeable: Although I must beg Leave to say for my self, that I am as fair as most of my Sex and Country, and very little Sunburnt by all my Travels. On the other Side, discoursing of the Ladies in that Emperor's Court, he used to tell me, one had Freckles, another too wide a Mouth, a third too large a Nose; nothing of which I was able to distinguish. I confess this Reflection was obvious enough; which, however, I could not forbear, lest the Reader might think those vast Creatures were actually deformed: For I must do them Justice to say they are a comely Race of People; and particularly the Features of my Master's Countenance, although he were but a Farmer, when I beheld him from the Height of sixty Foot, appeared very well proportioned.

When Dinner was done, my Master went out to his Labourers; and as I could discover by his Voice and Gesture, gave his Wife a strict Charge to take Care of me. I was very much tired and disposed to sleep, which my Mistress perceiving, she put me on her own Bed, and covered me with a clean white Handkerchief, but larger and coarser than the Main Sail of a Man of War.⁸³

magnifying End of a Perspective, and in his Manhood through the other, it would be impossible to spy any Difference' (Davis, vol. XII, p. 50). In the opening pages of the *Sidereus Nuncius* (Venice, 1610) Galileo had memorably rhapsodized over the beauties made newly visible by the telescope (Galileo, *Discoveries*, pp. 27–8).

82 *great Holes in my Skin*: cf. Robert Hooke: 'But to digress no further, we may, from this discovery of the *Microscope*, plainly enough understand how the skin, though it looks so close as it does, comes to give a passage to so vast a quantity of *excrementitious* substances . . . for it seems very probable, from the texture after dressing, that there are an infinit of pores that every way pierce it' (*Micrographia*, p. 161).

83 *Main Sail of a Man of War*: cf. Part I, Chapter 2 and the Lilliputian description of Gulliver's handkerchief (above, p. 50).

I slept about two Hours, and dreamed I was at home with my Wife and Children, which aggravated my Sorrows when I awaked and found my self alone in a vast Room, between two and three Hundred Foot wide, and above two Hundred high; lying in a Bed twenty Yards wide. My Mistress was gone about her household Affairs, and had locked me in. The Bed was eight Yards from the Floor. Some natural Necessities⁸⁴ required me to get down: I durst not presume to call, and if I had, it would have been in vain with such a Voice as mine at so great a Distance from the Room where I lay, to the Kitchen where the Family kept. While I was under these Circumstances, two Rats crept up the Curtains, and ran smelling backwards and forwards on the Bed: One of them came up almost to my Face; whereupon I rose in a Fright, and drew out my Hanger⁸⁵ to defend my self. These horrible Animals had the Boldness to attack me on both Sides, and one of them held his Fore-feet at my Collar; but I had the good Fortune to rip up his Belly before he could do me any Mischief. He fell down at my Feet; and the other seeing the Fate of his Comrade, made his Escape, but not without one good Wound on the Back, which I gave him as he fled, and made the Blood run trickling from him. After this Exploit I walked gently to and fro on the Bed, to recover my Breath and Loss of Spirits. These Creatures were of the Size of a large Mastiff, but infinitely more nimble and fierce; so that if I had taken off my Belt before I went to sleep, I must have infallibly been torn to Pieces and devoured. I measured the Tail of the dead Rat, and found it to be two Yards long, wanting an Inch; but it went against my Stomach to drag the Carcass off the Bed, where it lay still bleeding; I observed it had yet some Life, but with a strong Slash cross the Neck, I thoroughly dispatched it.

Soon after, my Mistress came into the Room, who seeing me all bloody, ran and took me up in her Hand. I pointed to the dead *Rat*, smiling and making other Signs to shew I was not hurt; whereat she was extremely rejoiced, calling the Maid to take up the dead *Rat* with a Pair of Tongs, and throw it out of the Window. Then she set me on a Table, where I shewed her my Hanger all bloody, and wiping it on the Lappet⁸⁶ of my

84 *natural Necessities*: cf. Part I, Chapter 2, when Gulliver is pressed by the 'Necessities of Nature' (above, p. 43).

85 *Hanger*: a heavy short sword, originally hung from the belt (*OED*).

86 *Lappet*: cf. above, p. 126, n. 59; here it seems to mean a lapel, or the hanging side of the coat.

Coat, returned it to the Scabbard. I was pressed to do more than one Thing, which another could not do for me;⁸⁷ and therefore endeavoured to make my Mistress understand that I desired to be set down on the Floor; which after she had done, my Bashfulness would not suffer me to express my self farther than by pointing to the Door, and bowing several Times. The good Woman with much Difficulty at last perceived what I would be at; and taking me up again in her Hand, walked into the Garden where she set me down. I went on one Side about two Hundred Yards; and beckoning to her not to look or to follow me, I hid my self between two Leaves of Sorrel, and there discharged the Necessities of Nature.⁸⁸

I hope, the gentle Reader will excuse me for dwelling on these and the like Particulars; which however insignificant they may appear to grovelling vulgar Minds,⁸⁹ yet will certainly help a Philosopher to enlarge his Thoughts and Imagination,⁹⁰ and apply them to the Benefit of publick as well as private Life;⁹¹ which was my sole Design in presenting this and

87 *which another could not do for me*: a euphemism for excretion which Swift might have noticed in a number of contemporary medical texts, e.g. Luigi Cornaro, *Sure and Certain Methods of Attaining a Long and Healthful Life* (1702), p. 26; Anon., *Medicina Flagellata: or, the Doctor Scarify'd* (1721), p. 147. For a group of similar euphemisms, see the final paragraph of Lord Chesterfield's letter to his son of 11 December 1747 (Chesterfield, vol. III, p. 1067). It is a turn of phrase which might have found a place in Swift's anthology of modern conversational corruptions and periphrases, *Polite Conversation* (1738) (Davis, vol. IV, pp. 97–201).

88 *the Necessities of Nature*: another euphemism found in medical contexts (e.g. Richard Carr, *Dr Carr's Medicinal Epistles* [1714], p. 89); but also employed for humorous effect in burlesque writings (e.g. Samuel Butler, *Hudibras*, I.iii.1249, note in edition of 1726, p. 128). It was used against Swift by William Wotton in his *A Defence of the Reflections Upon Ancient and Modern Learning* (1705), p. 61. Cf. also 'Strephon and Chloe': 'You'd swear, that so divine a Creature / Felt no Necessities of Nature' (Williams, *Poems*, p. 584, lines 19–20).

89 *grovelling vulgar Minds*: in 'Of Popular Discontents' Temple discovers a cause of sedition in the 'Heats and Humours of vulgar Minds' in a passage which may have influenced Swift's account of Gulliver's extinguishing of the fire in the royal palace in Lilliput (Temple, vol. I, p. 259; cf. above, p. 80, n. 24).

90 *enlarge his Thoughts and Imagination*: cf. Gulliver's later claim, in Part IV, Chapter 7, that his experience of the Houyhnhnms 'had so far opened mine Eyes, and enlarged my Understanding, that I began to view the Actions and Passions of Man in a very different Light; and to think the Honour of my own Kind not worth managing' (below, p. 388).

91 *Benefit of publick as well as private Life*: cf. the prefatory letter to Sympson (above, p. 10) and Long note 6. Swift is perhaps echoing William Dampier, who in the dedication of *A New Voyage Round the World* (1697) to Charles Montagu, President of the Royal Society, claimed: 'Yet dare I avow, according to my narrow sphere and poor abilities, a hearty Zeal for the promoting of useful knowledge, and of any thing that may never so remotely tend to my Countries advantage: And I must own an Ambition of transmitting to the Publick through your hands, these Essays I have made toward those great ends, of which you are so deservedly esteemed the Patron. This hath been my design in this Publication, being desirous

other Accounts of my Travels to the World; wherein I have been chiefly studious of Truth, without affecting any Ornaments of Learning, or of Style.⁹² But the whole Scene of this Voyage made so strong an Impression on my Mind, and is so deeply fixed in my Memory, that in committing it to Paper, I did not omit one material Circumstance: However, upon a strict Review, I blotted out several Passages of less Moment⁹³ which were in my first Copy, for fear of being censured as tedious and trifling, whereof Travellers are often, perhaps not without Justice, accused.

to bring in my Gleanings here and there in Remote Regions, to that general Magazine, of the knowledge of Foreign Parts, which the *Royal Society* thought you most worthy the Custody of, when they chose you for their *President* (p. 4).

92 *any Ornaments of Learning, or of Style*: again, a parodic echo of Dampier (see above, p. 7, n. 13). Note Faulkner's comment on the plainness and originality of Swift's own style: '*the Author never was known either in Verse or Prose to borrow any Thought, Simile, Epithet, or particular Manner of Style; but whatever he writ, whether good, bad, or indifferent, is an Original in itself*' (Davis, vol. XIII, p. 184). Compare Swift's own overstated claim about the absence of allusion in his writing: 'To Steal a Hint was never known, / But what he writ was all his own' ('Verses on the Death of Dr Swift', lines 317–18; Williams, *Poems*, p. 565) – itself an allusion to Sir John Denham's 'On Mr Abraham Cowley', lines 29–30: 'To him no author was unknown, / Yet what he wrote was all his own.' The claim of originality which is itself an allusion (and hence disproves what it asserts) is a paradoxical trope with a pedigree stretching far back into antiquity: for a succinct account, see Giulio Massimilla (ed. and tr.), Callimachus, *Aitia: libri primo e secundo* (Pisa: Giardini, 1996), pp. 219 and 221.

93 *Passages of less Moment*: another detail which indicates the 'mock-book' status of *GT*.

CHAPTER II.

A Description of the Farmer's Daughter. The Author carried to a Market-Town, and then to the Metropolis. The Particulars of his Journey.

My Mistress had a Daughter of nine Years old, a Child of towardly Parts¹ for her Age, very dextrous at her Needle, and skilful in dressing her Baby.² Her Mother and she contrived to fit up the Baby's Cradle for me against Night: The Cradle was put into a small Drawer of a Cabinet, and the Drawer placed upon a hanging Shelf for fear of the *Rats*. This was my Bed all the Time I stayed with those People, although made more convenient by Degrees, as I began to learn their Language, and make my Wants known. This young Girl was so handy, that after I had once or twice pulled off my Cloaths before her, she was able to dress and undress me, although I never gave her that Trouble when she would let me do either my self. She made me seven Shirts, and some other Linnen of as fine Cloth as could be got, which indeed was coarser than Sackcloth; and these she constantly washed for me with her own Hands. She was likewise my School-Mistress to teach me the Language: When I pointed to any thing, she told me the Name of it in her own Tongue, so that in a few Days I was able to call for whatever I had a mind to. She was very good natured, and not above forty Foot high, being little for her Age. She gave me the Name of *Grildrig*,³ which the Family took up, and afterwards the whole Kingdom. The Word imports what the *Latins* call *Nanunculus*,⁴ the *Italians* *Homuncetino*,⁵ and the *English* *Mannikin*. To her I chiefly owe

1 *towardly Parts*: promising abilities, with overtones of good nature and docility (*OED*, 'part', 15 and 'towardly', 2).

2 *Baby*: doll (*OED*, 2).

3 *Grildrig*: misremembered by Bolingbroke on 17 February 1727 as 'Grillon' (the French word for a cricket) (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, p. 74).

4 *Nanunculus*: a coinage, from 'nanus', a dwarf, and 'homunculus', a manikin.

5 *Homuncetino*: a similar coinage, constructed by adding an apparently Italian diminutive suffix to 'homunculus'.

my Preservation in that Country: We never parted while I was there; I called her my *Glumdalclitch*, or little Nurse:⁶ And I should be guilty of great Ingratitude if I omitted this honourable Mention of her Care and Affection towards me, which I heartily wish it lay in my Power to requite as she deserves, instead of being the innocent but unhappy Instrument of her Disgrace, as I have too much Reason to fear.

It now began to be known and talked of in the Neighbourhood, that my Master had found a strange Animal in the Field, about the Bigness of a *Splacknuck*, but exactly shaped in every Part like a human Creature; which it likewise imitated in all its Actions; seemed to speak in a little Language⁷ of its own, had already learned several Words of theirs, went erect upon two Legs, was tame and gentle, would come when it was called, do whatever it was bid, had the finest Limbs in the World, and a Complexion fairer than a Nobleman's Daughter of three Years old. Another Farmer who lived hard by, and was a particular Friend of my Master, came on a Visit on Purpose to enquire into the Truth of this Story. I was immediately produced, and placed upon a Table; where I walked as I was commanded, drew my Hanger, put it up again, made my Reverence to my Master's Guest, asked him in his own Language how he did, and told him he was welcome; just as my little Nurse had instructed me. This Man, who was old and dim-sighted, put on his Spectacles to behold me better, at which I could not forbear laughing very heartily; for his Eyes appeared like the Full-Moon shining into a Chamber at two Windows. Our People, who discovered the Cause of my Mirth, bore me Company in Laughing; at which the old Fellow was Fool enough to be angry and out of Countenance. He had the Character of a great Miser; and to my Misfortune he well deserved it by the cursed Advice he gave my Master, to shew me as a Sight upon a Market-Day⁸ in the next Town, which was half an Hour's Riding, about

6 *little Nurse*: Glumdalclitch is possibly created in part out of Swift's memories of his own nurse, who looked after him for the first three years of his life, and introduced him to literature: 'The nurse was so carefull of him that before he returnd he had learnt to spell, and by the time that he was three years old he could read any chapter in the Bible' (Davis, vol. V, p. 192); cf. Glumdalclitch's role as linguistic tutor. Ehrenpreis finds in her traces of Esther Johnson (or 'Stella') (Ehrenpreis, vol. III, p. 457).

7 *a little Language*: Swift's phrase for the private, childish language he occasionally employed in the *Journal to Stella* (e.g. Williams, *JSt*, p. 210).

8 *shew me as a Sight upon a Market-Day*: cf. the similar fate of Cyrano de Bergerac: 'I was carried to his House, where I was taught to play Jack in the Box, to tumble Head over Heels, and

two and twenty Miles from our House. I guessed there was some Mischief contriving, when I observed my Master and his Friend whispering long together, sometimes pointing at me; and my Fears made me fancy that I overheard and understood some of their Words. But, the next Morning *Glumdalclitch* my little Nurse told me the whole Matter, which she had cunningly picked out from her Mother. The poor Girl laid me on her Bosom, and fell a weeping with Shame and Grief. She apprehended some Mischief would happen to me from rude vulgar Folks, who might squeeze me to Death, or break one of my Limbs by taking me in their Hands. She had also observed how modest I was in my Nature, how nicely I regarded my Honour; and what an Indignity I should conceive it to be exposed for Money as a publick Spectacle to the meanest of the People. She said, her *Papa* and *Mamma* had promised that *Grildrig* should be hers; but now she found they meant to serve her as they did last Year, when they pretended to give her a Lamb; and yet, as soon as it was fat, sold it to a Butcher. For my own Part, I may truly affirm that I was less concerned than my Nurse. I had a strong Hope which never left me, that I should one Day recover my Liberty;⁹ and as to the Ignominy of being carried about for a Monster,¹⁰ I considered my self to be a perfect Stranger in the Country; and that such a Misfortune could never be charged upon me as a Reproach if ever I should return to *England*; since the King of *Great Britain*¹¹ himself, in my Condition, must have undergone the same Distress.¹²

a thousand other Tricks, for the Sight of which he made every Person pay a certain Price' (*Voyage to the Moon*, p. 43). Note the detail immediately above of the old man's eyes seeming like 'the Full-Moon shining into a Chamber at two Windows'.

9 *recover my Liberty*: note the frequency of similar wishes in Part I (above, pp. 38, 49, 56, 60, 62, 63, 65).

10 *Monster*: a malformed animal or plant (*OED*, 3a). Dampier had brought a 'painted Prince', Joely, back to England to be 'shewn for a sight', but in the course of being displayed he 'died of the Small-pox at Oxford' (*A New Voyage Round the World* (1697), pp. 517 and 549). See also Taylor, 'Sights and Monsters'; Richard D. Altick, *The Shows of London* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, 1978); and Dennis Todd, *Imagining Monsters* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1995), pp. 140–78.

11 *King of Great Britain*: this regal style would imply a date after the Act of Union (1707). The internal chronology of *GT*, however, has Gulliver arrive in Brobdingnag in 1703.

12 *the same Distress*: possibly a recollection of the tribulations of Charles I, which affected Swift deeply, and which surface elsewhere in *GT*: see Long note 8. Clarendon described the 'woeful spectacle' of Charles's execution, his patience on that occasion, and the display of the corpse 'many days to the public view, that all men might know that he was not alive' (Clarendon, vol. IV, pp. 487 and 492).

My Master, pursuant to¹³ the Advice of his Friend, carried me in a Box¹⁴ the next Market-Day to the neighbouring Town; and took along with him his little Daughter my Nurse upon a Pillion behind him. The Box was close¹⁵ on every Side, with a little Door for me to go in and out, and a few Gimlet-holes¹⁶ to let in Air. The Girl had been so careful to put the Quilt of her Baby's Bed into it, for me to lye down on. However, I was terribly shaken and discomposed in this Journey, although it were but of half an Hour. For the Horse went about forty Foot at every Step; and trotted so high, that the Agitation was equal to the rising and falling of a Ship in a great Storm, but much more frequent: Our Journey was somewhat further than from *London* to *St. Albans*.¹⁷ My Master alighted at an Inn which he used to frequent; and after consulting a while with the Inn-keeper, and making some necessary Preparations, he hired the *Gruiltrud*, or Cryer, to give Notice through the Town, of a strange Creature to be seen at the Sign of the Green *Eagle*,¹⁸ not so big as a *Splacnuck* (an Animal in that Country very finely shaped, about six Foot long) and in every Part of the Body resembling an human Creature; could speak several Words, and perform an Hundred diverting Tricks.

I was placed upon a Table in the largest Room of the Inn, which might be near three Hundred Foot square. My little Nurse stood on a low Stool close to the Table, to take care of me, and direct what I should do. My Master, to avoid a Croud, would suffer only Thirty People at a Time to see me. I walked about on the Table as the Girl commanded; she asked me Questions as far as she knew my Understanding of the Language reached, and I answered them as loud as I could. I turned about several Times to

13 *pursuant to*: following upon (*OED*, 2a).

14 *in a Box*: a Swiss dwarf, John Wormberg, was transported in a box (Taylor, 'Sights and Monsters', p. 30). Cf. Deane Swift's account of Swift's 'ludicrous whims and extravagancies' concerning his early life, which included the assertion that 'he was not born in *Ireland* at all. . . he was stolen from *England* when a child, and brought over to *Ireland* in a band-box' (*Essay*, p. 26).

15 *close*: closed, shut; having no part left open (*OED*, 1a).

16 *Gimlet-holes*: small holes made by a gimlet, or boring tool (*OED*, 1a and 3).

17 *London to St. Albans*: approximately 20 miles (32 kilometres). St Albans was the favourite residence of the Duke of Marlborough, where he held property which had come to him through his wife's family.

18 *Green Eagle*: in the Armagh copy of *GT* the name of the inn has been changed, probably by Swift himself, to the 'Horn and Crown' (see below, p. 738), a revision which brings with it implications of royal cuckoldom. See Treadwell, 'Text', pp. 69–70.

the Company, paid my humble Respects, said they were welcome; and used some other Speeches I had been taught. I took up a Thimble filled with Liquor, which *Glumdalclitch* had given me for a Cup, and drank their Health. I drew out my Hanger,¹⁹ and flourished with it after the Manner of Fencers in *England*. My Nurse gave me Part of a Straw, which I exercised as a Pike, having learned the Art in my Youth. I was that Day shewn to twelve Sets of Company; and as often forced to go over again with the same Fopperies,²⁰ till I was half dead with Weariness and Vexation. For, those who had seen me, made such wonderful Reports, that the People were ready to break down the Doors to come in. My Master for his own Interest would not suffer any one to touch me, except my Nurse; and, to prevent Danger, Benches were set round the Table at such a Distance, as put me out of every Body's Reach. However, an unlucky²¹ School-Boy aimed a Hazel Nut²² directly at my Head, which very narrowly missed me; otherwise, it came with so much Violence, that it would have infallibly knocked out my Brains; for it was almost as large as a small Pumpion.²³ But I had the Satisfaction to see the young Rogue well beaten, and turned out of the Room.

My Master gave publick Notice, that he would shew me again the next Market-Day: And in the mean time, he prepared a more convenient Vehicle for me, which he had Reason enough to do; for I was so tired with my first Journey, and with entertaining Company eight Hours together, that I could hardly stand upon my Legs, or speak a Word. It was at least three Days before I recovered my Strength; and that I might have no rest at home, all the neighbouring Gentlemen from an Hundred Miles round, hearing of my Fame, came to see me at my Master's own House. There could not be fewer than thirty Persons with their Wives and Children; (for the Country is very populous;) and my Master demanded the Rate of a full Room whenever he shewed me at Home, although it were only to a single Family. So that for some time I had but little Ease every Day of the Week,

19 *drew out my Hanger*: cf. the parallel instance in Part I, Chapter 2, when Gulliver brandishes his 'Scymiter' before the Emperor of Lilliput (above, pp. 53–54).

20 *Fopperies*: foolishness, imbecility, stupidity, folly (*OED*, 1).

21 *unlucky*: bringing ill-luck; causing mishap or harm; mischievous, malicious (*OED*, 4).

22 *a Hazel Nut*: a similar fate befalls Cyrano de Bergerac: 'the Crowd of People who came to see us, found us other Diversion, some slinging us little Stones, other Nuts and Herbs; for the King's Beasts were the universal Topic of Conversation' (*Voyage to the Moon*, pp. 77–8).

23 *Pumpion*: a pumpkin, or melon (*OED*, 1a).

(except *Wednesday*, which is their Sabbath) although I were not carried to the Town.

My Master finding how profitable I was like to be, resolved to carry me to the most considerable Cities of the Kingdom. Having therefore provided himself with all things necessary for a long Journey, and settled his Affairs at Home; he took Leave of his Wife; and upon the 17th of *August* 1703, about two Months after my Arrival, we set out for the Metropolis, situated near the Middle of that Empire, and about three Thousand Miles distance from our House: My Master made his Daughter *Glumdalclitch* ride behind him. She carried me on her Lap in a Box tied about her Waist. The Girl had lined it on all Sides with the softest Cloth she could get, well quilted underneath; furnished it with her Baby's Bed, provided me with Linnen and other Necessaries; and made every thing as convenient as she could. We had no other Company but a Boy of the House, who rode after us with the Luggage.

My Master's Design was to shew me in all the Towns by the Way, and to step out of the Road for Fifty or an Hundred Miles, to any Village or Person of Quality's House where he might expect Custom. We made easy Journeys of not above seven or eight Score Miles a Day: For *Glumdalclitch*, on Purpose to spare me, complained she was tired with the trotting of the Horse. She often took me out of my Box at my own Desire, to give me Air, and shew me the Country; but always held me fast by Leading-strings.²⁴ We passed over five or six Rivers many Degrees broader and deeper than the *Nile* or the *Ganges*; and there was hardly a Rivulet so small as the *Thames* at *London-Bridge*. We were ten Weeks in our Journey; and I was shewn in Eighteen large Towns, besides many Villages and private Families.

On the 26th Day of *October*, we arrived at the Metropolis, called in their Language *Lorbrulgrud*, or *Pride of the Universe*. My Master took a Lodging in the principal Street of the City, not far from the Royal Palace; and put out Bills in the usual Form, containing an exact Description of my Person and Parts.²⁵ He hired a large Room between three and four Hundred Foot wide. He provided a Table sixty Foot in Diameter, upon which I was to

24 *Leading-strings*: strings with which children used to be guided and supported when learning to walk (*OED*, 1); more darkly, however, also a cord for leading an animal (*OED*, 2).

25 *Parts*: abilities or talents (*OED*, 15).

act my Part; and pallisadoed²⁶ it round three Foot from the Edge, and as many high, to prevent my falling over. I was shewn ten Times a Day to the Wonder and Satisfaction of all People. I could now speak the Language tolerably well; and perfectly understood every Word that was spoken to me. Besides, I had learned their Alphabet, and could make a shift²⁷ to explain a Sentence here and there; for *Glumdalclitch* had been my Instructor while we were at home, and at leisure Hours during our Journey. She carried a little Book in her Pocket, not much larger than a *Sanson's Atlas*;²⁸ it was a common Treatise for the use of young Girls, giving a short Account of their Religion; out of this she taught me my Letters, and interpreted the Words.

26 *pallisadoed*: fenced. Cf. the parallel instance of Gulliver's fabrication of a similar structure for the Lilliputian cavalry in Part I, Chapter 3 (above, pp. 59–60).

27 *make a shift*: cf. above, p. 33, n. 26.

28 *Sanson's Atlas*: Nicolas Sanson (1600–67), French cartographer and publisher of atlases in large formats such as folio.

CHAPTER III.

The Author sent for to Court. The Queen buys him of his Master the Farmer, and presents him to the King. He disputes with his Majesty's great Scholars. An Apartment at Court provided for the Author. He is in high Favour with the Queen. He stands up for the Honour of his own Country. His Quarrels with the Queen's Dwarf.

The frequent Labours I underwent every Day, made in a few Weeks a very considerable Change in my Health: The more my Master got by me, the more unsatiable he grew. I had quite lost my Stomach,¹ and was almost reduced to a Skeleton. The Farmer observed it; and concluding I soon must die, resolved to make as good a Hand² of me as he could. While he was thus reasoning and resolving with himself; a *Slardral*, or Gentleman Usher, came from Court, commanding my Master to bring me immediately thither for the Diversion of the Queen and her Ladies. Some of the latter had already been to see me; and reported strange Things of my Beauty, Behaviour, and good Sense. Her Majesty and those who attended her, were beyond Measure delighted with my Demeanor. I fell on my Knees, and begged the Honour of kissing her Imperial Foot; but this Gracious Princess held out her little Finger towards me (after I was set on a Table) which I embraced in both my Arms, and put the Tip of it, with the utmost Respect, to my Lip. She made me some general Questions about my Country and my Travels, which I answered as distinctly and in as few Words as I could. She asked, whether I would be content to live at Court. I bowed down to the Board of the Table, and humbly answered, that I was my Master's Slave;³ but if I were at my own Disposal, I should be proud to devote my Life to her Majesty's Service. She then asked my Master whether he were willing to sell me at a good Price. He, who apprehended I

1 *Stomach*: appetite (*OED*, 5 a).

2 *make as good a Hand*: make the greatest profit (*OED*, 10 b).

3 *my Master's Slave*: contrast Gulliver's desire for liberty in Part I, and earlier in Part II (above, p. 137 and n. 9).

could not live a Month, was ready enough to part with me; and demanded a Thousand Pieces of Gold; which were ordered him on the Spot, each Piece being about the Bigness of eight Hundred Moydores:⁴ But, allowing for the Proportion of all Things between that Country and *Europe*, and the high Price of Gold among them; was hardly so great a Sum as a Thousand Guineas would be in *England*. I then said to the Queen; since I was now her Majesty's most humble Creature and Vassal,⁵ I must beg the Favour, that *Glumdalclitch*, who had always tended me with so much Care and Kindness, and understood to do it so well, might be admitted into her Service, and continue to be my Nurse and Instructor. Her Majesty agreed to my Petition; and easily got the Farmer's Consent, who was glad enough to have his Daughter preferred at Court: And the poor Girl herself was not able to hide her Joy. My late Master withdrew, bidding me farewell, and saying he had left me in a good Service; to which I replied not a Word, only making him a slight Bow.

The Queen observed my Coldness; and when the Farmer was gone out of the Apartment, asked me the Reason. I made bold to tell her Majesty, that I owed no other Obligation to my late Master, than his not dashing out the Brains of a poor harmless Creature found by Chance in his Field; which Obligation was amply recompensed by the Gain he had made in shewing me through half the Kingdom, and the Price he had now sold me for. That the Life I had since led, was laborious enough to kill an Animal of ten Times my Strength. That my Health was much impaired by the continual

4 *Moydores*: Portuguese gold coins current in England and its colonies in the first half of the eighteenth century; worth about 27 shillings (*OED*). They were widely used in Ireland, where their high value was awkward. Cf. the remarks of Thomas Prior: 'we are reduced to Moydores, the most inconvenient Coin of all others in our present Circumstances: For since we are in great Want of Half-pence and Farthings, are almost stripped of all Sorts of Silver Coin, and have very little of the small Gold Species left among us, it is become very difficult to change Moydores, in Order to buy or sell any Commodity: This Want of Change greatly embarrasses the Dealings of poor People, and is a great Obstruction to all Sorts of Business' (*Observations on Coin in General* (Dublin, 1729), p. 2; see Ehrenpreis, vol. III, p. 841). Note also *The Intelligencer* 19, where Swift wrote in the person of 'a Country Gentleman', forced to employ common labourers 'until their Wages amount to a *Double Pistole*, or a *Moidore*, (for we hardly have any *Gold* of lower Value left us)' (Davis, vol. XII, p. 55). For occurrences in Swift's correspondence, see Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. IV, pp. 230, 335 and 600. Cf. also 'An Elegy on Demar' and 'The Answer', where there is bitter sarcasm in the lawyer's working 'all for ten poor moidores fee!' (Williams, *Poems*, p. 234, line 32; Williams, *Poems*, p. 434, line 80).

5 *Creature and Vassal*: note the recurrence of the language of political subjection.

Drudgery of entertaining the Rabble every Hour of the Day; and that if my Master had not thought my Life in Danger, her Majesty would not have got so cheap a Bargain. But as I was out of all fear of being ill treated under the Protection of so great and good an Empress, the Ornament of Nature, the Darling of the World, the Delight of her Subjects, the Phoenix of the Creation; so, I hoped my late Master's Apprehensions would appear to be groundless; for I already found my Spirits to revive by the Influence of her most August Presence.⁶

This was the Sum of my Speech, delivered with great Improproprieties and Hesitation; the latter Part was altogether framed in the Style peculiar to that People, whereof I learned some Phrases from *Glumdalclitch*, while she was carrying me to Court.

The Queen giving great Allowance for my Defectiveness in speaking, was however surprised at so much Wit and good Sense in so diminutive an Animal. She took me in her own Hand, and carried me to the King, who was then retired to his Cabinet.⁷ His Majesty,⁸ a Prince of much Gravity, and austere Countenance, not well observing my Shape at first View, asked the Queen after a cold Manner, how long it was since she grew fond of a *Splacknuck*; for such it seems he took me to be, as I lay upon my Breast in her Majesty's right Hand. But this Princess, who hath an infinite deal of Wit and Humour, set me gently on my Feet upon the Scrutore;⁹ and commanded me to give His Majesty an Account of my self, which I did in a very few Words; and *Glumdalclitch*, who attended at the Cabinet Door, and could not endure I should be out of her Sight, being admitted; confirmed all that had passed from my Arrival at her Father's House.

6 *her most August Presence*: note Swift's ironic facility in the language of courtly compliment.

7 *Cabinet*: a small chamber or room; a private apartment, a boudoir (*OED*, 3); the private room in which the confidential advisers of the sovereign or chief ministers of a country meet (*OED*, 7).

8 *His Majesty*: the King of Brobdingnag is Swift's ideal of a good ruler, modelled it has been suggested on figures as diverse as William III, the future George II when Prince of Wales and Sir William Temple. However, some contemporaries found in him traces of political attitudes deemed seditious under the Hanoverians. In the anonymous *Gulliver Decypher'd* (1727?), the King of Brobdingnag's criticisms of England are dismissed as on the one hand 'a common *Jacobite* Insinuation', and on the other (which perhaps reveals knowledge of authorship) as characteristic of 'a quite different Set of People, discarded Courtiers' (p. 38).

9 *Scrutore*: an escritoire, or writing desk.

The King, although he be as learned a Person as any in his Dominions; had been educated in the Study of Philosophy, and particularly Mathematicks; yet when he observed my Shape exactly, and saw me walk erect, before I began to speak, conceived I might be a Piece of Clock-work,¹⁰ (which is in that Country arrived to a very great Perfection) contrived by some ingenious Artist. But, when he heard my Voice, and found what I delivered to be regular and rational, he could not conceal his Astonishment. He was by no means satisfied with the Relation I gave him of the Manner I came into his Kingdom; but thought it a Story concerted between *Glumdalclitch* and her Father, who had taught me a Sett of Words to make me sell at a higher Price. Upon this Imagination he put several other Questions to me, and still received rational Answers, no otherwise defective than by a Foreign Accent, and an imperfect Knowledge in the Language; with some rustick Phrases which I had learned at the Farmer's House, and did not suit the polite Style of a Court.

His Majesty sent for three great Scholars who were then in their weekly waiting¹¹ (according to the Custom in that Country.) These Gentlemen, after they had a while examined my Shape with much Nicety, were of different Opinions concerning me.¹² They all agreed that I could not be

10 *a Piece of Clock-work*: mechanical exhibits of figures and even whole scenes were popular spectacles in Swift's time. On 27 March 1713 Swift wrote to Stella that he had been 'to see a famous moving Picture, & I never saw any thing so pretty. You see a Sea ten miles wide, a Town on tothr end, & Ships sailing in the Sea, & discharging their Canon. You see a great Sky with Moon & Stars &c. I'm a fool' (Williams, *JSt*, p. 647); cf. also *The Tatler* 257 (30 November 1710; *Tatler*, vol. III, pp. 302–8). Although its heyday would come later in the century with *L'Homme Machine* of La Mettrie (1747), earlier philosophers who had toyed with the mechanistic hypothesis included Descartes in his *L'Homme* (1664), a view mockingly summarized in *The Guardian* 35 (21 April 1713). The hypothesis was vigorously contested by those of more conventional beliefs, such as George Cheyne: 'It's true, some of our Modern *Philosophers* have asserted, that the *Brute-Creation* are only Pieces of Clockwork, and all their Motions are as necessarily determin'd as that of the Hand on the Dial-plate' (*Philosophical Principles of Religion* (1725), p. 132); cf. Anon., *A Discourse on Ridicule* (1716), p. 15 and Peter Paxton, *Civil Polity* (1703), p. 18. For a political application, see Anon., *Salus Populi Suprema Lex* (1721), p. 30.

11 *waiting*: official attendance at court (*OED*, 1 e).

12 *were of different Opinions concerning me*: the puzzlement of the Brobdingnagian philosophers concerning what Gulliver might be echoes a common Enlightenment trope, when someone comments erroneously on something which lies outside their experience, thereby demonstrating both the weakness of human reason and the absence of innate ideas: see Galileo, *Dialogue*, p. 61; Locke, *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, IV.xv.5; and Hume, *Enquiries*, pp. 113–14. In his sermon on the Trinity, Swift remarked that 'If an ignorant Person were

produced according to the regular Laws of Nature; because I was not framed with a Capacity of preserving my Life,¹³ either by Swiftness, or climbing of Trees, or digging Holes in the Earth. They observed by my Teeth, which they viewed with great Exactness, that I was a carnivorous Animal; yet most Quadrupeds being an Overmatch for me; and Field-Mice, with some others, too nimble, they could not imagine how I should be able to support my self, unless I fed upon Snails and other Insects;¹⁴ which they offered by many learned Arguments to evince that I could not possibly do. One of them¹⁵ seemed to think that I might be an Embrio, or abortive Birth.¹⁶ But this Opinion was rejected by the other two, who observed my Limbs to be perfect and finished; and that I had lived several Years, as it was manifested from my Beard; the Stumps whereof they plainly discovered through a Magnifying-Glass.¹⁷ They would not allow me to be a Dwarf, because my Littleness was beyond all Degrees of Comparison; for the Queen's favourite Dwarf, the smallest ever known in that Kingdom, was near thirty Foot high. After much Debate, they concluded unanimously that I was only *Relplum Scalpath*, which is interpreted literally *Lusus Naturæ*,¹⁸ a Determination exactly agreeable to the Modern Philosophy of *Europe*: whose Professors,

told that a Loadstone would draw Iron at a Distance, he might say it was a Thing contrary to his Reason, and could not believe before he saw it with his Eyes' (Davis, vol. IX, p. 164). The inhabitants of the moon are similarly bemused by Cyrano de Bergerac, and conclude him to be an ostrich because he walks on two legs and holds his head erect (*Voyage to the Moon*, p. 83).

- 13 *a Capacity of preserving my Life*: cf. the parallel disbelief of Gulliver's Houyhnhnm Master in Part IV, Chapter 7, who comments on the natural vulnerability and feebleness of men (below, pp. 357–58).
- 14 *other Insects*: at this time 'insect' was employed loosely, to denote not just insects properly so-called, but also earthworms, snails and even some small vertebrates, such as frogs and tortoises (*OED*, 1).
- 15 *One of them*: identified in the *Key* as a satire on the Royal Society (*Key*, Part II, p. 11). The phrasing of the first edition, which speaks of 'Virtuosi', makes the target of Swift's satire more explicit.
- 16 *abortive Birth*: terms drawn from the scientific vocabulary of Swift's day; e.g. *Philosophical Works*, vol. I, p. 66.
- 17 *Magnifying-Glass*: the scientific benefits of the use of magnifying lenses had been extolled by Galileo, *Sidereus Nuncius* (Venice, 1610); by Henry Power, *Experimental Philosophy* (1664); and more famously by Robert Hooke, *Micrographia* (1665): see below, p. 159. For Hooke's description of hair seen through a microscope, see *Micrographia*, pp. 156–7.
- 18 *Lusus Naturæ*: a sport of nature or anomalous formation. Again, a phrase frequently encountered in the scientific writings of Swift's day: e.g. *Posthumous Works*, pp. 449–50; *Philosophical Transactions*, 3 vols. (1705), vol. III, pp. 15, 90 and 262.

disdaining the old Evasion of *occult Causes*,¹⁹ whereby the Followers of *Aristotle* endeavour in vain to disguise their Ignorance; have invented this wonderful Solution of all Difficulties, to the unspeakable Advancement of human Knowledge.

After this decisive Conclusion, I entreated to be heard a Word or two. I applied my self to the King, and assured His Majesty, that I came from a Country which abounded with several Millions of both Sexes, and of my own Stature; where the Animals, Trees, and Houses were all in Proportion; and where by Consequence I might be as able to defend my self, and to find Sustenance, as any of his Majesty's Subjects could do here; which I took for a full Answer to those Gentlemens Arguments. To this they only replied with a Smile of Contempt; saying, that the Farmer had instructed me very well in my Lesson. The King, who had a much better Understanding, dismissing his learned Men, sent for the Farmer, who by good Fortune was not yet gone out of Town: Having therefore first examined him privately, and then confronted him with me and the young Girl; his Majesty began to think that what we told him might possibly be true. He desired the Queen to order, that a particular Care should be taken of me; and was of Opinion, that *Glumdalclitch* should still continue in her Office of tending me, because he observed we had a great Affection for each other. A convenient Apartment was provided for her at Court; she had a sort of Governess appointed to take care of her Education, a Maid to dress her, and two other Servants for menial Offices; but, the Care of

19 *occult Causes*: a term of art in Aristotelian philosophy, contemptuously defined and attacked by Newton in the second edition of his *Opticks* (1718): 'the *Aristotelians* gave the Name of occult Qualities not to manifest Qualities, but to such Qualities only as they supposed to lie hid in Bodies, and to be the unknown Causes of manifest Effects . . . Such occult Qualities put a stop to the Improvement of natural Philosophy, and therefore of late Years have been rejected. To tell us that every Species of Things is endow'd with an occult specifick Quality by which it acts and produces manifest Effects, is to tell us nothing: But to derive two or three general Principles of Motion from Phenomena, and afterwards to tell us how the Properties and Actions of all corporeal Things follow from those manifest Principles, would be a very great step in Philosophy, though the Causes of those Principles were not yet discover'd' (p. 377); for an earlier attack, see *Leviathan*, p. 468. It was a phrase which therefore in Swift's day attracted the scorn of modern philosophers and their followers: e.g. *Philosophical Works*, vol. I, p. 18 and John Dunton, 'A Banter upon Occult Causes', *Athenianism* (1710), pp. 147–8. By the early eighteenth century, to have recourse to 'occult causes' was recognized as characteristic of ignorance and imposture: e.g. Edmund Hiceringill, *Jamaica Viewed* (1705), p. 3 and Anon., *A Rational Account of the Natural Weakness of Women*, second edition (1716), p. 59.

me was wholly appropriated to her self. The Queen commanded her own Cabinet-maker to contrive a Box that might serve me for a Bed-chamber, after the Model that *Glumdalclitch* and I should agree upon. This Man was a most ingenious Artist; and according to my Directions, in three Weeks finished for me a wooden Chamber of sixteen Foot square, and twelve High; with Sash Windows, a Door, and two Closets, like a *London* Bed-chamber.²⁰ The Board that made the Cieling was to be lifted up and down by two Hinges, to put in a Bed ready furnished by her Majesty's Upholsterer; which *Glumdalclitch* took out every Day to air, made it with her own Hands, and letting it down at Night, locked up the Roof over me. A Nice²¹ Workman, who was famous for little Curiosities, undertook to make me two Chairs, with Backs and Frames, of a Substance not unlike Ivory; and two Tables, with a Cabinet to put my Things in. The Room was quilted on all Sides, as well as the Floor and the Cieling, to prevent any Accident from the Carelessness of those who carried me; and to break the Force of a Jolt when I went in a Coach. I desired a Lock²² for my Door to prevent Rats and Mice from coming in: The Smith after several Attempts made the smallest that was ever seen among them; for I have known a larger at the Gate of a Gentleman's House in *England*. I made a shift²³ to keep the Key in a Pocket of my own, fearing *Glumdalclitch* might lose it. The Queen likewise ordered the thinnest Silks that could be gotten, to make me Cloaths; not much thicker than an *English* Blanket, very cumbersome till I was accustomed to them. They were after the Fashion of the Kingdom, partly resembling the *Persian*, and partly the *Chinese*;²⁴ and are a very grave decent Habit.

20 *a London Bed-chamber*: on 22 November 1737 Charles Ford complained to Swift of the 'ridiculous [London] custom of tacking a closet almost of the same bigness' to a room (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. IV, p. 476). The inconvenience of his London bedchamber was remarked on by Swift to Stella (e.g. Williams, *JSt*, p. 154).

21 *Nice*: capable of great precision or accuracy (*OED*, 7).

22 *Lock*: a bull, since rats and mice cannot open doors. The subsequent reference to a 'Key' makes clear that 'lock' here cannot mean 'latch' (*OED*, 1).

23 *made a shift*: cf. above, p. 33, n. 26.

24 *Persian* . . . *Chinese*: a deliberately discordant detail, since a mastery of clock-work (see above, p. 145, n. 10) was associated with the nations of Northern Europe (e.g. William Bromley, *Several Years Travels* (1702), p. 253, describing Stockholm), and was almost proverbially absent from oriental nations: see, e.g., Salmon, *Modern History*, vol. V, p. 444 and Aaron Hill, *A Full and Just Account of the Present State of the Ottoman Empire* (1710), p. 89.

The Queen became so fond of my Company, that she could not dine without me. I had a Table placed upon the same at which her Majesty eat, just at her left Elbow; and a Chair to sit on. *Glumdalclitch* stood upon a Stool on the Floor, near my Table, to assist and take Care of me. I had an entire set of Silver Dishes and Plates, and other Necessaries, which in Proportion to those of the Queen, were not much bigger than what I have seen in a *London* Toy-shop, for the Furniture of a Baby-house:²⁵ These my little Nurse kept in her Pocket, in a Silver Box, and gave me at Meals as I wanted them; always cleaning them her self. No Person dined with the Queen but the two Princesses Royal; the elder sixteen Years old, and the younger at that time thirteen and a Month. Her Majesty used to put a Bit of Meat upon one of my Dishes, out of which I carved for my self; and her Diversion was to see me eat in Miniature. For the Queen (who had indeed but a weak Stomach) took up at one Mouthful, as much as a dozen *English* Farmers could eat at a Meal, which to me was for some time a very nauseous Sight. She would craunch²⁶ the Wing of a Lark, Bones and all, between her Teeth, although it were nine Times as large as that of a full grown Turkey; and put a Bit of Bread in her Mouth, as big as two twelve-penny Loves.²⁷ She drank out of a golden Cup, above a Hogshead at a Draught. Her Knives were twice as long as a Scythe set strait upon the Handle. The Spoons, Forks, and other Instruments were all in the same Proportion. I remember when *Glumdalclitch* carried me out of Curiosity to see some of the Tables at Court, where ten or a dozen of these enormous Knives and Forks were lifted up together; I thought I had never till then beheld so terrible a Sight.²⁸

It is the Custom, that every *Wednesday*, (which as I have before observed, was their Sabbath) the King and Queen, with the Royal Issue of both Sexes, dine together in the Apartment of his Majesty; to whom I was now become a Favourite; and at these Times my little Chair and Table were placed at his left Hand before one of the Salt-sellers.²⁹ This Prince took

25 *Baby-house*: doll's house.

26 *craunch*: crunch (*OED*, 1). In his *Dictionary* Johnson particularly noticed Swift's use of this word (*sv* 'craunch'). Cf. Bernard Mandeville's contemporary description of a sow eating a baby (*Fable of the Bees*, vol. I, p. 255; and quoted below, p. 159, n. 15).

27 *Loves*: archaic form of 'loaves'; still a current spelling in Swift's day.

28 *so terrible a Sight*: compare the parallel but inverted passage from Part I, Chapter 2, when Gulliver brandishes his sword (above, p. 53).

29 *Salt-sellers*: small vessels used on the table for holding salt (*OED*, a).

a Pleasure in conversing with me; enquiring into the Manners, Religion, Laws, Government, and Learning of *Europe*, wherein I gave him the best Account I was able. His Apprehension was so clear, and his Judgment so exact, that he made very wise Reflexions and Observations upon all I said. But, I confess, that after I had been a little too copious in talking of my own beloved Country; of our Trade, and Wars by Sea and Land, of our Schisms in Religion, and Parties in the State; the Prejudices of his Education³⁰ prevailed so far, that he could not forbear taking me up in his right Hand, and stroaking me gently with the other; after an hearty Fit of laughing, asked me whether I were a *Whig* or a *Tory*.³¹ Then turning to his first Minister, who waited behind him with a white Staff,³² near as tall as the Main-mast of the Royal *Sovereign*,³³ he observed, how contemptible a Thing was human Grandeur,³⁴ which could be mimicked by such diminutive Insects as I: And yet, said he, I dare engage, those Creatures have their Titles and Distinctions of Honour; they contrive little Nests and Burrows, that they call Houses and Cities; they make a Figure in Dress and Equipage; they love, they fight, they dispute, they cheat, they betray. And thus he continued on, while my Colour came and went several Times, with Indignation to hear our noble Country, the Mistress of Arts and Arms, the Scourge of *France*, the Arbitress of *Europe*, the Seat of Virtue, Piety, Honour and Truth, the Pride and Envy of the World, so contemptuously treated.³⁵

But, as I was not in a Condition to resent Injuries, so, upon mature Thoughts, I began to doubt whether I were injured or no. For, after

30 *Prejudices of his Education*: an instance of Gulliver's unreliableness as a narrator in Part II, since the reader is more likely to take this as evidence of the unprejudiced good sense of the King of Brobdingnag.

31 *a Whig or a Tory*: see Long note 17.

32 *a white Staff*: a white rod or wand carried as a symbol of office by certain officials, such as the steward of the king's household and the lord high treasurer (*OED*, 1).

33 *Royal Sovereign*: one of the largest warships in the English navy, built in 1637, with a keel of 127 feet (41.6 metres), a beam of 46.6 feet (14.2 metres), a gross tonnage of 1,522 (1,498 tonnes) and a main mast of over 100 feet (30 metres) (Michael Oppenheim, *History of the Royal Navy, 1509–1660* (1896), pp. 260–2; cf. p. 252, n. 1). Swift may possibly have read Thomas Heywood's well-known pamphlet praising this vessel, *A True Description of his Maiesties Royall Ship* (1637).

34 *human Grandeur*: an instance of *contemptus mundi*, which occurs frequently in satire: e.g. Lucian, *Icaromenippus* (Lucian, vol. III, pp. 126–44, esp. p. 136).

35 *so contemptuously treated*: compare the magniloquent titles of the Emperor of Lilliput in Part I, Chapter 3 (above, pp. 63–64).

having been accustomed several Months to the Sight and Converse of this People, and observed every Object upon which I cast mine Eyes, to be of proportionable Magnitude; the Horror I had first conceived from their Bulk and Aspect was so far worn off, that if I had then beheld a Company of *English* Lords and Ladies in their Finery and Birth-day Cloaths,³⁶ acting their several Parts in the most courtly Manner of Strutting, and Bowing and Prating; to say the Truth, I should have been strongly tempted to laugh as much at them as this King and his Grandees did at me. Neither indeed could I forbear smiling at my self, when the Queen used to place me upon her Hand towards a Looking-Glass, by which both our Persons appeared before me in full View together; and there could nothing be more ridiculous than the Comparison: So that I really began to imagine my self dwindled many Degrees below my usual Size.

Nothing angered and mortified me so much as the Queen's Dwarf,³⁷ who being of the lowest Stature that was ever in that Country, (for I verily think he was not full Thirty Foot high) became so insolent at seeing a Creature so much beneath him, that he would always affect to swagger and look big³⁸ as he passed by me in the Queen's Antichamber, while I was standing on some Table talking with the Lords or Ladies of the Court; and he seldom failed of a smart Word or two upon my Littleness; against which I could only revenge my self by calling him *Brother*, challenging him to wrestle; and such Repartees as are usual in the Mouths of *Court Pages*. One Day at Dinner, this malicious little Cubb³⁹ was so nettled with something I had

36 *Birth-day Cloaths*: it was the custom for those at court to wear magnificent clothes to mark the monarch's birthday. Swift wrote to Stella on 6 February 1711 that 'Here has been such a hurry with the Queen's Birthday, so much fine cloaths, and the Court so crowded that I did not go there' (Williams, *JSt*, p. 181; see also pp. 480 and 485). Two years later he reported that 'This is the Qu——'s birthday, and I never saw it celebrated with so much Luxry [*sic*], and fine Cloaths, I went to Court to see them' (Williams, *JSt*, p. 615; see also pp. 616 and 635). Contemporaries noted that birthday clothes became even more ostentatiously splendid under the Hanoverians (Smith, *Georgian Monarchy*, pp. 225–6).

37 *the Queen's Dwarf*: dwarfs were often members of royal households. Henrietta Maria, queen to Charles I, kept three. See Nathaniel Wanley, *The Wonders of the Little World* (1673), book I, Chapter 23, 'Of Pygmeyes and Dwarfs, and men much below the common height', pp. 36–7, and William Wistanley, *The New Help to Discourse*, eighth edition (1721), p. 91.

38 *look big*: not quite a bull, but still a curious thing for a dwarf to attempt. Swift's target here is the ridiculousness of human vanity. Cf. the parallel, but inverted passage in 'On Poetry: A Rapsody': 'The Vermin only teaze and pinch / Their Foes superior by an Inch. / So, Nat'ralists observe, a Flea / Hath smaller Fleas that on him prey, / And these have smaller Fleas to bite 'em, / And so proceed *ad infinitum*' (Williams, *Poems*, p. 651, lines 335–40).

39 *malicious little Cubb*: an undeveloped, uncouth, unpolished youth (*OED*, 3 a).

said to him, that raising himself upon the Frame of her Majesty's Chair, he took me up by the Middle, as I was sitting down, not thinking any Harm, and let me drop into a large Silver Bowl of Cream;⁴⁰ and then ran away as fast as he could. I fell over Head and Ears, and if I had not been a good Swimmer, it might have gone very hard with me; for *Glumdalclitch* in that Instant happened to be at the other End of the Room; and the Queen was in such a Fright, that she wanted Presence of Mind to assist me. But my little Nurse ran to my Relief; and took me out, after I had swallowed above a Quart of Cream. I was put to Bed; however I received no other Damage than the Loss of a Suit of Cloaths, which was utterly spoiled. The Dwarf was soundly whipped, and as a further Punishment, forced to drink up the Bowl of Cream, into which he had thrown me; neither was he ever restored to Favour: For, soon after the Queen bestowed him to a Lady of high Quality; so that I saw him no more, to my very great Satisfaction; for I could not tell to what Extremity such a malicious Urchin might have carried his Resentment.

He had before served me a scurvy Trick, which set the Queen a laughing, although at the same time she were heartily vexed, and would have immediately cashiered⁴¹ him, if I had not been so generous as to intercede. Her Majesty had taken a Marrow-bone upon her Plate; and after knocking out the Marrow, placed the Bone again in the Dish erect as it stood before; the Dwarf watching his Opportunity, while *Glumdalclitch* was gone to the Side-board, mounted the Stool that she stood on to take care of me at Meals; took me up in both Hands, and squeezing my Legs together, wedged them into the Marrow-bone above my Waist; where I stuck for some time, and made a very ridiculous Figure. I believe it was near a Minute before any one knew what was become of me; for I thought it below me to cry out. But, as Princes seldom get their Meat hot, my Legs were not scalded, only my Stockings and Breeches in a sad Condition. The Dwarf at my Entreaty had no other Punishment than a sound whipping.

40 *Silver Bowl of Cream*: an episode with parallels in some of the humorous verse of Swift's day: cf. particularly William King, *Mully of Mountown. A Poem. By the Author of the Tale of a Tub.*, p. 1; 'Mountown! The Muses most delicious Theam / Oh! may thy Codlins ever swim in Cream'; and Alexander Radcliffe, *Ovid Travestie* (1705), p. 115; 'That Watry Fist between your Breasts does seem / Like a brown George dropt in a Bowl of Cream'. A 'brown George' in this context is probably a loaf of coarse bread (*OED*, 1).

41 *cashiered*: dismissed from service (*OED*, 1).

I was frequently railled by the Queen upon Account of my Fearfulness; and she used to ask me whether the People of my Country were as great Cowards as my self. The Occasion was this. The Kingdom is much pestered with Flies in Summer; and these odious Insects, each of them as big as a *Dunstable Lark*,⁴² hardly gave me any Rest while I sat at Dinner, with their continual Humming and Buzzing about mine Ears.⁴³ They would sometimes alight upon my Victuals, and leave their loathsome Excrement or Spawn behind,⁴⁴ which to me was very visible, although not to the Natives of that Country, whose large Opticks were not so acute as mine in viewing smaller Objects.⁴⁵ Sometimes they would fix upon my Nose or Forehead, where they stung me to the Quick, smelling very offensively; and I could easily trace that viscous Matter, which our Naturalists⁴⁶ tell us enables those Creatures to walk with their Feet upwards upon a Ceiling.⁴⁷

42 *Dunstable Lark*: Dunstable, near Bedford, was celebrated for its larks: see John Chamberlayne, *Magnaë Britanniae Notitia*, twenty-seventh edition (1726), p. 5. Note the parallel in Part I, Chapter 6, where Gulliver observes a cook pulling a Lilliputian lark 'which was not so large as a common Fly' (above, p. 82). For another juxtaposition of flies and larks in Swift's writings, see 'The Dean's Reasons' (Williams, *Poems*, p. 901, lines 69–80).

43 *about mine Ears*: cf. *The Examiner* 14 (9 November 1710) where Swift likens the proliferation of political deceit to 'those Swarms of Lyes which buz about the Heads of some People, like Flies about a Horse's Ears in Summer' (Davis, vol. III, p. 10).

44 *Excrement or Spawn behind*: a mock-epic recollection of the harpies, the mythological daughters of Thaumus and Electra, birds with the faces of women who carried off and defiled food: cf. *Aeneid*, III.225–58 and *Paradise Lost*, II.596–9. The harpies formed part of the furniture of Swift's imagination: cf. 'To Doctor D-L- - -Y': 'From hence the Critick Vermin sprung / With Harpy Claws, and Pois'nous Tongue, / Who fatten on poetick Scraps; / Too cunning to be caught in Trapps' (Williams, *Poems*, p. 504, lines 123–6); 'St Patrick's Well': 'See, where the new-devouring Vermin runs, / Sent in my Anger from the Land of Huns; / With harpy Claws it undermines the Ground, / And sudden spreads a numerous Offspring round' (Williams, *Poems*, p. 792, lines 59–62); 'A Panegyrick on the Dean': 'This bloated Harpy sprung from Hell, / Confin'd Thee Goddess to a Cell: / Sprung from her Womb that impious Line, / Contemnners of thy Rites divine' (Williams, *Poems*, p. 895, lines 269–72). In 'The Legion Club' the Irish Parliament House is referred to as 'that Harpies Nest' (Williams, *Poems*, p. 830, line 29). John Boyle, Earl of Orrery compared 'Celia' to a 'Harpy' (*Remarks*, p. 79). Joseph Hall's traveller encounters harpies in *Mundus Alter et Idem* (Hall, *Discovery*, pp. 130–1). For a significant late eighteenth-century use of the term, see Edmund Burke, *Letter to A Noble Lord* (1796) (*WSEB*, vol. IX, p. 156).

45 *smaller Objects*: cf. the parallel but inverted passage in Part I, Chapter 6 (above, p. 82).

46 *our Naturalists*: cf. 'On Poetry: A Rapsody' (Williams, *Poems*, p. 651, line 337).

47 *upon a Ceiling*: the naturalist Swift has in mind here is Henry Power, who in his *Experimental Philosophy* (1664) gave this account of the foot of the fly: 'the wisdom of Nature hath endued her [the fly] with . . . a fuzzy kinde of substance like little sponges, with which she hath lined the soles of her feet, which substance is always repleated with a whitish viscous liquor which she can at pleasure squeeze out, and so sodder and be-glew her self to the plain she walks on,

I had much ado to defend my self against these detestable Animals, and could not forbear starting when they came on my Face. It was the common Practice of the Dwarf to catch a Number of these Insects in his Hand, as School-boys do among us, and let them out suddenly under my Nose, on Purpose to frighten me, and divert the Queen. My Remedy was to cut them in Pieces with my Knife as they flew in the Air; wherein my Dexterity was much admired.⁴⁸

I remember one Morning when *Glumdalclitch* had set me in my Box upon a Window, as she usually did in fair Days to give me Air, (for I durst not venture to let the Box be hung on a Nail out of the Window, as we do with Cages in *England*) after I had lifted up one of my Sashes, and sat down at my Table to eat a Piece of Sweet-Cake for my Breakfast; above twenty Wasps,⁴⁹ allured by the Smell, came flying into the Room, humming louder than the Drones of as many Bagpipes. Some of them seized my Cake, and carried it piece-meal away; others flew about my Head and Face, confounding me with the Noise, and putting me in the utmost Terror of their Stings.⁵⁰ However I had the Courage to rise and draw my Hanger, and attack them in the Air. I dispatched four of them, but the rest got away, and I presently shut my Window. These Insects were as large as Partridges; I took out their Stings, found them an Inch and a half long, and as sharp as Needles.⁵¹ I carefully preserved them all,

which otherways her gravity would hinder (were it not for this contrivance) especially when she walks in those inverted positions' (p. 5). Power's was an explanation for the apparent ability of the fly to defy gravity on which Robert Hooke would, the following year, pour scorn (*Micrographia*, p. 170). Amongst earlier writers on insects, Jan Swammerdam had anticipated Hooke in attributing this ability to the presence of nails or hooks on the fly's feet (*Ephemeris Vita* (1681), p. 35).

48 *much admired*: killing flies was a pastime of the emperor Domitian: 'At the beginning of his reign he used to spend hours in seclusion every day, doing nothing but catch flies and stab them with a keenly-sharpened stylus' (Suetonius, 'Domitian', III); cf. 'An Epigram' (Williams, *Poems*, p. 824, line 14). Orrery recorded that Swift 'appeases his hunger, by destroying the gnats, butterflies, and other wretched insects, that unluckily happen to buzz, or flutter within his reach' (*Remarks*, p. 78).

49 *above twenty Wasps*: the infant Martinus Scriblerus is similarly plagued: 'A great swarm of Wasps play'd round his Cradle without hurting him . . . This seemed a certain presage of the effects of his Satire' (*Scriblerus*, p. 98).

50 *Terror of their Stings*: a literalizing of a simile in a letter from Temple to Lord Lisle of August 1667: 'I . . . know very well 'tis Folly for a private Man to touch them [wits], which does but bring them like Wasps about one's Ears' (Temple, vol. II, p. 40).

51 *sharp as Needles*: Robert Hooke noted the extreme sharpness of the sting of a bee in *Micrographia*, 'Obs. XXXIV: Of the Sting of a Bee', pp. 164–5.

and having since shewn them with some other Curiosities in several Parts of *Europe*; upon my Return to *England* I gave three of them to *Gresham College*,⁵² and kept the fourth for my self.

52 *Gresham College*: the premises of the Royal Society from 1660 to 1710, visited by Swift on 13 December 1710 (Williams, *JSt*, p. 122). A catalogue of the very miscellaneous collection of 'natural and artificial rarities' owned by the Royal Society was published by Nehemiah Grew in 1685 as *Musæum Regalis Societatis*. In *John Bull* the rope that hung Jack the Presbyterian was 'laid among the Curiosities of *Gresham College*' (*John Bull*, p. 87). The narrator of Behn's *Oroonoko* presented 'His Majesty's *Antiquaries*' with 'some rare Flies, of amazing Forms and Colours . . . some as big as my Fist, some less; and all of various Excellencies, such as Art cannot imitate' (Behn, *Works*, vol. III, p. 58).

CHAPTER IV.

The Country described. A Proposal for correcting modern Maps. The King's Palace, and some Account of the Metropolis. The Author's Way of travelling. The chief Temple described.

I Now intend to give the Reader a short Description of this Country, as far as I travelled in it, which was not above two thousand Miles round *Lorbrulgrud* the Metropolis. For, the Queen, whom I always attended, never went further when she accompanied the King in his Progresses; and there staid till his Majesty returned from viewing his Frontiers. The whole Extent of this Prince's Dominions reacheth about six thousand Miles in Length, and from three to five in Breadth. From whence I cannot but conclude, that our Geographers of *Europe*¹ are in a great Error, by supposing nothing but Sea between *Japan* and *California*: For it was ever my Opinion, that there must be a Balance of Earth² to counterpoise the great Continent of *Tartary*; and therefore they ought to correct their Maps

1 *Geographers of Europe*: see Long note 18.

2 *Balance of Earth*: an erroneous notion, but one upheld by certain of Swift's near-contemporaries. James Howell, for instance, asserted that 'in the opinion of the knowingst and most inquisitive Mathematicians, ther is towards the *southern* clime as much land yet undiscovered as may equal in dimension the late new world, in regard, as they hold ther must be of necessity such a portion of earth to balance the Centre on all sides' (*Epistolae Ho-elianae* (1650), vol. II, p. 22). In this he was followed by Temple, who in 'An Essay Upon the Ancient and Modern Learning' also subscribed to the theory of balance: 'a Continent has been long since found out within fifteen Degrees to *South*, and about the length of *Java*, which is marked by the Name of *New Holland* in the Maps, and to what Extent none knows, either to the *South*, the *East*, or the *West*; yet the Learned have been of Opinion, That there must be a Balance of the Earth on that side of the Line in some Proportion to what there is on the other' (Temple, vol. I, p. 163). Woodes Rogers encouraged mariners to explore the southern ocean because 'for ought we know, they may find a better Country than any yet discover'd, there being a vast Surface of the Sea from the Equinox to the South Pole, of at least 2000 Leagues in Longitude, that has hitherto been little regarded, tho' it be agreeable to Reason, that there must be a Body of Land about the South Pole, to counterpoise those vast Countries about the North Pole' (Woodes Rogers, *A Cruising Voyage Round the World*, second edition (1718), p. 325).

and Charts, by joining this vast Tract of Land to the North-west Parts of *America*; wherein I shall be ready to lend them my Assistance.

The Kingdom is a Peninsula,³ terminated to the North-east by a Ridge of Mountains thirty Miles high which are altogether impassable by Reason of the Volcanoes upon the Tops. Neither do the most Learned know what sort of Mortals inhabit beyond those Mountains, or whether they be inhabited at all. On the three other Sides it is bounded by the Ocean. There is not one Sea-port in the whole Kingdom; and those Parts of the Coasts into which the Rivers issue, are so full of pointed Rocks,⁴ and the Sea generally so rough, that there is no venturing with the smallest of their Boats; so that these People are wholly excluded from any Commerce with the rest of the World. But the large Rivers are full of Vessels, and abound with excellent Fish; for they seldom get any from the Sea, because the Sea-fish are of the same Size with those in *Europe*, and consequently not worth catching; whereby it is manifest, that Nature in the Production of Plants and Animals of so extraordinary a Bulk, is wholly confined to this Continent; of which I leave the Reasons to be determined by Philosophers. However, now and then they take a Whale that happens to be dashed against the Rocks, which the common People feed on heartily. These Whales I have known so large that a Man could hardly carry one upon his Shoulders; and sometimes for Curiosity they are brought in Hampers to *Lorbrulgrud*: I saw one of them in a Dish at the King's Table, which passed for a Rarity; but I did not observe he was fond of it; for I think indeed the Bigness disgusted him, although I have seen one somewhat larger in *Greenland*.

The Country is well inhabited, for it contains fifty one Cities,⁵ near an hundred walled Towns, and a great Number of Villages. To satisfy my curious Reader, it may be sufficient to describe *Lorbrulgrud*. This City stands upon almost two equal Parts on each Side the River that passes through. It contains above eighty thousand Houses. It is in Length three *Glonglungs* (which make about fifty four English Miles) and two and a half in Breadth, as I measured it myself in the Royal Map made by the King's

3 *Kingdom is a Peninsula*: as Utopia was originally, before Utopus separated it from the mainland by means of an artificial channel (*Utopia*, p. 42).

4 *pointed Rocks*: on 5 June 1711 Swift swam in the Thames, and encountered discomfort as he left the water: 'O faith, the great stones were so sharp, I could hardly set my feet on them as I came out' (Williams, *JSt*, p. 286).

5 *fifty one Cities*: close to the number of cities – fifty-four – in Utopia (*Utopia*, p. 43).

Order, which was laid on the Ground on purpose for me, and extended an hundred Feet; I paced the Diameter and Circumference several times Bare-foot, and computing by the Scale, measured it pretty exactly.⁶

The King's Palace is no regular Edifice, but an Heap of Buildings⁷ about seven Miles round: The chief Rooms are generally two hundred and forty Foot high, and broad and long in Proportion. A Coach was allowed to *Glumdalclitch* and me, wherein her Governess frequently took her out to see the Town, or go among the Shops; and I was always of the Party, carried in my Box; although the Girl at my own Desire would often take me out, and hold me in her Hand, that I might more conveniently view the Houses and the People as we passed along the Streets. I reckoned our Coach to be about a Square of *Westminster-Hall*,⁸ but not altogether so High; however, I cannot be very exact. One Day the Governess ordered our Coachman to stop at several Shops; where the Beggars watching their Opportunity,⁹ crowded to the Sides of the Coach,¹⁰ and gave me the

6 *pretty exactly*: Swift dismissed Clarendon's fondness for using 'pretty' in this way as 'silly stile' (Davis, vol. V, p. 303): cf. also below, pp. 219 and 221.

7 *an Heap of Buildings*: the King of Brobdingnag's palace flouts French ideas of architectural perfection, at least as expressed by François Fénelon in his 'A Letter to Mr Fontenelle, Secretary to the French Academy': 'What shou'd we say of an Architect who cou'd see no difference between a stately Palace, whose Apartments are adjusted with the exactest Proportion, so as to make one uniform Structure; and a confus'd Heap of little Buildings which do not compose one regular Plan, tho' they be all plac'd together?' (*Dialogues Concerning Eloquence* (1722), pp. 234–5: cf. Davis, vol. III, pp. 213–14). However, it reflects contemporary perceptions of Westminster ('but one continued Heap of Buildings'; Thomas Cox, *Magna Britannia*, 6 vols. (1720–31), vol. III, p. 52) and of Whitehall (a 'Heap of Buildings accumulated on each other'; Henri Misson, *M. Misson's Memoirs and Observations in his Travels over England* (1719), p. 360).

8 *a Square of Westminster-Hall*: a medieval hall originally constructed by William II and rebuilt by Richard II in 1397, now adjacent to the Houses of Parliament. It measures 200 feet (61 metres) in length, 70 feet (21 metres) in breadth, and the ridge of the roof is 90 feet (27 metres) above the ground. In Swift's day the three great courts of Chancery, King's Bench and Common Pleas were held in separate apartments of this hall, with the court of Exchequer above stairs.

9 *Beggars watching their Opportunity*: for Swift's sensitivity to the importunity of beggars, see the opening to *A Modest Proposal* (Davis, vol. XII, p. 109); his lengthy comments on beggars in his sermon on the 'Causes of the Wretched Condition of Ireland' (Davis, vol. IX, pp. 205–9); and his *A Proposal for Giving Badges to the Beggars* (1737) (Davis, vol. XIII, pp. 127–40).

10 *crowded to the Sides of the Coach*: in *A Proposal for Giving Badges to the Beggars* (1737) Swift noted that 'Persons in Coaches and Chairs' were comparatively protected from beggars, and so 'bear but little of the Persecution' suffered by Swift and his 'Brother-walkers' (Davis, vol. XIII, p. 135).

most horrible Spectacles that ever an *European* Eye beheld. There was a Woman with a Cancer in her Breast, swelled to a monstrous Size, full of Holes, in two or three of which I could have easily crept, and covered my whole Body.¹¹ There was a Fellow with a Wen¹² in his Neck, larger than five Woolpacks;¹³ and another with a couple of wooden Legs, each about twenty Foot high. But, the most hateful Sight of all was the Lice crawling on their Cloaths: I could see distinctly the Limbs of these Vermin with my naked Eye, much better than those of an *European* Louse through a Microscope;¹⁴ and their Snouts with which they rooted like Swine.¹⁵ They were the first I had ever beheld; and I should have been curious enough to dissect one of them, if I had proper Instruments (which I unluckily left behind me in the Ship) although indeed the Sight was so nauseous, that it perfectly turned my Stomach.

- 11 *my whole Body*: cf. this contemporary description of the later stages of breast cancer: 'the Nipples many times sink in, and round about there arise hard, uneven, heavy protuberances, which by the growth of them at last pierce the Skin, and discover the Cancerous Mass, from whence an Ulceration proceeds in its Substance, the running of a Reddish Humour, broken Edges, spungy Tops, and Lastly, a cadaverous Stench is the last and utmost State of a Cancer in the Breast' (Claude Deshaies-Gendron, *Enquiries into the Nature, Knowledge, and Cure of Cancers* (1701), pp. 12–13).
- 12 *Wen*: a lump or protuberance on the body (*OED*, 1 a). In the spurious *Travels into Several Remote Nations of the World. By Capt. Lemuel Gulliver. Vol. III.* (1727), in the 'Voyage to Sevarambia' physical disfigurements are a sign of moral guilt: 'There was not one Place upon his Body free from the most odious Wens and Tumours, Imagination could form. His Guilt was then too plain' (p. 90). Cf. Seneca, *On Firmness*, XVII.3.
- 13 *Woolpacks*: a large bag into which a quantity of wool or of fleeces is packed for carriage or sale (*OED*, 1).
- 14 *through a Microscope*: cf. Robert Hooke, *Micrographia*, 'Obs. LIV: Of a Louse', pp. 211–13. Cf. the louse's eye view of the human body in Cyrano de Bergerac: 'Without doubt this little Race look upon your Hair to be the Forest of their Country, the Pores they take for Fountains, the Veins for Rivers, the Phlegm for Lakes, Scabs for Mountains, Defluxions for Deluges, and the combing your Head for the Flux and Reflux of the Sea' (*Voyage to the Moon*, p. 114).
- 15 *their Snouts with which they rooted like Swine*: enlargement by a factor of twelve would not in fact allow Gulliver to see lice with this clarity. However, cf. Mandeville's description of a sow eating a baby in his 'An Essay on Charity and Charity-Schools': 'To see her widely open her destructive Jaws, and the poor Lamb beat down with greedy haste; to look on the defenceless Posture of tender Limbs first trampled on, then tore asunder; to see the filthy Snout digging in the yet living Entrails suck up the smoking Blood, and now and then to hear the Crackling of the Bones, and the cruel Animal with savage Pleasure grunt over the horrid Banquet; to hear and see all this, What Tortures would it give the Soul beyond Expression!' (*Fable of the Bees*, vol. I, p. 255). This essay had been first published in the 1723 edition of the *Fable*, and so was topical at the time Swift was composing *GT*.

Beside the large Box in which I was usually carried, the Queen ordered a smaller one to be made for me, of about twelve Foot Square, and ten high, for the Convenience of Travelling; because the other was somewhat too large for *Glumdalclitch*'s Lap, and cumbersom in the Coach; it was made by the same Artist, whom I directed in the whole Contrivance. This travelling Closet was an exact Square with a Window in the Middle of three of the Squares, and each Window was latticed with Iron Wire on the outside,¹⁶ to prevent Accidents in long Journeys. On the fourth Side, which had no Window, two strong Staples were fixed, through which the Person that carried me, when I had a Mind to be on Horseback, put in a Leathern Belt, and buckled it about his Waist. This was always the Office of some grave trusty Servant in whom I could confide, whether I attended the King and Queen in their Progresses, or were disposed to see the Gardens, or pay a Visit to some great Lady or Minister of State in the Court, when *Glumdalclitch* happened to be out of Order:¹⁷ For I soon began to be known and esteemed among the greatest Officers, I suppose more upon Account of their Majesty's Favour, than any Merit of my own. In Journeys, when I was weary of the Coach, a Servant on Horseback would buckle my Box, and place it on a Cushion before him; and there I had a full Prospect of the Country on three Sides from my three Windows. I had in this Closet a Field-Bed and a Hammock hung from the Ceiling, two Chairs and a Table, neatly screwed to the Floor, to prevent being tossed about by the Agitation of the Horse or the Coach. And having been long used to Sea-Voyages, those Motions, although sometimes very violent, did not much discompose me.

Whenever I had a Mind to see the Town, it was always in my Travelling-Closet; which *Glumdalclitch* held in her Lap in a kind of open Sedan, after the Fashion of the Country, born by four Men, and attended by two others in the Queen's Livery. The People who had often heard of me, were very curious to croud about the Sedan; and the Girl was complaisant enough to make the Bearers stop, and to take me in her Hand that I might be more conveniently seen.

16 *latticed with Iron Wire on the outside*: following a spate of robberies in his neighbourhood, on 9 January 1712 Swift had fitted 'double iron bars to every window in my dining-room and bed-chamber' (Williams, *JSt*, p. 461).

17 *out of Order*: indisposed (*OED*, *sv* 'order', P4).

I was very desirous to see the chief Temple, and particularly the Tower belonging to it, which is reckoned the highest in the Kingdom. Accordingly one Day my Nurse carried me thither, but I may truly say I came back disappointed; for, the Height is not above three thousand Foot, reckoning from the Ground to the highest Pinnacle top; which allowing for the Difference between the Size of those People, and us in *Europe*, is no great matter for Admiration, nor at all equal in Proportion, (if I rightly remember) to *Salisbury Steeple*.¹⁸ But, not to detract from a Nation to which during my Life I shall acknowledge myself extremely obliged; it must be allowed, that whatever this famous Tower wants in Height, is amply made up in Beauty and Strength. For the Walls are near an hundred Foot thick, built of hewn Stone, whereof each is about forty Foot square, and adorned on all Sides with Statues of Gods and Emperors cut in Marble larger than the Life, placed in their several Niches. I measured a little Finger¹⁹ which had fallen down from one of these Statues, and lay unperceived among some Rubbish; and found it exactly four Foot and an Inch in Length. *Glumdalclitch* wrapped it up in a Handkerchief, and carried it home in her Pocket to keep among other Trinkets, of which the Girl was very fond, as Children at her Age usually are.

The King's Kitchen is indeed a noble Building, vaulted at Top, and about six hundred Foot high. The great Oven is not so wide by ten Paces as the Cupola at *St. Paul's*.²⁰ For I measured the latter on purpose after my Return. But if I should describe the Kitchen-grate, the prodigious Pots and Kettles, the Joints of Meat turning on the Spits, with many other Particulars; perhaps I should be hardly believed; at least a severe Critick would be apt to think I enlarged a little,²¹ as Travellers are often suspected to do. To avoid which Censure, I fear I have run too much into the other

18 *Salisbury Steeple*: 404 feet (123 metres) high, which in Brobdingnag would equate to 4,848 feet (1,476 metres).

19 *a little Finger*: possibly recalling the fragments of the massive statue of Constantine now in the Capitoline museum at Rome. Swift never visited Italy, but he might have read of this statue in his copy of Eusebius Pamphilus, I.xl (*Library and Reading*, pp. 591–2).

20 *Cupola at St. Paul's*: 112 feet (34 metres) in width. The dome of St Paul's was completed in 1710, and on 13 October Swift 'was all about St. Paul's, and up at the top like a fool, with sir Andrew Fountain and two more' (Williams, *JSt*, p. 53). However, Gulliver returns to England from Brobdingnag in 1706, and so could not have measured the cupola 'on purpose after my Return'.

21 *enlarged a little*: given that the subject is Brobdingnag, there is some play with the literal sense of 'enlarged' here (as there is also below with 'diminutive').

Extream; and that if this Treatise should happen to be translated into the Language of *Brobdingnag*, (which is the general Name of that Kingdom) and transmitted thither; the King and his People would have Reason to complain; that I had done them an Injury by a false and diminutive Representation.

His Majesty seldom keeps above six hundred Horses in his Stables: They are generally from fifty four to sixty Foot high. But, when he goes abroad on solemn Days, he is attended for State by a Militia Guard²² of five hundred Horse, which indeed I thought was the most splendid Sight that could be ever beheld, till I saw part of his Army in Battalia:²³ whereof I shall find another Occasion to speak.

22 *Militia Guard*: contrast the standing army of Lilliput (Part I, Chapter 3, above, p. 61). The Militia Act of 1662 had constituted a militia in England, which remained in existence during Swift's lifetime. Support for a militia (as opposed to a standing army) was at this time broadly characteristic of Tory attitudes; see Samuel Johnson's 'Remarks on the Militia Bill. 1756' in the *Literary Magazine*, 2 (15 May–15 June, 1756), pp. 57–63. Swift had written in support of militias in *The Examiner* 20 (21 December 1710): 'In the early Time of *Greece* and *Rome*, the Armies of those States were composed of their Citizens, who took no Pay, because the Quarrel was their own . . . The *Gothick* Governments in *Europe*, although they were of Military Institution, yet observed almost the same Method' (Davis, vol. III, pp. 40–1). See also Long note 12 and below, p. 199, n. 36.

23 *Battalia*: order of battle, battle array (*OED*, 1).

CHAPTER V.

Several Adventures that happened to the Author. The Execution of a Criminal. The Author shews his Skill in Navigation.

I should have lived happy enough in that Country, if my Littleness had not exposed me to several ridiculous and troublesome Accidents; some of which I shall venture to relate. *Glumdalclitch* often carried me into the Gardens of the Court in my smaller Box, and would sometimes take me out of it and hold me in her Hand, or set me down to walk. I remember, before the Dwarf left the Queen, he followed us one Day into those Gardens; and my Nurse having set me down, he and I being close together, near some Dwarf Apple-trees, I must need shew my Wit by a silly Allusion between him and the Trees, which happens to hold in their Language as it doth in ours. Whereupon, the malicious Rogue watching his Opportunity, when I was walking under one of them, shook it directly over my Head, by which a dozen Apples,¹ each of them near as large as a *Bristol* Barrel,² came tumbling about my Ears; one of them hit me on the Back as I chanced to stoop, and knocked me down flat on my Face, but I received no other

1 *Apples*: possibly a macaronic pun, since 'malum' in Latin means both apple and evil. The close proximity of the phrase '*Bristol* Barrel' creates the possibility that Gulliver's being knocked by an apple is a burlesque version of Isaac Newton being prompted towards formulating the theory of gravitation by observing the fall of an apple (see 'Introduction', above, pp. lvi–lvii and below, p. 296, n. 10; see David Womersley, 'Newton's Apple', *N&Q*, 252 (2007), 451–2, and Anon., *Phino-Godol. A Poem. In hudiabastic verse* (1732), p. 4). The earliest account of this event is in William Stukeley's manuscript life of Newton, in which the crucial conversation with Newton is dated to 15 April 1726 and located in the garden of Newton's house in Kensington (Royal Society MS/142, fols. 14–16). Therefore this detail may be a late addition to the text of *GT*, if Swift heard of the anecdote during his stay in London during the summer of 1726. Gravitation or '*Attraction*' is belittled in Part III, Chapter 8 of *GT* (below, p. 296); other attacks by Swift on Newton are noted in *Library and Reading*, pp. 1315–16. For the satiric connotations of the crab-apple in Scriblerian circles, see *Scriblerus*, p. 98.

2 *Bristol Barrel*: not a fixed size of barrel, but the 12:1 ratio of Brobdingnagian objects to their European counterparts implies that it is a barrel large enough to hold 1,728 apples. The phrase occurs also in Part III, Chapter 5 (below, p. 261). See Long note 25.

Hurt; and the Dwarf was pardoned at my Desire, because I had given the Provocation.

Another Day, *Glumdalclitch* left me on a smooth Grass-plot to divert my self while she walked at some Distance with her Governess. In the mean time, there suddenly fell such a violent Shower of Hail, that I was immediately by the Force of it struck to the Ground: And when I was down, the Hail-stones gave me such cruel Bangs all over the Body, as if I had been pelted with Tennis-Balls;³ however I made a Shift to creep on all four, and shelter my self by lying flat on my Face on the Lee-side of a Border of Lemmon Thyme;⁴ but so bruised from Head to Foot, that I could not go abroad in ten Days. Neither is this at all to be wondered at; because Nature in that Country observing the same Proportion through all her Operations, a Hail-stone is near Eighteen Hundred Times⁵ as large as one in *Europe*; which I can assert upon Experience, having been so curious to weigh and measure them.⁶

But, a more dangerous Accident happened to me in the same Garden, when my little Nurse, believing she had put me in a secure Place, which I often entreated her to do, that I might enjoy my own Thoughts; and having left my Box at home to avoid the Trouble of carrying it, went to another Part of the Gardens with her Governess and some Ladies of her Acquaintance. While she was absent and out of hearing, a small white Spaniel⁷ belonging to one of the chief Gardiners, having got by Accident into the Garden, happened to range near the Place where I lay. The Dog following the Scent, came directly up, and taking me in his Mouth, ran strait to his Master, wagging his Tail, and set me gently on the Ground.

3 *Tennis-Balls*: for contemporary poetic parallels, see Charles Cotton, *Virgil Travestie* (Cotton, p. 72); and Ambrose Philips, *Pastorals* (1710), p. 8. Gulliver's quarrel with the dwarf reworks a venerable comic trope: *Tarltons Iests* (1613) records Richard Tarlton's improvising a witty riposte when pelted from the gallery with apples (sig. B2^{r-v}).

4 *Lemmon Thyme*: a creeping herb which normally grows no higher than one or two inches (3 to 5 centimetres).

5 *Eighteen Hundred Times*: in fact, 1728 (12³) times.

6 *so curious to weigh and measure them*: the Royal Society collected information concerning unusual weather, including 'of the bigness, figure, and effects of *Hailstones*': see Thomas Sprat, *The History of the Royal Society of London*, second edition (1702), pp. 195–4.

7 *a small white Spaniel*: in the attack on Swift published as *Essays Divine, Moral, and Political* . . . *By the Author of the Tale of a Tub* (1714), Swift was lampooned as 'a *Creature of Power, a Spaniel that Fetches and Carries at the Command of his Master*' (p. v). In contemporary literature the spaniel was a type of the political slave or lickspittle: see Anon., *The Character of a Whig* (1709), p. 85 and John Dunton, *The State-Weathercocks* (1719), p. 18.

By good Fortune he had been so well taught,⁸ that I was carried between his Teeth without the least Hurt,⁹ or even tearing my Cloaths. But, the poor Gardiner, who knew me well, and had a great Kindness for me, was in a terrible Fright. He gently took me up in both his Hands, and asked me how I did; but I was so amazed and out of Breath, that I could not speak a Word. In a few Minutes I came to my self, and he carried me safe to my little Nurse, who by this time had returned to the Place where she left me, and was in cruel Agonies when I did not appear, nor answer when she called; she severely reprimanded the Gardiner on Account of his Dog. But, the Thing was hushed up, and never known at Court; for the Girl was afraid of the Queen's Anger; and truly as to my self, I thought it would not be for my Reputation that such a Story should go about.

This Accident absolutely determined *Glumdalclitch* never to trust me abroad for the future out of her Sight. I had been long afraid of this Resolution; and therefore concealed from her some little unlucky Adventures that happened in those Times when I was left by my self. Once a Kite¹⁰ hovering over the Garden, made a Stoop at me, and if I had not resolutely drawn my Hanger, and run under a thick Espalier,¹¹ he would have certainly carried me away in his Talons. Another time, walking to the Top of a fresh Mole-hill, I fell to my Neck in the Hole through which that Animal had cast up the Earth;¹² and coined some Lye not worth remembring, to excuse my self for spoiling my Cloaths. I likewise broke my right Shin

8 *so well taught*: in Section 4 of *A Tale of a Tub* Peter is compared to a 'well-educated Spaniel' (*CWJS*, vol. I, p. 73; Davis, vol. I, p. 71).

9 *without the least Hurt*: cf. Pope, *Epistle to Arbuthnot*: 'So well-bred Spaniels civilly delight / In mumbling of the Game they dare not bite' (*TE*, vol. IV, p. 118, lines 313–14). First published in 1735, Pope's poem was largely composed 1731–4, although sections of it existed much earlier.

10 *Kite*: *Milvus ictinus*, a hawk (*OED*, 1); but also with the metaphorical sense, relevant to much of Swift's satire in *GT*, of a person who preys upon others, a rapacious person (*OED*, 2). Cf. Swift's letter to Pope of 26 November 1725, in which he compares Walpole to 'the Kite that last week flew away with one of my Chickins' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. II, p. 623). The kite is used in the fabular literature of Swift's time as an embodiment of oppressive political authority; see, e.g., *Sir Roger L'Estrange's Æsop's Fables, with Morals and Reflections, in English Verse*, fifth edition (1724), pp. 43–4. Cf. also *Richard III*, I.i.132–3.

11 *Espalier*: a row of fruit trees trained on a lattice, usually of woodwork, or on stakes (*OED*, 2 and 3).

12 *cast up the Earth*: William III died on 8 March 1702, in fact of a pulmonary fever, but in the popular imagination as a consequence of a fall he suffered on 21 February 1702, when his horse tripped over a molehill; hence the Jacobite toast to the 'little gentleman in velvet breeches'.

against the Shell of a Snail, which I happened to stumble over, as I was walking alone, and thinking on poor *England*.¹³

I cannot tell whether I were more pleased or mortified to observe in those solitary Walks, that the smaller Birds did not appear to be at all afraid of me; but would hop about within a Yard Distance, looking for Worms, and other Food, with as much Indifference and Security as if no Creature at all were near them. I remember, a Thrush had the Confidence to snatch out of my Hand with his Bill, a Piece of Cake that *Glumdalclitch* had just given me for my Breakfast. When I attempted to catch any of these Birds, they would boldly turn against me, endeavouring to pick my Fingers, which I durst not venture within their Reach; and then they would hop back unconcerned to hunt for Worms or Snails, as they did before. But, one Day I took a thick Cudgel, and threw it with all my Strength so luckily at a Linnet,¹⁴ that I knocked him down, and seizing him by the Neck with both my Hands, ran with him in Triumph to my Nurse. However, the Bird who had only been stunned, recovering himself, gave me so many Boxes with his Wings on both Sides of my Head and Body, although I held him at Arms Length, and was out of the Reach of his Claws, that I was twenty Times thinking to let him go. But I was soon relieved by one of our Servants, who wrung off the Bird's Neck; and I had him next Day for Dinner by the Queen's Command. This Linnet, as near as I can remember, seemed to be somewhat larger than an *English* Swan.

The Maids of Honour¹⁵ often invited *Glumdalclitch* to their Apartments, and desired she would bring me along with her, on Purpose to have the Pleasure of seeing and touching me. They would often strip me naked from Top to Toe, and lay me at full Length in their Bosoms; wherewith I

13 *broke my right Shin . . . thinking on poor England*: Swift had perennial problems with his shins: e.g., Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. I, pp. 184, 217; vol. II, p. 217; vol. III, pp. 230, 319; vol. IV, pp. 213, 220, 225, 227, 231, 237, 239. See also Ehrenpreis, vol. III, p. 319 and 'The Journal', line 64 (Williams, *Poems*, p. 280). For further comment, see the 'Introduction' (above, pp. lxiii–lxiv); and David Womersley, 'Souvenirs of Mortal Pain: Jonathan Swift and the Abbé Guiscard's Assassination Attempt on Lord Treasurer Harley', *TLS*, 8 January 2010.

14 *at a Linnet*: Swift's manservant Patrick kept a linnet as a pet, much to Swift's disgust: 'Did I not tell you Patrick has got a bird, a linnet, to carry over to Dingley? It was very tame at first, and 'tis now the wildest I ever saw. He keeps it in a closet, where it makes a terrible litter' (Williams, *JS*, p. 181; cf. p. 209). In contemporary poetry the linnet is often associated with the thrush: e.g. Samuel Croxall, *The Vision. A Poem* (1715), p. 3 and Anon., *Miscellaneous Poems. By a Young Gentleman* (1725), p. 4.

15 *Maids of Honour*: see Long note 19.

was much disgusted; because, to say the Truth, a very offensive Smell came from their Skins;¹⁶ which I do not mention or intend to the Disadvantage of those excellent Ladies, for whom I have all Manner of Respect: But, I conceive, that my Sense was more acute in Proportion to my Littleness; and that those illustrious Persons were no more disagreeable to their Lovers, or to each other, than People of the same Quality are with us in *England*. And, after all, I found their natural Smell was much more supportable than when they used Perfumes, under which I immediately swooned away. I cannot forget, that an intimate Friend of mine in *Lilliput* took the Freedom in a warm Day, when I had used a good deal of Exercise, to complain of a strong Smell about me; although I am as little faulty that way as most of my Sex: But I suppose, his Faculty of Smelling was as nice with regard to me, as mine was to that of this People. Upon this Point, I cannot forbear doing Justice to the Queen my Mistress, and *Glumdalclitch* my Nurse; whose Persons were as sweet as those of any Lady in *England*.¹⁷

That which gave me most Uneasiness among these Maids of Honour, when my Nurse carried me to visit them, was to see them use me without any Manner of Ceremony, like a Creature who had no Sort of Consequence.¹⁸ For, they would strip themselves to the Skin, and put on their Smocks in my Presence, while I was placed on their Toylet¹⁹

16 *Smell came from their Skins*: on 4 May 1700 Swift assured Jane Waring that 'Cleanliness . . . is all I look for' in a woman (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. I, p. 143). Twenty years later, in 'Verses to Vanessa', he was of the same opinion: 'First, to adorn your Person well, / In utmost Cleanlyness excell' (Williams, *Poems*, p. 732, lines 3–4). In 'Cadenus and Vanessa', Vanessa's freedom from offensive odours is a manifestation of an inner, moral cleanliness: 'From whence the tender Skin assumes / A Sweetness above all Perfumes; / From whence a Cleanliness remains, / Incapable of outward Stains; / From whence that Decency of Mind, / So lovely in the Female Kind' (Williams, *Poems*, p. 691, lines 160–5). In 'The Lady's Dressing Room', it is the prying Strephon's punishment to be able to think of nothing but female smells: 'His foul Imagination links / Each Dame he sees with all her Stinks: / And, if unsav'ry Odours fly, / Conceive a Lady standing by' (Williams, *Poems*, p. 529, lines 121–4). The obnoxiousness of female odours is a recurrent feature of Swift's poetry: see e.g. 'A Beautiful Young Nymph' (Williams, *Poems*, p. 583, line 74) and 'Strephon and Chloe' (Williams, *Poems*, pp. 584 and 589, lines 11–14 and 179–86).

17 *as sweet as those of any Lady in England*: not necessarily an extravagant compliment.

18 *no Sort of Consequence*: in Swift's day those of high birth might behave in front of servants with a lack of inhibition which was premised on the servants' utter unimportance: see, e.g., Roger Pearson, *Voltaire Almighty: A Life in Pursuit of Freedom* (London: Bloomsbury, 2005), pp. 193–4. Cf. also Delarivier Manley, *The Power of Love* (1720), p. 218: 'The Count was very well satisfied that he found Violenta so well appeased; he thought he need not give himself much Trouble about that little Maid, a Creature of no Consequence.'

19 *Toylet*: a dressing table (*OED*, 4).

directly before their naked Bodies; which, I am sure, to me was very far from being a tempting Sight, or from giving me any other Motions²⁰ than those of Horror and Disgust. Their Skins appeared so coarse and uneven, so variously coloured when I saw them near,²¹ with a Mole here and there as broad as a Trencher,²² and Hairs hanging from it thicker than Pack-threads; to say nothing further concerning the rest of their Persons. Neither did they at all scruple while I was by, to discharge what they had drunk, to the Quantity of at least two Hogsheads, in a Vessel that held above three Tuns.²³ The handsomest among these Maids of Honour, a pleasant frolicsome Girl of sixteen, would sometimes set me astride upon one of her Nipples; with many other Tricks,²⁴ wherein the Reader will excuse me for not being over particular. But, I was so much displeased, that I entreated *Glumdalclitch* to contrive some Excuse for not seeing that young Lady any more.

One Day, a young Gentleman who was Nephew to my Nurse's Governess, came and pressed them both to see an Execution. It was of a Man who had murdered one of that Gentleman's intimate Acquaintance. *Glumdalclitch* was prevailed on to be of the Company, very much against her Inclination, for she was naturally tender hearted: And, as for my self, although I abhorred such Kind of Spectacles; yet my Curiosity tempted me

20 *Motions*: emotions (*OED*, 12 a).

21 *saw them near*: cf. 'To Betty the Grizette': 'How thy Face charms ev'ry Shepherd, / Spotted over like a Le'pard! / And, thy freckled Neck display'd, / Envy breeds in ev'ry Maid' (Williams, *Poems*, p. 522, lines 3–6).

22 *Trencher*: a flat piece of wood, square or circular, on which meat was served and cut up; a plate or platter of wood, metal, or earthenware (*OED*, 2).

23 *three Tuns*: a tun is a cask of definite capacity, usually equivalent to 2 pipes or 4 hogsheads, containing 252 old wine-gallons (*OED*, 2). Ovid recommends such sights as a cure for love: 'Quid, qui clam latuit reddente obscena puella, / Et vidit, quae mos ipse videre vetat?'; 'What of him who hid himself while the girl performed her obscenities, and saw what custom itself forbids to be seen?' (*Remedia Amoris*, lines 437–8). Cf. the parallel but inverted episode in Part I, Chapter 5, of Gulliver's extinguishing of the fire in the royal palace (above, p. 80).

24 *many other Tricks*: the sly implication that this 'frolicsome' Maid of Honour employed Gulliver for purposes of sexual gratification forms another inverted parallel with a detail in Part I, Chapter 6, when Gulliver vindicates Flimnap's wife from the imputation of having conducted an affair with him (above, pp. 94–95). Gulliver's sexual escapades in Brobdingnag snagged on the imagination of Nabokov, whose protagonist in *The Enchanter* (1939) is obliged to marry the mother of the child he secretly desires, and who on the wedding night is a 'little Gulliver' lost in her 'multiple caverns' and repelled by 'the rancid emanations of her wilted skin' (Vladimir Nabokov, *The Enchanter*, translated by Dmitri Nabokov (London: Penguin Books, 2009), p. 30).

to see something that I thought must be extraordinary.²⁵ The Malefactor was fixed in a Chair upon a Scaffold erected for the Purpose; and his Head cut off at one Blow with a Sword of about forty Foot long. The Veins and Arteries spouted up such a prodigious Quantity of Blood, and so high in the Air, that the great *Jet d'Eau* at *Versailles*²⁶ was not equal for the Time it lasted; and the Head when it fell on the Scaffold Floor, gave such a Bounce, as made me start, although I were at least an *English* Mile distant.²⁷

The Queen, who often used to hear me talk of my Sea-Voyages, and took all Occasions to divert me when I was melancholy, asked me whether I understood how to handle a Sail or an Oar; and whether a little Exercise of Rowing might not be convenient for my Health. I answered, that I understood both very well. For although my proper Employment had been to be Surgeon or Doctor to the Ship; yet often upon a Pinch, I was forced to work like a common Mariner. But, I could not see how this could be done in their Country, where the smallest Wherry was equal to a first Rate Man of War among us; and such a Boat as I could manage, would never live in any of their Rivers: Her Majesty said, if I would contrive

25 *that I thought must be extraordinary*: in a letter of 10 June 1708 to Dean Stearne, Swift noted that 'the boys of our town are mighty happy, for we are to have a beheading next week' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. I, p. 191).

26 *Jet d'Eau at Versailles*: the fountain in the Basin of Enceladus at Versailles rises to a height of 75 feet (23 metres). The water-works at Versailles were a contemporary wonder: see, e.g., Joseph Addison, *Remarks on Several Parts of Italy* (1705), p. 157; Aubry de la Mottraye, *Travels through Europe*, 2 vols. (1723), vol. I, p. 137; Anon., *The Life and History of Lewis XIV* (1709), pp. 279–80; Anon., *A New Journey to France* (1715), pp. 116–17; Anon., *Seasonable Warning for Old England* (1704), p. 2; Sir Richard Bulstrode, *Miscellaneous Essays*, second edition (1724), p. 179; Anon., *Interviews in the Realms of Death* (1718), p. 20. On 20 October 1735 John Sican described to Swift his astonishment at the water-works of Versailles, immediately after noting that 'hundreds of Yahoos' were required to keep the stables of the palace clean for the 'Hoynheims' that live there, as 'you have observed in your former travels' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. IV, pp. 221–2). Two aspects of the attention these feats of engineering received may have been of particular significance for Swift. To Whigs such as Algernon Sidney, the magnificence of Versailles was a symbol of the 'Miserys under which they [the French people] groan' (*Discourses Concerning Government*, second edition (1704), p. 246). To the Royal Society, the engineering works at Versailles were, for the 'intelligent Observer', evidence of the eclipse of antiquity by modernity (*Philosophical Transactions*, third edition, 3 vols. (1722), vol. I, p. 595).

27 *an English Mile distant*: cf. Mandeville's speculation on the different effects of seeing an execution close up or at a distance: 'To see People Executed for Crimes, if it is a great way off, moves us but little, in comparison to what it does when we are near enough to see the Motion of the Soul in their Eyes, observe their Fears and Agonies, and are able to read the Pangs in every Feature of the Face' (*Fable of the Bees*, vol. I, p. 256). Gulliver is a mile from the execution, but because of the size of the Brobdingnagians, it is as if he were only about 426 feet (130 metres) away.

a Boat, her own Joyner should make it, and she would provide a Place for me to sail in.²⁸ The Fellow was an ingenious Workman, and by my Instructions in ten Days finished a Pleasure-Boat with all its Tackling, able conveniently to hold eight *Europeans*. When it was finished, the Queen was so delighted, that she ran with it in her Lap to the King, who ordered it to be put in a Cistern full of Water, with me in it, by way of Tryal; where I could not manage my two Sculls or little Oars for want of Room. But, the Queen had before contrived another Project. She ordered the Joyner to make a wooden Trough of three Hundred Foot long, fifty broad, and eight deep; which being well pitched to prevent leaking, was placed on the Floor along the Wall, in an outer Room of the Palace. It had a Cock near the Bottom, to let out the Water when it began to grow stale; and two Servants could easily fill it in half an Hour.²⁹ Here I often used to row for my Diversion, as well as that of the Queen and her Ladies, who thought themselves agreeably entertained with my Skill and Agility. Sometimes I would put up my Sail, and then my Business was only to steer, while the Ladies gave me a Gale with their Fans; and when they were weary, some of the Pages would blow my Sail forward with their Breath, while I shewed my Art by steering Starboard or Larboard as I pleased. When I had done, *Glumdalclitch* always carried back my Boat into her Closet, and hung it on a Nail to dry.

In this Exercise I once met an Accident which had like to have cost me my Life. For, one of the Pages having put my Boat into the Trough; the Governess who attended *Glumdalclitch*, very officiously lifted me up to place me in the Boat; but I happened to slip through her Fingers, and should have infallibly fallen down forty Foot upon the Floor, if by the luckiest Chance in the World, I had not been stop'd by a Corking-pin³⁰

28 *to sail in*: Gulliver's boating has a parallel in some of the experiments conducted by Sir William Petty for the Dublin Philosophical Society, which included a toy navy made to sail 'in a great broad trough of water' (Ehrenpreis, vol. I, p. 84).

29 *fill it in half an Hour*: given that 'stale' at this time could mean 'urine' (*OED*, n.⁵), this sentence contains surreptitious indecencies which parallel Gulliver's method of extinguishing the palace fire in Part I, Chapter 5 (above, p. 80). 'Cock' (*OED*, n.¹ 20) already possessed its indecent meaning in 1726.

30 *Corking-pin*: a pin of the largest size (*OED*). On 10 July 1736, in a letter which recalls *GT*'s playfulness with scale, Swift reported to Thomas Sheridan that Mrs Whiteway had compared one of his raspberries to the 'Head of a Corking-Pin' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. IV, p. 331).

that stuck in the good Gentlewoman's Stomacher;³¹ the Head of the Pin passed between my Shirt and the Waist-band of my Breeches; and thus I was held by the Middle in the Air, till *Glumdalclitch* ran to my Relief.

Another time, one of the Servants, whose Office it was to fill my Trough every third Day with fresh Water; was so careless to let a huge Frog (not perceiving it) slip out of his Pail. The Frog lay concealed till I was put into my Boat, but then seeing a resting Place, climbed up, and made it lean so much on one Side, that I was forced to balance it with all my Weight on the other, to prevent overturning. When the Frog was got in, it hopped at once half the Length of the Boat, and then over my Head, backwards and forwards, dawbing my Face and Cloaths with its odious Slime. The Largeness of its Features made it appear the most deformed Animal that can be conceived. However, I desired *Glumdalclitch* to let me deal with it alone. I banged it a good while with one of my Sculls, and at last forced it to leap out of the Boat.

But, the greatest Danger I ever underwent in that Kingdom, was from a Monkey,³² who belonged to one of the Clerks of the Kitchen. *Glumdalclitch* had locked me up in her Closet, while she went somewhere upon Business, or a Visit. The Weather being very warm, the Closet Window was left open, as well as the Windows and the Door of my bigger Box, in which I usually lived, because of its Largeness and Conveniency. As I sat quietly meditating at my Table, I heard something bounce in at the Closet Window, and skip about from one Side to the other; whereat, although I were much alarmed, yet I ventured to look out, but not stirring from my Seat; and then I saw this frolicsome Animal, frisking and leaping up and down, till at last he came to my Box, which he seemed to view with great Pleasure and Curiosity, peeping in at the Door and every Window. I retreated to the

31 *Stomacher*: an ornamental covering for the chest (often covered with jewels) worn by women under the lacing of the bodice (*OED*, 3).

32 *from a Monkey*: Esther Vanhomrigh refers to this incident in a letter to Swift probably of June 1722 (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. II, p. 423). For other mischief caused by a monkey, see *Utopia*, p. 75. In *Travels into Several Remote Nations of the World. By Capt. Lemuel Gulliver. Vol. III.* (1727) this incident is recalled when we are told that the Queen of Brobdingnag gave away the monkey in displeasure to a maid of honour (p. 36). Similar anecdotes of being taken up on to a roof by a monkey when a baby are related of Christian II of Sweden (William Coxe, *Travels into Poland, Russia, Sweden, and Denmark*, 3 vols. (Dublin, 1784), vol. III, p. 407; cf. Hans Svaning, *Christiernus II e veteri protractus MS* (Frankfurt, 1658)) and of Oliver Cromwell (A. Bicknell, *Instances of the Mutability of Fortune* (1792), pp. 353–4; I owe this reference to the kindness of Paddy Bullard).

farther Corner of my Room, or Box; but the Monkey looking in at every Side, put me into such a Fright, that I wanted Presence of Mind to conceal my self under the Bed, as I might easily have done. After some time spent in peeping, grinning, and chattering, he at last espyed me; and reaching one of his Paws in at the Door, as a Cat does when she plays with a Mouse, although I often shifted Place to avoid him; he at length seized the Lappet of my Coat (which being made of that Country Silk, was very thick and strong) and dragged me out. He took me up in his right Fore-foot, and held me as a Nurse doth a Child she is going to suckle; just as I have seen the same Sort of Creature do with a Kitten in *Europe*: And when I offered to struggle, he squeezed me so hard, that I thought it more prudent to submit. I have good Reason to believe that he took me for a young one of his own Species,³³ by his often stroaking my Face very gently with his other Paw. In these Diversions he was interrupted by a Noise at the Closet Door, as if some Body were opening it; whereupon he suddenly leaped up to the Window at which he had come in, and thence upon the Leads³⁴ and Gutters, walking upon three Legs, and holding me in the fourth, till he clambered up to a Roof that was next to ours. I heard *Glumdalclitch* give a Shriek at the Moment he was carrying me out. The poor Girl was almost distracted: That Quarter of the Palace was all in an Uproar; the Servants ran for Ladders; the Monkey was seen by Hundreds in the Court, sitting upon the Ridge of a Building, holding me like a Baby in one of his Fore-Paws, and feeding me with the other, by cramming into my Mouth some Victuals he had squeezed out of the Bag on one Side of his Chaps, and patting me when I would not eat; whereat many of the Rabble below could not forbear laughing; neither do I think they justly ought to be blamed; for without Question, the Sight was ridiculous enough to every Body but my self. Some of the People threw up Stones, hoping to drive the Monkey down; but this was strictly forbidden, or else very probably my Brains had been dashed out.

The Ladders were now applied, and mounted by several Men; which the Monkey observing, and finding himself almost encompassed; not

33 *of his own Species*: a prolepsis of Gulliver's encounter with the female Yahoo in Part IV, Chapter 8 (below, pp. 400–1).

34 *Leads*: the sheets or strips of lead used to cover a roof (*OED*, 7 a).

being able to make Speed enough with his three Legs, let me drop on a Ridge-Tyle, and made his Escape. Here I sat for some time five Hundred Yards from the Ground, expecting every Moment to be blown down by the Wind, or to fall by my own Giddiness,³⁵ and come tumbling over and over from the Ridge to the Eves. But an honest Lad, one of my Nurse's Footmen, climbed up, and putting me into his Breeches Pocket, brought me down safe.

I was almost choaked with the filthy Stuff the Monkey had crammed down my Throat; but, my dear little Nurse picked it out of my Mouth with a small Needle; and then I fell a vomiting, which gave me great Relief. Yet I was so weak and bruised in the Sides with the Squeezes given me by this odious Animal, that I was forced to keep my Bed a Fortnight. The King, Queen, and all the Court, sent every Day to enquire after my Health; and her Majesty made me several Visits during my Sickness. The Monkey was killed, and an Order made that no such Animal should be kept about the Palace.

When I attended the King after my Recovery, to return him Thanks for his Favours, he was pleased to railly me a good deal upon this Adventure. He asked me what my Thoughts and Speculations were while I lay in the Monkey's Paw; how I liked the Victuals he gave me, his Manner of Feeding; and whether the fresh Air on the Roof had sharpened my Stomach. He desired to know what I would have done upon such an Occasion in my own Country. I told his Majesty, that in *Europe* we had no Monkies, except such as were brought for Curiosities from other Places, and so small, that I could deal with a Dozen of them together, if they presumed to attack me. And as for that monstrous Animal with whom I was so lately engaged, (it was indeed as large as an Elephant) if my Fears had suffered me to think so far as to make Use of my Hanger (looking fiercely, and clapping my Hand upon the Hilt as I spoke) when he poked his Paw into my Chamber, perhaps I should have given him such a Wound, as would have

35 *by my own Giddiness*: from its first occurrence during his residence with Sir William Temple at Moor Park Swift suffered throughout his adult life from Ménière's disease, a complaint of the inner ear which includes amongst its symptoms deafness, giddiness and vertigo; see Ehrenpreis, vol. I, p. 106; vol. II, pp. 298–300; vol. III, pp. 319–20. Its attacks were particularly unrelenting while Swift was composing *GT* (see, e.g., Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. II, p. 585).

made him glad to withdraw it with more Haste than he put it in. This I delivered in a firm Tone, like a Person who was jealous lest his Courage should be called in Question. However, my Speech produced nothing else besides a loud Laughter; which all the Respect due to his Majesty from those about him, could not make them contain. This made me reflect, how vain an Attempt it is for a Man to endeavour doing himself Honour among those who are out of all Degree of Equality or Comparison with him. And yet I have seen the Moral of my own Behaviour very frequent in *England* since my Return; where a little contemptible Varlet, without the least Title to Birth, Person, Wit, or common Sense, shall presume to look with Importance, and put himself upon a Foot with the greatest Persons of the Kingdom.

I was every Day furnishing the Court with some ridiculous Story; and *Glumdalclitch*, although she loved me to Excess, yet was arch³⁶ enough to inform the Queen, whenever I committed any Folly that she thought would be diverting to her Majesty. The Girl who had been out of Order, was carried by her Governess to take the Air about an Hour's Distance, or thirty Miles from Town. They alighted out of the Coach near a small Foot-path in a Field; and *Glumdalclitch* setting down my travelling Box, I went out of it to walk. There was a Cow-dung³⁷ in the Path, and I must needs try my Activity by attempting to leap over it. I took a Run, but unfortunately jumped short, and found my self just in the Middle up to my Knees.³⁸ I waded through with some Difficulty, and one of the Footmen wiped me as clean as he could with his Handkerchief; for I was filthily

36 *arch*: clever, cunning, crafty, roguish, waggish (*OED*, 2).

37 *a Cow-dung*: a burlesque of two episodes from classical epic: Ajax falling into cow-dung (*Iliad*, XXIII.774–84; an incident referred to in the 'Life of Zoilus' included in Thomas Parnell, *Poems on Several Occasions* (Dublin, 1722), sig. b 7^v, a work mentioned by Swift (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. II, p. 418) while composing *GT*); and Nisus falling into sacrificial blood and filth ('immundoque fimo sacroque cruore') (*Aeneid*, V.327–33; a passage also burlesqued by Pope in *The Dunciad Variorum* (1729), II.65–74). Cf. also 'The Pheasant and the Lark' (Williams, *Poems*, p. 514, line 48), and Swift's comment on 15 October 1726 to James Stopford about the route to eminence: 'yet a wise Man may some times in the worst Times rise to a moderate Station without the necessity of first dipping himself over Head & Ears in the Dirt' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, p. 33).

38 *to my Knees*: cf. Swift in a letter of 30 June 1732 to Dean Brandreth on the miseries of life in Ireland, which include the fact that 'you cannot walk five yards from your door without being mired to your knees' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, p. 494). Cf. also the parallel mishap of one of the Lilliputian officers charged with searching Gulliver, who finds himself 'up to the mid Leg in a sort of Dust' when he steps into Gulliver's snuff box (above, p. 50).

bemired,³⁹ and my Nurse confined me to my Box until we returned home; where the Queen was soon informed of what had passed, and the Footmen spread it about the Court; so that all the Mirth, for some Days, was at my Expence.

39 *bemired*: covered with dirt (*OED*, 1).

CHAPTER VI.

Several Contrivances of the Author to please the King and Queen. He shews his Skill in Musick. The King enquires into the State of Europe, which the Author relates to him. The King's Observations thereon.

I used to attend the King's Levee¹ once or twice a Week, and had often seen him under the Barber's Hand, which indeed was at first very terrible to behold. For, the Razor was almost twice as long as an ordinary Scythe.² His Majesty, according to the Custom of the Country, was only shaved twice a Week.³ I once prevailed on the Barber to give me some of the Suds or Lather, out of which I picked Forty or Fifty of the strongest Stumps of Hair. I then took a Piece of fine Wood, and cut it like the Back of a Comb, making several Holes in it at equal Distance, with as small a Needle as I could get from *Glumdalclitch*. I fixed in the Stumps so artificially,⁴ scraping and sloping them with my Knife towards the Points, that I made a very tolerable Comb; which was a seasonable Supply,⁵ my own being so much broken in the Teeth, that it was almost useless: Neither did I know any Artist in that Country so nice and exact, as would undertake to make me another.

And this puts me in mind of an Amusement wherein I spent many of my leisure Hours. I desired the Queen's Woman to save for me the Combing of her Majesty's Hair, whereof in time I got a good Quantity; and consulting with my Friend the Cabinet-maker, who had received general Orders to do little Jobbs for me; I directed him to make two Chair-frames, no larger than those I had in my Box, and then to bore little

1 *Levee*: a morning assembly held by a prince or person of distinction (*OED*, 2).

2 *ordinary Scythe*: cf. the anxiety caused amongst the Lilliputians by Gulliver's scimitar in Part I, Chapter 2 (above, p. 53).

3 *twice a Week*: cf. Juvenal, IV.103, 'tis an easy matter to fool a bearded king' ('facile est barbato inponere regi').

4 *artificially*: with much art, skilfully, ingeniously, cleverly (*OED*, 2).

5 *seasonable Supply*: opportune substitution (*OED*, 'seasonable' 1 a; 'supply' 3).

Holes with a fine Awl round those Parts where I designed the Backs and Seats; through these Holes I wove the strongest Hairs I could pick out, just after the Manner of Cane-chairs in *England*. When they were finished, I made a Present of them to her Majesty, who kept them in her Cabinet,⁶ and used to shew them for Curiosities; as indeed they were the Wonder of every one who beheld them. The Queen would have had me sit upon one of these Chairs, but I absolutely refused to obey her; protesting I would rather dye a Thousand Deaths than place a dishonourable Part of my Body on those precious Hairs that once adorned her Majesty's Head.⁷ Of these Hairs (as I had always a Mechanical Genius) I likewise made a neat little Purse about five Foot long, with her Majesty's Name decyphered⁸ in Gold Letters; which I gave to *Glumdalclitch*, by the Queen's Consent. To say the Truth, it was more for Shew than Use, being not of Strength to bear the Weight of the larger Coins; and therefore she kept nothing in it, but some little Toys that Girls are fond of.

The King, who delighted in Musick, had frequent Consorts⁹ at Court, to which I was sometimes carried, and set in my Box on a Table to hear them: But, the Noise was so great, that I could hardly distinguish the Tunes. I am confident, that all the Drums and Trumpets of a Royal Army, beating and sounding together just at your Ears, could not equal it. My Practice was to have my Box removed from the Places where the Performers sat, as far as I could; then to shut the Doors and Windows of it, and draw the Window-Curtains; after which I found their Musick not disagreeable.¹⁰

I had learned in my Youth to play a little upon the Spinnet;¹¹ *Glumdalclitch* kept one in her Chamber, and a Master attended twice a Week to teach

6 *Cabinet*: see above, p. 144, n. 7.

7 *her Majesty's Head*: a detail to be placed in apposition to Gulliver's supposed disrespect in Part I, Chapter 5 when extinguishing the fire in the royal palace with his urine (above, pp. 80–81).

8 *decyphered*: represented or expressed by some kind of character, cipher, or figure (*OED*, 7, citing this passage).

9 *Consorts*: musical entertainments in which a number of performers take part (*OED*, 5).

10 *not disagreeable*: cf. 'The Dean to Himself on St Cecilia's Day': 'Grave D. of St P—— ho[w] comes it to pass / That y[ou] who know musick no more than an ass' (Williams, *Poems*, p. 522, lines 1–2); cf. also Delany, *Observations*, p. 189: 'I know nothing of music.' For the care Swift lavished on the provision of music at St Patrick's, notwithstanding the fact that (in his own words) he understood music 'like a Muscovite', see Ehrenpreis, vol. III, pp. 352–4; cf. Joseph McMinn, 'Was Swift a Philistine? The Evidence of Music', *SSStud*, 17 (2002), 59–74.

11 *Spinnet*: a small keyed instrument, resembling a harpsichord (*OED*).

her: I call it a Spinet, because it somewhat resembled that Instrument, and was play'd upon in the same Manner. A Fancy came into my Head, that I would entertain the King and Queen with an *English* Tune upon this Instrument. But this appeared extremely difficult: For, the Spinet was near sixty Foot long, each Key being almost a Foot wide; so that, with my Arms extended, I could not reach to above five Keys; and to press them down required a good smart stroak with my Fist, which would be too great a Labour, and to no purpose. The Method I contrived was this. I prepared two round Sticks about the Bigness of common Cudgels; they were thicker at one End than the other; and I covered the thicker End with a Piece of a Mouse's Skin, that by rapping on them, I might neither Damage the Tops of the Keys, nor interrupt the Sound. Before the Spinet, a Bench was placed about four Foot below the Keys, and I was put upon the Bench. I ran sideling¹² upon it that way and this, as fast as I could, banging the proper Keys with my two Sticks; and made a shift to play a Jigg to the great Satisfaction of both their Majesties: But, it was the most violent Exercise I ever underwent, and yet I could not strike above sixteen Keys, nor, consequently, play the Bass and Treble together, as other Artists do; which was a great Disadvantage to my Performance.

The King, who as I before observed, was a Prince of excellent Understanding, would frequently order that I should be brought in my Box, and set upon the Table in his Closet.¹³ He would then command me to bring one of my Chairs out of the Box, and sit down within three Yards Distance upon the Top of the Cabinet; which brought me almost to a Level with his Face. In this Manner I had several Conversations with him. I one Day took the Freedom to tell his Majesty, that the Contempt he discovered towards *Europe*, and the rest of the World, did not seem answerable to those excellent Qualities of Mind, that he was Master of. That, Reason did not extend itself with the Bulk of the Body: On the contrary, we observed in our Country, that the tallest Persons were usually least provided with it. That among other Animals, Bees and Ants had the Reputation of more Industry, Art, and Sagacity than many of the larger Kinds.¹⁴ And that, as

12 *sideling*: with a sideward movement (*OED*, 1); cf. above, p. 66 and n. 1.

13 *Closet*: the private apartment of a monarch (*OED*, 2 a).

14 *larger Kinds*: for the exemplary social organization of bees, see: Virgil, *Georgics*, IV.149–227; Musonius, *Lectures*, XIV.3; Pliny, *Natural History*, XI; Sir Thomas Elyot, *The Boke of the Governour*, I.ii; Erasmus, *Education*, p. 12; John Lyly, *Euphues*, in *Works*, ed. R. Warwick

inconsiderable as he took me to be, I hoped I might live to do his Majesty some signal Service. The King heard me with Attention; and began to conceive a much better Opinion of me than he had ever before. He desired I would give him as exact an Account of the Government of *England* as I possibly could; because, as fond as Princes commonly are of their own Customs (for so he conjectured of other Monarchs by my former Discourses) he should be glad to hear of any thing that might deserve Imitation.

Imagine with thy self, courteous Reader, how often I then wished for the Tongue of *Demosthenes* or *Cicero*,¹⁵ that might have enabled me to celebrate the Praise of my own dear native Country in a Style equal to its Merits and Felicity.¹⁶

Bond, 3 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1902), vol. II, p. 45; *Henry V*, I.ii.187; *Paradise Lost*, VII.484–92; Nehemiah Grew, *Cosmologia Sacra* (1701), p. 86; Henry More, *Theological Works* (1708), p. 33; *The Guardian*, nos. 156 and 157, 9 and 10 September 1713. More recently, the topos had been exploited for sceptical ends by Bernard Mandeville in *The Fable of the Bees* (1714), although this did not eliminate the traditional positive image: see Joseph Warder, *The True Amazons: or, the Monarchy of Bees* (1716), and *Philosophical Works*, vol. II, p. 181. For ants, see Proverbs 6:6–8; *Aeneid*, IV.402–7 (alluded to and inverted in a poem of welcome to George I which Swift might have seen: *A Poem on the Arrival of his Majesty King George* (1714), p. 8); and John Oldham, ‘The Eighth Satire of Monsieur Boileau, Imitated’, lines 34–42.

- 15 *Demosthenes* or *Cicero*: Demosthenes (383–322 BC); Athenian orator and statesman. Cicero (104–43 BC); Roman orator and politician. As is the case with many of those Swift admired in history, the ends of both men’s lives were marked by political reversal and persecution (see Part III, Chapter 7, below, p. 292). The pairing of the two greatest orators of Greece and Rome was already frequent in antiquity: see Quintilian, *Inst. Orat.*, X.1; Juvenal, X.114–19; Longinus, *On the Sublime*, XII.4; and Plutarch, who brought the two men together in a pair of parallel lives. Thereafter it became a literary critical commonplace. The two orators were the subject of a famous comparison by René Rapin, in the first volume of Kennet’s translation of *The Whole Critical Works of Monsieur Rapin*, second edition (1716). See e.g. also, Erasmus, *Praise of Folly*, pp. 104 and 106; William Wotton, *Reflections upon Ancient and Modern Learning* (1694), p. 39; *The Spectator*, no. 2, 2 March 1711 (*Spectator*, vol. I, pp. 7–13, relevant passage on p. 9); John Pointer, *Miscellanea in usum iuventutis academicae* (Oxford, 1718), p. 30; Richardson Pack, *Miscellanies in Verse and Prose* (1719), p. 92; Isaac Barrow, *Works*, 3 vols., fifth edition (1722), vol. III, p. 22. Later in the century it would recur in Hume’s essay ‘Of Eloquence’ (*EMPL*, pp. 98–101) and Bolingbroke’s *The Idea of a Patriot King* (*Political Writings*, p. 214). Swift himself compared the two orators in his *A Letter to a Young Gentleman Lately Enter’d into Holy Orders* (1721) (Davis, vol. IX, pp. 68–9). This passage in *GT* is recalled in a letter to Swift from the Earl of Peterborough, dated 29 November 1726 (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, p. 60). Thomas Sheridan praised *The Drapier’s Letters* as the ‘most perfect piece of oratory ever composed since the days of Demosthenes’ (Sheridan, p. 208).
- 16 *Merits and Felicity*: compare this eulogy of Britain with the account given by Gulliver to his Houyhnhnm master in Part IV, Chapters 5 and 6 (below, pp. 361–87). In a letter to Mrs Howard, dated 27 November 1726, Swift distinguished himself from ‘such a prostitute

I began my Discourse by informing his Majesty, that our Dominions consisted of two Islands, which composed three mighty Kingdoms under one Sovereign,¹⁷ besides our Plantations in *America*.¹⁸ I dwelt long upon the Fertility of our Soil, and the Temperature¹⁹ of our Climate. I then spoke at large upon the Constitution of an *English* Parliament, partly made up of an illustrious Body called the House of Peers, Persons of the noblest Blood, and of the most ancient and ample Patrimonies. I described that extraordinary Care always taken of their Education in Arts and Arms,²⁰ to qualify them for being Counsellors born²¹ to the King and Kingdom; to have a Share in the Legislature, to be Members of the highest Court of Judicature from whence there could be no Appeal;²² and to be Champions

Flatterer as Gulliver; whose chief Study is to extenuate the Vices, and magnify the Virtues, of Mankind, and perpetually dins our Ears with the Praises of his Country, in the midst of Corruptions, and for that Reason alone, hath found so many Readers; and probably will have a Pension, which, I suppose, was his chief Design in writing' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, p. 54). Compare, however, the letter to Benjamin Motte, probably composed by Swift just a few weeks later but sent under the signature of Charles Ford, in which Gulliver is cleared of being a flatterer: 'Neither do I find the Author to be any where given to Flattery, or indeed very favourable to any Prince or Minister whatsoever' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, p. 66). There is perhaps a broad parallel with Milton's *Defensio Secunda* (1654), his defence of the conduct of the English nation in executing Charles I, in which he claims he will 'outstrip all the orators of every age in the grandeur of my subject and my theme', and in which he imagines he has 'embarked on a journey and to be surveying from on high far-flung regions and territories across the sea, faces numberless and unknown' (Milton, *Prose*, vol. IV, pt 1, pp. 554 and 555). For a later example of the kind of eulogy of the British constitution which Swift is here satirizing, see Blackstone, *Commentaries*, vol. I, pp. 50–1.

17 *three mighty Kingdoms under one Sovereign*: i.e. England, Scotland and Ireland. Although previously Gulliver has employed, anachronistically, language which implies a date after the Union of England and Scotland of 1707 (above, p. 137 and n. 11), here he describes the pre-1707 situation. Swift disliked the Union, because the joining of England and Scotland depressed Ireland into the status of a colony: see his 'Verses said to be written on the Union' (Williams, *Poems*, pp. 95–6) and *The Story of the Injured Lady* (1746) (Davis, vol. IX, pp. 3–12).

18 *Plantations in America*: colonies. Compare the account of the founding of colonies in Part IV, Chapter 12 (below, p. 441). Swift resented the English treatment of Ireland as if it were a colony: 'some *Ministers* in those Times, were apt, from their *high* Elevation, to look *down* upon this Kingdom, as if it had been one of their *Colonies* of *Out-casts* in *America*' (Davis, vol. IX, pp. 20–1).

19 *Temperature*: a tempered or temperate condition of the weather or climate (*OED*, 6, citing this passage).

20 *Education in Art and Arms*: not Swift's view: see above, p. 10 and Long note 7.

21 *Counsellors born*: hereditary advisers.

22 *could be no Appeal*: compare Gulliver's later account of the legal role of the House of Lords in Part IV, Chapter 6 (below, pp. 385–87). In his *A Short View of the State of Ireland* (1728) Swift had protested at the effects of the Declaratory Act, which had asserted the right of

always ready for the Defence of their Prince and Country by their Valour, Conduct and Fidelity.²³ That these were the Ornament and Bulwark of the Kingdom; worthy Followers of their most renowned Ancestors, whose Honour had been the Reward of their Virtue; from which their Posterity were never once known to degenerate.²⁴ To these were joined several holy Persons, as part of that Assembly, under the Title of Bishops; whose peculiar Business it is, to take care of Religion, and of those who instruct the People therein. These were searched and sought out through the whole Nation, by the Prince and wisest Counsellors, among such of the Priesthood, as were most deservedly distinguished by the Sanctity of their Lives, and the Depth of their Erudition; who were indeed the spiritual Fathers of the Clergy and the People.²⁵

That, the other Part of the Parliament consisted of an Assembly called the House of Commons; who were all principal Gentlemen, *freely* picked and culled out by the People themselves, for their great Abilities, and Love of their Country, to represent the Wisdom of the whole Nation. And, these two Bodies make up the most august Assembly in *Europe*; to whom, in Conjunction with the Prince, the whole Legislature is committed.

I then descended to the Courts of Justice, over which the Judges, those venerable Sages and Interpreters of the Law, presided, for determining

the British parliament to pass legislation binding on Ireland (Davis, vol. XII, p. 6). He had made the same point in a letter to Charles Ford dated 4 April 1720: 'I believe my self not guilty of too much veneration for the Irish H—— of L^{ds}, but I differ from you in Politicks, the Question is whether People ought to be Slaves or no' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. II, p. 327).

23 *Valour, Conduct and Fidelity*: another compliment not corroborated by history, as Swift knew. In 1642 and again in 1688 many English aristocrats had abandoned the Crown.

24 *known to degenerate*: the degeneration of the aristocracy was a satirical topos even in classical times: see Juvenal, VIII.1–20. More recently, the theme had been touched on by Thomas Otway, in *Venice Preserv'd*, V.i.13–14; Thomas Shadwell, in *The Tory-Poets* (1682), p. 10; Algernon Sidney, in *Discourses Concerning Government* (1698), chapter III, sect. xlv, p. 457; and Francis Atterbury, in 'The Power of Charity', *Fourteen Sermons* (1708), p. 74. Swift traced the source of aristocratic degeneration to the crises of the 1640s and 1680s, which in his view had corrupted the English House of Lords 'with Republican Principles' (Davis, vol. XII, p. 47 and vol. VII, pp. 19 and 21). In 'Verses on the Death of Dr. Swift' he scorned the Irish aristocracy as a 'mungril Breed' (Williams, *Poems*, p. 570, line 437).

25 *Clergy and the People*: Swift was a defender of episcopacy as a system of church government, but an unsparing critic of individual bishops: see Ehrenpreis, vol. II, p. 771 and vol. III, p. 168; and Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, p. 322. Swift's later poetry is replete with invective against bishops: see 'On the Irish Bishops' (Williams, *Poems*, pp. 801–5); 'Judas' (figured as a bishop) (Williams, *Poems*, p. 806); and 'On Dr Rundle, Bishop of Derry' (Williams, *Poems*, pp. 819–21).

the disputed Rights and Properties of Men, as well as for the Punishment of Vice, and Protection of Innocence.²⁶ I mentioned the prudent Management of our Treasury; the Valour and Atchievements of our Forces by Sea and Land. I computed the Number of our People, by reckoning how many Millions there might be of each Religious Sect, or Political Party among us. I did not omit even our Sports and Pastimes,²⁷ or any other Particular which I thought might redound to the Honour of my Country. And, I finished all with a brief historical Account of Affairs and Events in *England* for about an hundred Years past.²⁸

This Conversation was not ended under five Audiences, each of several Hours; and the King heard the whole with great Attention; frequently taking Notes of what I spoke, as well as Memorandums of what Questions he intended to ask me.

When I had put an End to these long Discourses, his Majesty in a sixth Audience consulting his Notes, proposed many Doubts, Queries, and Objections, upon every Article.²⁹ He asked, what Methods were used to cultivate the Minds and Bodies of our young Nobility; and in what kind of Business they commonly spent the first and teachable Part of their Lives. What Course was taken to supply that Assembly, when any noble Family became extinct. What Qualifications were necessary in those who are to be

26 *Protection of Innocence*: compare the later attack on judges in Part IV, Chapter 5 (below, p. 370).

27 *Sports and Pastimes*: a category in early eighteenth-century anthropology: see Edward Chamberlayne, *Angliae Notitia*, twentieth edition (1702), p. 320 and Robert Beverley, *The History of Virginia*, second edition (1722), p. 190.

28 *about an hundred Years Past*: i.e. since the accession of James I in 1603.

29 *upon every Article*: compare the parallel critique of European customs in Part IV, Chapter 7 (below, pp. 388–97). The King of Brobdingnag's innocent but searching questions dramatize Swift's own belief that, notwithstanding the pretensions of its practitioners, politics was in reality nothing more than a matter of common sense: 'I have been frequently assured by great Ministers, that Politicks were nothing but common sense; which as it was the only true Thing they spoke, so it was the only Thing they could have wished I should not believe' (*CWJS*, vol. VIII, p. 291; Davis, vol. VIII, p. 77); 'I never yet knew a Minister, who was not earnestly desirous to have it thought, that the Art of Government was a most profound Science; whereas it requires no more in reality, than Diligence, Honesty, and a moderate Share of plain naturall Sense' (Davis, vol. VIII, p. 139); 'although I have known many great Ministers ready enough to hear Opinions, yet I have hardly seen one that would ever descend to take Advice; and this pedantry ariseth from a maxim themselves do not believe at the same time they practise by it, that there is something profound in politicks, which men of plain honest sense cannot arrive to' (Davis, vol. IX, p. 28).

created new Lords:³⁰ Whether the Humour of the Prince, a Sum of Money to a Court-Lady, or a Prime Minister; or a Design of strengthening a Party opposite to the publick Interest,³¹ ever happened to be Motives in those Advancements. What Share of Knowledge these Lords had in the Laws of their Country, and how they came by it, so as to enable them to decide the Properties of their Fellow-Subjects in the last Resort. Whether they were always so free from Avarice, Partialities, or Want, that a Bribe, or some other sinister View, could have no Place among them. Whether those holy Lords I spoke of, were constantly promoted to that Rank on Account of their Knowledge in religious Matters, and the Sanctity of their Lives, had never been Compliers with the Times, while they were common Priests; or slavish prostitute Chaplains to some Nobleman,³² whose Opinions they continued servilely to follow after they were admitted into that Assembly.

30 *created new Lords*: this refers most immediately to George I's creation of no fewer than fourteen new peers on 19 October 1714, which undid the effects of Anne's creation of twelve new peers in the Tory interest, and the dismissal of Marlborough as Captain General, which had both been gazetted the same day, 31 December 1711 (Sainty, *Peerage*, pp. 35–6 and 37–9; cf. Williams, *JSt*, pp. 450–1 and 452). In February 1719 the Whig soldier and politician James Stanhope had introduced a Peerage Bill which sought to preserve the Whig majority in the upper house by fixing the number of peers and limiting the monarch's right of creation. The bill was voted down with the help of, amongst others, Robert Walpole.

31 *a Party opposite to the publick Interest*: the King of Brobdingnag's misgivings about the creation of peers was echoed in Swift's own response to the creation of the twelve new Tory peers in 1711. He announced the news to Dean Stearne on 29 December 1711 in the most dramatic way, by breaking open and adding a postscript to a letter he had prepared for the post: 'I had sealed my letter, but have broke it open, to tell you, and all that love the Church and Crown, that all things are now well. The Queen has turned out the Duke of Somerset, and has created twelve new Lords, of which three are peers eldest sons, the rest new created; so that a majority is past dispute. We are all in the greatest joy imaginable to find her Majesty declare herself so seasonably' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. I, p. 408). In the *Journal to Stella*, however, he confessed to qualms: 'Our new lords patents are passed: I don't like the expedient, if we could have found any other. I see I have said this before. I hear the duke of Marlborough is turned out of all his employments: I shall know tomorrow, when I am to carry Dr. King to dine with the secretary. – These are strong remedies; pray God the patient is able to bear them. The last ministry people are utterly desperate' (Williams, *JSt*, p. 452).

32 *Chaplains to some Nobleman*: in *Some Arguments Against Enlarging the Powers of Bishops* (1723), Swift had expressed the fear that, were the value of Irish bishoprics to be reduced, 'they will be left more fully to the Disposal of a chief Governor, who can never fail of some worthless illiterate Chaplain, fond of a Title and Precedence. Thus will that whole Bench, in an Age or two, be composed of mean, ignorant, fawning Gown-men, humble Suppliants and Dependents upon the Court for a Morsel of Bread, and ready to serve every Turn that shall be demanded from them' (Davis, vol. IX, p. 53; cited by Johnson in his *Dictionary*, sv 'chaplain'). There was a factual basis for this suspicion of noblemen's chaplains, at least in Swift's mind. He believed that the Earl of Wharton had endeavoured to have his chaplain made a bishop in return for marrying one of his cast-off mistresses (Davis, vol. III, pp. 182–3).

He then desired to know, what Arts were practised in electing those whom I called Commoners. Whether, a Stranger with a strong Purse might not influence the vulgar Voters to chuse him before their own Landlords, or the most considerable Gentleman in the Neighbourhood. How it came to pass, that People were so violently bent upon getting into this Assembly, which I allowed to be a great Trouble and Expence, often to the Ruin of their Families, without any Salary or Pension: Because this appeared such an exalted Strain of Virtue and publick Spirit, that his Majesty seemed to doubt it might possibly not be always sincere: And he desired to know, whether such zealous Gentlemen could have any Views of refunding themselves for the Charges and Trouble they were at, by sacrificing the publick Good to the Designs of a weak and vicious Prince,³³ in Conjunction with a corrupted Ministry. He multiplied his Questions, and sifted³⁴ me thoroughly upon every Part of this Head; proposing numberless Enquiries and Objections, which I think it not prudent or convenient to repeat.

Upon what I said in relation to our Courts of Justice, his Majesty desired to be satisfied in several Points: And, this I was the better able to do, having been formerly almost ruined by a long Suit in Chancery,³⁵ which was decreed for me with Costs.³⁶ He asked, what Time was usually spent in determining between Right and Wrong; and what Degree of Expence. Whether Advocates and Orators had Liberty to plead in Causes manifestly known to be unjust, vexatious, or oppressive. Whether Party in Religion or Politicks were observed to be of any Weight in the Scale of Justice. Whether those pleading Orators were Persons educated in the general Knowledge of Equity;³⁷ or only in provincial, national, and other

33 *a weak and vicious Prince*: in *A Discourse of the Contests and Dissensions*, Swift had referred to the 'reigns of two weak Princes', i.e. Charles II and James II (Davis, vol. I, p. 230).

34 *sifted*: subjected to close questioning (*OED*, 2 b, citing this passage).

35 *Chancery*: the court of the Lord Chancellor of England, the highest court of judicature next to the House of Lords (*OED*, 2 a), of which the business consists largely of civil suits relating to property. In Swift's day its procedures were proverbially lengthy, complicated and therefore expensive.

36 *decreed for me with Costs*: compare the later attack on lawyers, in Part IV, Chapter 5 (below, pp. 368–72). For Swift and the law, see Long note 20. Gay and Pope refer playfully to Gulliver's misfortune with the law in a letter to Swift of 1 December 1731 (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, p. 446).

37 *general Knowledge of Equity*: the recourse to general principles of justice to correct or supplement the provisions of the law as written: the construction of a statute according to its reason

local Customs. Whether they or their Judges had any Part in penning those Laws, which they assumed the Liberty of interpreting and glossing upon³⁸ at their Pleasure. Whether they had ever at different Times pleaded for and against the same Cause, and cited Precedents to prove contrary Opinions. Whether they were a rich or a poor Corporation.³⁹ Whether they received any pecuniary Reward for pleading or delivering their Opinions.⁴⁰ And particularly whether they were ever admitted as Members in the lower Senate.

He fell next upon the Management of our Treasury; and said, he thought my Memory had failed me, because I computed our Taxes at about five or six Millions a Year; and when I came to mention the Issues,⁴¹ he found they sometimes amounted to more than double; for, the Notes he had taken were very particular in this Point; because he hoped, as he told me, that the Knowledge of our Conduct might be useful to him; and he could not be deceived in his Calculations. But, if what I told him were true, he was still at a Loss how a Kingdom could run out of its Estate like a private Person.⁴² He asked me, who were our Creditors? and, where we found

and spirit, so as to make it apply to cases for which it does not expressly provide (*OED*, 3). Swift deplored what he saw as the disregard of equity by the lawyers of his day: see 'Helter Skelter', in which the 'active young Attornies / Briskly travel on their Journies, / Looking big as any Gyants, / On the Horses of their Clients . . . All to murder Equity, / And to take a double Fee; / Till the People all are quiet / And forget to broil and riot, / Low in Pocket, Cow'd in Courage, / Safely glad to sup their Porridge' (Williams, *Poems*, pp. 573–4, lines 1–4 and 49–54). Cf. Gulliver's detestation of precedent, as something hostile to 'common Justice and the general Reason of Mankind', in Part IV, Chapter 5 (below, p. 370).

38 *glossing upon*: to comment upon, explain, interpret (*OED*, 1); but with overtones of the secondary pejorative meaning, to veil with glosses, to explain away, to read a different sense into (*OED*, 2).

39 *Corporation*: a body corporate legally authorized to act as a single individual; an artificial person created by royal charter, prescription or act of the legislature, and having authority to preserve certain rights in perpetual succession (*OED*, 3 a).

40 *delivering their Opinions*: in the constitution he drew up for the state of Carolina, John Locke specified that 'It shall be a base and vile thing to plead for money or reward; nor shall anyone . . . be permitted to plead another man's case, till before the judge, in open court, he hath taken an oath that he doth not plead for money or reward, nor hath nor will receive, nor directly nor indirectly bargained with the party whose case he is going to plead for, money or any other reward for pleading his case' (cl. 70, in Locke, *Political Writings*, p. 224).

41 *Issues*: expenditure.

42 *like a private Person*: Swift here makes the King of Brobdingnag the mouthpiece for his own incomprehension of the financial revolution ushered in by William III which established a permanent national debt: see P. G. M. Dickson, *The Financial Revolution in England: A Study in the Development of Public Credit, 1688–1756* (London: Macmillan, 1967) and Henry Roseveare, *The Financial Revolution, 1660–1760* (London: Longman, 1991). In

Money to pay them? He wondered to hear me talk of such chargeable⁴³ and extensive Wars; that, certainly we must be a quarrelsome People, or live among very bad Neighbours; and that our Generals must needs be richer than our Kings.⁴⁴ He asked, what Business we had out of our own Islands, unless upon the Score of Trade or Treaty, or to defend the Coasts with our Fleet. Above all, he was amazed to hear me talk of a mercenary standing Army in the Midst of Peace,⁴⁵ and among a free People. He said, if we were governed by our own Consent in the Persons of our Representatives, he could not imagine of whom we were afraid, or against whom we were to fight; and would hear my Opinion, whether a private Man's House might not better be defended by himself, his Children, and Family;⁴⁶ than by half

The Examiner 13 (2 November 1710) Swift had attributed the framing and adoption of this financial policy to 'an under Sett of Men, who . . . in order to fasten wealthy People to the New Government . . . proposed those pernicious Expedients of borrowing Money by vast *Premiums*, and at exorbitant Interest: A Practice as old as *Eumenes*, one of *Alexander's* Captains, who setting up for himself after the Death of his Master, persuaded his principal Officers to lend him great Sums, after which they were forced to follow him for their own Security' (Davis, vol. III, p. 6). In *The History of the Four Last Years of the Queen* (1758), he indicted Gilbert Burnet for the adoption of the policy (Davis, vol. VII, pp. 68–9).

43 *chargeable*: expensive.

44 *richer than our Kings*: the avarice of the Duke of Marlborough, Britain's Captain-General during the War of the Spanish Succession, is a repeated theme in Swift's early political writings. 'He is as covetous as Hell, and ambitious as the Prince of it: he would fain have been general for life, and has broken all endeavours for Peace, to keep his greatness and get money', Swift wrote to Stella on 31 December 1710 (Williams, *JS*, p. 145). In *The Examiner* Swift repeatedly accused Marlborough of avarice; see in particular nos. 16 (23 November 1710) and 27 (8 February 1711) (Davis, vol. III, pp. 19–24 and 80–5). Marlborough complained to Bolingbroke about this treatment, concerning which complaint Swift wrote to Stella: 'I do not think they [*The Examiners*] are too severe on the duke; they only tax him of avarice, and his avarice has ruined us' (Williams, *JS*, p. 208 and n. 24). In *The Conduct of the Allies* (1711) Swift insisted that the war 'hath no other End than to enlarge the Territories of the *Dutch*, and encrease the Fame and Wealth of our *General*' (*CWJS*, vol. VIII, p. 62; Davis, vol. VI, p. 20). In 'The Fable of Midas' (1712) Swift used Greek mythology to satirize Marlborough's avidity for money (Williams, *Poems*, pp. 155–8). In *The Publick Spirit of the Whigs* (1714) Swift wrote that 'the D— of M— is thought to have more ready Money than all the Kings of *Christendom* together' (*CWJS*, vol. VIII, p. 267; Davis, vol. VIII, p. 53). In *The History of the Four Last Years* Swift again mentions Marlborough's cupidity (Davis, vol. VII, pp. 29 and 67).

45 *standing Army in the Midst of Peace*: see Part I, Chapter 3 (above, p. 61) and Long note 12.

46 *Family*: the servants of a house or establishment; the household (*OED*, 1 a); deriving from the Latin 'familia', and without any implication of biological connection. Swift will again use the word in this sense in his *A Proposal to the Ladies of Ireland* (1729), when he deplures 'a number of other varlets in my family, of whose insolence the whole neighbourhood complains' (Davis, vol. XII, p. 124; cf. also Davis, vol. XIII, pp. 11, 15 and 34).

a Dozen Rascals picked up at a Venture in the Streets, for small Wages, who might get an Hundred Times more by cutting their Throats.

He laughed at my odd Kind of Arithmetick⁴⁷ (as he was pleased to call it) in reckoning the Numbers of our People by a Computation drawn from the several Sects among us in Religion and Politicks. He said, he knew no Reason, why those who entertain Opinions prejudicial to the Publick, should be obliged to change, or should not be obliged to conceal them.⁴⁸ And, as it was Tyranny in any Government to require the first, so it was Weakness not to enforce the second: For, a Man may be allowed to keep Poisons in his Closet, but not to vend them about as Cordials.⁴⁹

He observed, that among the Diversions of our Nobility and Gentry, I had mentioned Gaming.⁵⁰ He desired to know at what Age this Entertainment was usually taken up, and when it was laid down. How much of their Time it employed; whether it ever went so high as to affect their Fortunes. Whether mean vicious People, by their Dexterity in that Art, might not arrive at great Riches, and sometimes keep our very Nobles in Dependance,⁵¹ as well as habituate them to vile Companions; wholly take

47 *odd Kind of Arithmetick*: Swift would later satirize statistically based studies of population and political economy in *A Modest Proposal* (1729) (Davis, vol. XII, pp. 109–18). Nevertheless, Swift was as much enthralled technically as appalled morally by such statistical perspectives on society, which he would on occasion exploit for his own satiric purposes: see *A Vindication of His Excellency John, Lord Carteret* (1730) (Davis, vol. XII, pp. 168–9), and *A Proposal for an Act of Parliament to Pay Off the Debt of the Nation* (1732) (Davis, vol. XII, pp. 203–12).

48 *to conceal them*: Swift's 'Thoughts on Religion' come close to the opinion of the King of Brobdingnag: 'To say a man is bound to believe, is neither truth nor sense. You may force men, by interest or punishment, to say or swear they believe, and to act as if they believed: You can go no further. Every man, as a member of the commonwealth, ought to be content with the possession of his own opinion in private, without perplexing his neighbour or disturbing the public' and 'I am not answerable to God for the doubts that arise in my own breast, since they are the consequence of that reason which he hath planted in me, if I take care to conceal those doubts from others, if I use my best endeavours to subdue them, and if they have no influence on the conduct of my life' (Davis, vol. IX, pp. 261 and 262). For similar discussions of toleration and freedom of conscience in *GT*, see above, p. 72 and below, p. 402. See Long note 21.

49 *vend them about as Cordials*: cordials are medicines to stimulate or invigorate the heart (*OED*, 2). 'Vend' (here meaning literally 'sell', but usually employed in the metaphorical sense of 'express', e.g. an opinion) is part of the idiom of religious toleration in Swift's day: see, e.g., John Locke, *An Essay Concerning Toleration* (Locke, *Toleration*, p. 112). For Swift's assertion of the particular need for cordials amongst the Irish, see Davis, vol. XII, p. 124. For Swift's views on freedom of religious belief, see Long note 21.

50 *Gaming*: i.e. gambling.

51 *keep our very Nobles in Dependance*: on the prevalence of ruinous gambling amongst the Irish aristocracy at this time, see Connolly, *Religion, Law, and Power*, pp. 70–1. Although he did

them from the Improvement of their Minds, and force them by the Losses they received, to learn and practice that infamous Dexterity upon others.

He was perfectly astonished with the historical Account I gave him of our Affairs during the last Century;⁵² protesting it was only an Heap of Conspiracies, Rebellions, Murders, Massacres, Revolutions, Banishments; the very worst Effects that Avarice, Faction, Hypocrisy, Perfidiousness, Cruelty, Rage, Madness, Hatred, Envy, Lust, Malice, and Ambition could produce.

His Majesty in another Audience, was at the Pains to recapitulate the Sum of all I had spoken; compared the Questions he made, with the Answers I had given; then taking me into his Hands, and stroaking me gently, delivered himself in these Words, which I shall never forget, nor the Manner he spoke them in. My little Friend *Grildrig*, you have made a most admirable Panegyrick upon your Country. You have clearly proved that Ignorance, Idleness, and Vice are the proper Ingredients for qualifying a Legislator. That Laws are best explained, interpreted, and applied by those whose Interest and Abilities lie in perverting, confounding, and eluding them. I observe among you some Lines of an Institution,⁵³ which in its Original⁵⁴ might have been tolerable; but these half erased, and the rest wholly blurred and blotted by Corruptions. It doth not appear from all you have said, how any one Perfection is required towards the

not rely on dexterity in gaming, the attorney Peter Walter (1664?-1746) was identified by Swift and Pope as the kind of astute underling who profited from his master while pretending to serve him: 'managers, who, like Peter Waters, pretend to clear an estate, keep the owner pennyless, and after seven years, leave him five times more in debt, while they sink half a plum into their own pockets' (Davis, vol. V, p. 117; cf. vol. XII, p. 306). On changing his agent in October 1727 and in the midst of a wave of indifference towards his financial affairs, Swift bitterly noted to Pope that he was now 'very well qualified to be a Lord, and put into Peter Walter's hands' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, p. 132). On Peter Walter, see Howard Erskine-Hill, *The Social Milieu of Alexander Pope: Lives, Example and the Poetic Response* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1975), pp. 103-31.

52 *during the last Century*: i.e. since the accession of James I in 1603.

53 *Institution*: the established order by which anything is regulated; system; constitution (*OED*, 2 b). Cf. Swift's opinion in *The Sentiments of a Church-of-England Man* (1708), that 'few States are ruined by any Defect in their Institution, but generally by the Corruption of Manners' (Davis, vol. II, p. 14).

54 *in its Original*: a reference to the 'ancient constitution' of England, a concept which played an important role in the political disputes of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries: see Pocock, *Ancient Constitution*. It was originally invoked by the Whigs, but in the party confusions of the early eighteenth century it might equally be appealed to by Tories: see above, p. 69, n. 7.

Procurement of any one Station among you;⁵⁵ much less that Men are ennobled on Account of their Virtue, that Priests are advanced for their Piety or Learning, Soldiers for their Conduct or Valour, Judges for their Integrity, Senators for the Love of their Country, or Counsellors for their Wisdom. As for yourself (continued the King) who have spent the greatest Part of your Life in travelling; I am well disposed to hope you may hitherto have escaped many Vices of your Country. But, by what I have gathered from your own Relation, and the Answers I have with much Pains wringed and extorted from you; I cannot but conclude the Bulk of your Natives, to be the most pernicious Race of little odious Vermin⁵⁶ that Nature ever suffered to crawl upon the Surface of the Earth.⁵⁷

55 *any one Station among you*: an oblique and bitter comment on Swift's own disappointments in the search for preferment.

56 *little odious Vermin*: in a sermon preached on 30 January 1715, Luke Milbourne denounced those 'so given to change' (i.e. the architects of 1688) as 'pernicious Vermin' (*The Danger of Changes in Church or State* (1715), p. 37). 'Vermin' was also part of the public language deployed by the Crown against Dissenters during the early 1680s: Marshall, *Toleration*, p. 109. The image of vermin recurs in Swift's verse; see 'The Life and Character of Dean Swift': 'Shou'd *Vice* expect to 'scape rebuke, / Because its *Owner* is a *Duke*? / *Vice* is a *Vermin*; *Sportsman* say / No *Vermin* can demand *fair Play*, / But, ev'ry Hand may justly slay' (Williams, *Poems*, p. 548, lines 123–7); cf. 'St. Patrick's Well' (Williams, *Poems*, p. 792, lines 59–62); and 'Brother Protestants' (Williams, *Poems*, p. 813, lines 41–4). It also possessed a particular Irish application. In Anon., *The Golden Spy* (1709), 'abandon'd Male Whores . . . generally of the *Hibernian Nation*' are referred to as 'a *Vermin*' (p. 236); see also Anon., *A Natural History of Ireland* (Dublin, 1726), pp. 165 and 171 and Molesworth, *Considerations*, p. 41. During the early seventeenth century it was not necessarily unlawful for an Englishman to kill an Irishman out of hand if the encounter occurred outside the Pale (that is, the area of Ireland under English jurisdiction) (Manning, *Apprenticeship*, p. 9). In *The Last Speech and Dying Words of Ebenezer Elliston* (1722) Swift puts into the mouth of the executed street-robber the acknowledgement that 'we ought to be looked upon as the common Enemies of Mankind; whose Interest it is to root us out like Wolves, and other mischievous Vermin, against which no fair Play is required' (Davis, vol. IX, p. 41).

57 *Surface of the Earth*: in Advice XLVI of Traiano Boccalini's *I ragguagli di Parnaso* (1612–13), Apollo, angered by the development of the art of war, 'besought the supreme Majesty of Heaven to open anew his eternal Cataracts, and pour down a second Deluge to wash from the Earth those vile Wretches, who in defiance of their obligation to multiply their Species, have taken up the cruel trade of destroying it by Sword and Fire; and that he wou'd be pleas'd to spare those that delight in Peace' (Boccalini, *Advices*, p. 85).

CHAPTER VII.

The Author's Love of his Country. He makes a Proposal of much Advantage to the King; which is rejected. The King's great Ignorance in Politicks. The Learning of that Country very imperfect and confined. Their Laws, and military Affairs, and Parties in the State.

Nothing but an extreme Love of Truth could have hindered me from concealing this Part of my Story. It was in vain to discover my Resentments, which were always turned into Ridicule: And I was forced to rest with Patience, while my noble and most beloved Country was so injuriously treated. I am heartily sorry as any of my Readers can possibly be, that such an Occasion was given: But this Prince happened to be so curious and inquisitive upon every Particular, that it could not consist¹ either with Gratitude or good Manners to refuse giving him what Satisfaction I was able. Yet thus much I may be allowed to say in my own Vindication; that I artfully eluded many of his Questions; and gave to every Point a more favourable turn by many Degrees than the strictness of Truth would allow.² For, I have always born that laudable Partiality to my own Country, which *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*³ with so much Justice recommends to an Historian. I would hide the Frailties and Deformities of my Political Mother, and place her Virtues and Beauties in the most advantageous Light.⁴ This was my sincere Endeavour in those many Discourses I had with that Monarch, although it unfortunately failed of Success.

1 *could not consist*: was not compatible with.

2 *than the Strictness of Truth would allow*: notwithstanding that 'extreme Love of Truth' to which Gulliver has just laid claim.

3 *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*] a Greek historian (*fl.* c. 25 BC) who lived at Rome during the reign of Augustus. In the course of a general elevation of Herodotus above Thucydides, Dionysius recommends patriotism to historians by way of reproaching Thucydides for criticizing his country (*Letter to Gnaeus Pompeius*, III).

4 *most advantageous Light*: on Swift's curious and evasive comments concerning his actual mother, see Downie, *Swift*, pp. 12–13.

But, great Allowances should be given to a King who lives wholly secluded from the rest of the World, and must therefore be altogether unacquainted with the Manners and Customs that most prevail in other Nations: The want of which Knowledge will ever produce many *Prejudices*,⁵ and a certain *Narrowness of Thinking*; from which we and the politer Countries of *Europe* are wholly exempted. And it would be hard indeed, if so remote a Prince's Notions of Virtue and Vice were to be offered as a Standard for all Mankind.

To confirm what I have now said, and further to shew the miserable Effects of a *confined Education*; I shall here insert a Passage which will hardly obtain Belief. In hopes to ingratiate my self farther into his Majesty's Favour, I told him of an Invention discovered between three and four hundred Years ago, to make a certain Powder;⁶ into an heap of which the smallest Spark of Fire falling, would kindle the whole in a Moment, although it were as big as a Mountain; and make it all fly up in the Air together, with a Noise and Agitation greater than Thunder. That, a proper Quantity of this Powder rammed into an hollow Tube of Brass or Iron, according to its Bigness, would drive a Ball of Iron or Lead with such Violence and Speed, as nothing was able to sustain its Force. That, the largest Balls thus discharged, would not only Destroy whole Ranks of an Army at once; but batter the strongest Walls to the Ground; sink down Ships with a thousand Men in each, to the Bottom of the Sea; and when linked together by a Chain,⁷ would cut through Masts and Rigging; divide Hundreds of Bodies in the Middle, and lay all Waste before them. That we often put this Powder into large hollow Balls of Iron, and discharged them by an Engine into some City we were besieging; which would rip

5 *many Prejudices*: unlike Gulliver, the young Swift saw a protective virtue in prejudice: 'SOME Men, under the Notions of weeding out Prejudices; eradicate Religion, Virtue, and common Honesty' (Davis, vol. I, p. 243). The hack author at the end of Section 8 of *A Tale of a Tub* claims it is 'one of the greatest, and best of humane Actions, to remove Prejudices' (*CWJS*, vol. I, p. 104; Davis, vol. I, p. 101).

6 *a certain Powder*: in Europe the use of gunpowder arose in the early fourteenth century. Compare the parallel detail in Part I, Chapter 2, in which Gulliver warns the Lilliputians to take care when handling his powder (above, p. 54). Thomas Sprat had included an account of how to manufacture gunpowder in his *History of the Royal Society*, second edition (1702), pp. 277–83.

7 *linked together by a Chain*: i.e. chain-shot, a kind of shot formed of two balls, or half-balls, connected by a chain, chiefly used in naval warfare to destroy masts, rigging, and sails (*OED*).

up the Pavement, tear the Houses to Pieces,⁸ burst and throw Splinters on every Side, dashing out the Brains of all who came near.⁹ That I knew the Ingredients very well, which were Cheap, and common; I understood the Manner of compounding them, and could direct his Workmen how to make those Tubes of a Size proportionable to all other Things in his Majesty's Kingdom; and the largest need not be above two hundred Foot long; twenty or thirty of which Tubes, charged with the proper Quantity of Powder and Balls, would batter down the Walls of the strongest Town in his Dominions in a few Hours; or destroy the whole Metropolis, if ever it should pretend to dispute his absolute Commands.¹⁰ This I humbly offered to his Majesty, as a small Tribute of Acknowledgment in return of so many Marks that I had received of his Royal Favour and Protection.

The King was struck with Horror at the Description I had given of those terrible Engines, and the Proposal I had made. He was amazed how so impotent and groveling an Insect¹¹ as I (these were his Expressions) could entertain such inhuman Ideas, and in so familiar a Manner as to appear wholly unmoved at all the Scenes of Blood and Desolation, which I had painted as the common Effects of those destructive Machines; whereof he said, some evil Genius, Enemy to Mankind, must have been the

8 *tear the Houses to Pieces*: compare Robert Boyle's rhapsodic evocation of the power of nature, as shown in the operation of gunpowder: 'she . . . can toss up into the air, houses, walls, castles, and the rocks they are built on, to let kindled gun-powder have the expansion its new state requires' (*Philosophical Works*, vol. II, p. 122). For the literary tradition of such descriptions of war, see Rawson, *Satire and Sentiment*, pp. 29–97.

9 *all who came near*: cf. the description of the miseries of war in Part IV, Chapter 5 (below, pp. 362–67).

10 *his absolute Commands*: Gulliver's temptation of the King of Brobdingnag to become an absolute monarch should be contrasted with his refusal in Part I, Chapter 5, to place the Emperor of Lilliput in a similar position (above, p. 76). It also foreshadows the oppressive measures employed by the King of Laputa in Part III, Chapter 3 (below, pp. 246–48). Later in the century William Blackstone would distinguish absolute power from arbitrary power, in that the former was legal whereas the latter was not: 'After what has been premised in this chapter, I shall not (I trust) be considered as an advocate for arbitrary power, when I lay it down as a principle, that in the exertion of lawful prerogative, the king is and ought to be absolute; that is, so far absolute, that there is no legal authority that can either delay or resist him' (Blackstone, *Commentaries*, vol. I, p. 243). It is not clear, however, that Swift understands 'absolute' in such a precise manner. He seems to use it as a synonym for 'arbitrary', as in the passage immediately below (below, p. 193), where to be an 'absolute Master' permits the invasion of the legal rights of subjects.

11 *so impotent and groveling an Insect*: Deane Swift defended Swift against the charge of misanthropy in this passage by citing John the Baptist in Matthew 3:7 (*Essay*, p. 212).

first Contriver.¹² As for himself, he protested, that although few Things delighted him so much as new Discoveries in Art or in Nature; yet he would rather lose Half his Kingdom than be privy to such a Secret; which he commanded me, as I valued my Life, never to mention any more.

A strange Effect of *narrow Principles* and *short Views!* that a Prince possessed of every Quality which procures Veneration, Love and Esteem; of strong Parts, great Wisdom and profound Learning; endued with admirable Talents for Government, and almost adored by his Subjects; should from a *nice unnecessary Scruple*, whereof in *Europe* we can have no Conception, let slip an Opportunity put into his Hands, that would have made him absolute Master of the Lives, the Liberties, and the Fortunes of his People.¹³ Neither do I say this with the least Intention to detract from the many Virtues of that excellent King; whose Character I am sensible will on this Account be very much lessened in the Opinion of an *English* Reader: But, I take this Defect among them¹⁴ to have risen from their Ignorance; by not having hitherto reduced *Politicks* into a *Science*;¹⁵ as the

12 *the first Contriver*: that the devil had invented artillery was by 1726 a commonplace: see Ariosto, *Orlando Furioso*, IX.28 and 91; Spenser, *The Faerie Queene*, I.vii.13; Donne, *Ignatius*, pp. 23–4; and *Paradise Lost*, VI.469–608; cf. also Milton's early Latin poems, 'Ad Inventorem Bombardae' and 'In Quintum Novembris'. For a more general allegation of villainous origin, see 1 *Henry IV*, I.iii.58–63. Sir William Temple attributed the invention of gunpowder to the Chinese 'many Ages before it came into Europe' (Temple, vol. I, p. 303), as had Montaigne ('On Coaches', *Essays*, p. 1028). However, Erasmus (*Complaint*, p. 53) and Defoe (Defoe, *Projects*, pp. 22–3) claimed it was a more recent European invention. From his reading of Rabelais, Swift would have been aware of the curious belief that the Holy Ghost had invented printing in order to counteract the diabolical invention of gunpowder (Rabelais, Book II, Chapter 8, p. 222). Donne had also linked printing and gunpowder, albeit negatively, asserting that Catholic monks had '*corrupted the two noble Inuentions of these later ages, Printing and Artillery by filling the world with their Libels, and Massacres*' (Pseudo-Martyr (1610), sig. D4^r; see also Defoe, *Literature*, pp. 2 and 120).

13 *Fortunes of his People*: contrast Gulliver's apparent enthusiasm for absolutism here with his understanding of its futility in Part I, Chapter 5 (above, p. 76).

14 *them*: i.e. the Brobdingnagians.

15 *Politicks into a Science*: Aristotle had argued that politics was a realm of human activity in which one could rely only on the judgement of experienced practitioners, for 'fine and just actions, which political science investigates, admit of much variety and fluctuation of opinion, so that they may be thought to exist only by convention, and not by nature' (*Nicomachean Ethics*, 1094^b). That scepticism was echoed by Algernon Sidney, who asserted that 'political Science . . . of all others is the most abstruse and variable according to Accidents and Circumstances' (*Discourses Concerning Government* (1698), Chapter 2, section 8). However, in *De Homine* (1658) Thomas Hobbes had explained why certainty in politics was attainable: 'politics and ethics . . . can be demonstrated *a priori*; because we ourselves make the principles . . . whereby it is known what *justice* and *equity*, and their opposites *injustice* and *inequity*,

more acute Wits of *Europe*¹⁶ have done. For, I remember very well, in a Discourse one Day with the King; when I happened to say, there were several thousand Books among us written upon the *Art of Government*; it gave him (directly contrary to my Intention) a very mean Opinion of our Understandings. He professed both to abominate and despise all *Mystery*, *Refinement*, and *Intrigue*, either in a Prince or a Minister. He could not tell what I meant by *Secrets of State*,¹⁷ where an Enemy or some Rival Nation were not in the Case. He confined the Knowledge of governing within very *narrow Bounds*; to common Sense and Reason, to Justice and Lenity, to the Speedy Determination of Civil and criminal Causes; with some other obvious Topicks¹⁸ which are not worth considering. And, he gave it for his Opinion; that whoever could make two Ears of Corn, or two Blades of Grass to grow upon a Spot of Ground where only one grew before;¹⁹ would deserve better of Mankind, and do more essential Service to his Country, than the whole Race of Politicians put together.

are. For before covenants and laws were drawn up, neither justice nor injustice, neither public good nor public evil, was natural among men any more than it was among beasts' (Thomas Hobbes, *Man and Citizen*, ed. Bernard Gert (Indianapolis and Cambridge: Hackett, 1991), pp. 42–3; cf. Samuel Pufendorf, *Of the Law of Nature and Nations* (1672), Book I, Chapter 2, 'Of the Certainty of Moral Science' and David Hume, 'That Politicks May be Reduc'd to a Science', *EMPL*, pp. 14–31). See Edwin B. Benjamin, 'The King of Brobdingnag and Secrets of State', *JHI*, 18 (1957), 572–9.

16 *acute Wits of Europe*: e.g. Samuel Pufendorf (1632–94) and Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679).

17 *Secrets of State*: originally a translation of the Tacitean phrase, 'arcanum imperii' ('secret of empire') (*Histories*, I.iv). On 24 December 1736 Swift described his domestic arrangements to Lord Castle-Durrow in a mode of comic exaggeration, but stopped short of a full explanation, saying that 'my Arts of Governing are Secrets of State' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. IV, p. 375).

18 *Topicks*: commonplaces (*OED*, 1 a).

19 *only one grew before*: for similar phrases in other writings of Swift, see 'St. Patrick's Well' (Williams, *Poems*, p. 793, lines 89–92); 'The Legion Club' (Williams, *Poems*, p. 839, lines 216–18); the endorsement on a letter from Swift to Pope of probably 1 August 1726 (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, p. 4); and its inversion in Part III, Chapter 4 (below, p. 253). For earlier occurrences of the idea that the true measure of political success is the degree of increase in the essential material prosperity of the common people, see Isaiah 2:4; Micah 4:3; Joel 3:10; Virgil, *Georgics*, I.24–42; Erasmus (*Complaint*, pp. 40 and 43 and *Education*, pp. 65–6 and 100–1); and Locke's view that 'the increase of lands and the right employing of them is the great art of government' (*Two Treatises*, pp. 297–8). In *A Short View of the State of Ireland* (1727) Swift cited 'the Fruitfulness of the Soil' as the 'first Cause of a Kingdom's thriving' (Davis, vol. XII, p. 5); and in 1729 he wrote that 'There is not an older or more uncontroverted maxim in the politics of all wise nations, than that of encouraging agriculture' (Davis, vol. XII, p. 89); cf. also the Drapier's *Humble Address to Parliament* (Davis, vol. X, pp. 119 and 141). The King of Brobdingnag's opinions echo those of Viscount Molesworth, who praised agriculture as 'not only a Science, but the most useful one to Mankind', and 'that

The Learning of this People is very defective; consisting only in Morality, History, Poetry and Mathematicks;²⁰ wherein they must be allowed to excel. But, the last of these is wholly applied to what may be useful in Life; to the Improvement of Agriculture and all mechanical Arts; so that among us it would be little esteemed. And as to Ideas, Entities, Abstractions and Transcendentals,²¹ I could never drive the least Conception into their Heads.

No Law of that Country must exceed in Words the Number of Letters in their Alphabet; which consists only of two and twenty.²² But indeed,

whereon the Life and well-being of the Community depends' (Molesworth, *Considerations*, p. 4). The phrase enjoyed an afterlife in eighteenth-century letters, being referred to admiringly by Burke in his speech on Fox's East India Bill of 1783 (*WSEB*, vol. V, p. 408); cf. also John Sinclair, *Memoirs of the Life and Works of the late Right Honourable Sir John Sinclair, Bart.*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1837), vol. I, p. 11.

- 20 *Poetry and Mathematicks*: with the exception of mathematics, this list of subjects corresponds closely to the record of Swift's own reading for 1697: Ehrenpreis, vol. I, pp. 175–6, *CWJS*, vol. I, pp. 273–4, and GS, pp. lvi–lvii.

- 21 *Abstractions and Transcendentals*: all terms of philosophical art. In Plato's philosophy, 'ideas' are the archetypal patterns of which all existing objects are merely copies. In scholastic philosophy, 'entities' are the essences of things, as opposed to their qualities. In Aristotle's philosophy, 'transcendentals' are those things which cannot be contained within a single category. For a spirited mockery of such language, in a work we know Swift read with close attention, see chapter 46 of *Leviathan* (pp. 458–74). As with the Brobdingnagians, the ostensible intellectual deficiencies of the Utopians are in fact a measure of the intellectual corruptions of Europe (*Utopia*, p. 64). In a letter of 3 May 1692 to his cousin Thomas Swift, Swift had reported on his studies at Trinity College Dublin: 'to enter upon causes of Philosophy is what I protest I will rather dy in a ditch than go about' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. I, p. 111). Orrery corroborates Swift's aversion to philosophy: 'He held logic and metaphysics in the utmost contempt, and he scarce considered mathematics and natural philosophy, unless to turn them into ridicule. The studies which he followed were history and poetry' (*Remarks*, p. 7).

- 22 *two and twenty*: fewness and brevity of laws is a common feature of ideal societies: Plato, *Republic*, IV.iv, 425C–D; Plutarch, 'Lycurgus', XIII.1–2 and XX.1; *Utopia*, p. 82. In *De Oratore*, Cicero praised the Twelve Tables of the Decemviri, ancient Rome's primitive body of laws, as superior to 'the libraries of all the philosophers, in both weight of authority and wealth of utility' (*De Oratore*, I.xliv). Later Tacitus condensed the principle into a bitingly negative aphorism: 'corruptissima re publica plurimae leges'; 'when the state is most corrupt, laws are most abundant' (*Annals*, III.27). Observing that 'multiplicity of laws . . . always change the right foundations of the original government', Locke provided in the constitution he drew up for Carolina that all laws should expire one hundred years after their enactment (Locke, *Political Writings*, p. 226). Molesworth had praised the laws of Denmark as a rare sign of health in that polity ('for justice, Brevity, and perspicuity, they exceed all that I know in the World') before concluding more bitterly: 'Tis a certain sign of an ill Government where there are abundance of Laws; but 'tis no certain sign of a good one, where there are but a few, as is plain in the case of *Denmark*. However, this Blessing of few and good Laws, is like a Grain of Consolation to sweeten a World of Bitterness, and enables them to bear

few of them extend even to that Length. They are expressed in the most plain and simple Terms, wherein those People are not Mercurial²³ enough to discover above one Interpretation. And, to write a Comment upon any Law, is a capital Crime. As to the Decision of civil Causes, or Proceedings against Criminals, their Precedents are so few, that they have little Reason to boast of any extraordinary Skill in either.

They have had the Art of Printing, as well as the *Chinese*,²⁴ Time out of Mind. But their Libraries are not very large;²⁵ for that of the King's, which

their other Hardships with more Ease and Patience' (Molesworth, *Denmark*, pp. 213 and 227). Swift was concerned by the proliferation of statute law in his own time: 'If Books and Laws continue to increase as they have done for fifty Years past; I am in some Concern for future Ages, how any Man will be learned, or any Man a Lawyer' (Davis, vol. IV, p. 246).

23 *Mercurial*: 'mercurial', 'mercurialis', or 'man of mercury' were the ciphers used by Swift and Erasmus Lewis to refer to Bolingbroke (Harley's cipher being 'the Dragon'): see, e.g., Erasmus Lewis's letter to Swift of 6 July 1714 (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. I, pp. 637–8). It is a word Swift associated with intellectual finesse, perhaps shading over into sophistication and false refinement: cf. his description in *A Letter to a Young Gentleman* (1721) of the Romans as a 'less mercurial Nation' than the Greeks (Davis, vol. IX, p. 69). Although Swift remained close to Bolingbroke after the *débâcle* of 1714, he recognized that Bolingbroke's mercurial conduct had put the ministry under strain. For Swift's character of Bolingbroke, see Williams, *JSt*, p. 401.

24 *as well as the Chinese*: for the view that printing was an ancient, Chinese invention rather than a modern, European one, see e.g. Montaigne, 'Of Coaches' (*Essays*, p. 1028); see also Daniel Defoe, *The Consolidator* (1705), p. 5 (although cf. Defoe, *Literature*, p. 15); Robert Hooke, *Posthumous Works*, pp. 343–4 and *Philosophical Transactions*, 3 vols. (1705), vol. III, pp. 379–88; George Abbot, *A Briefe Description of the Whole World* (1664), p. 96; Giovanni Botero, *Relations of the Most Famous Kingdomes* (1630), p. 597; Louis le Comte, *Memoirs and Observations* (1697), p. 192; Arnold Montanus, *Atlas Chinensis* (1671), p. 45; Johannes Nieuhof, *An Embassy from the East-India Company of the United Provinces* (1673), p. 158; Adam Olearius, *Voyages and Travells* (1669), p. 182; Alvaro Semedo, *The History of the Great and Renowned Monarchy of China* (1655), p. 35; Nathaniel Wanley, *The Wonders of the Little World* (1673), p. 222. However, the Chinese invention of printing was denied by Swift ('Thoughts on Various Subjects', Davis, vol. I, p. 242; cf. Temple, vol. I, p. 152 and Hall, *Discovery*, p. 88). Printing (together with the compass and the invention of gunpowder) was commonly cited as evidence of the progress of human knowledge (e.g. Girolamo Cardano, *De Subtilitate* (1554), XVII, 'De artibus artificiosque rebus'; Francis Bacon, *Novum Organum* (1620), book I, aphorism 129; Defoe, *Projects*, pp. 22–3). But opinions differed concerning the impact of these discoveries on human freedom. Andrew Fletcher argued that they had imparted to modern European governments a tendency towards absolutism and the maintenance of standing armies (Fletcher, *Political Works*, pp. 4–6). Sprat, however, had cited printing as one of the factors (along with anti-clericalism and the free-thinking stimulated by the Reformation) which had nurtured the growth of science (Sprat, *History*, p. 22).

25 *not very large*: in a letter to Pope and Bolingbroke of 5 April 1729, Swift referred to his own 'little library', and confessed that a 'great Library always makes me melancholy, where the best Author is as much squeezed, and as obscure, as a Porter at a Coronation' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, p. 231).

is reckoned the largest, doth not amount to above a thousand Volumes; placed in a Gallery of twelve hundred Foot long; from whence I had Liberty to borrow what Books I pleased. The Queen's Joyner had contrived in one of *Glumdalclitch's* Rooms a Kind of wooden Machine five and twenty Foot high, formed like a standing Ladder; the Steps were each fifty Foot long: It was indeed a moveable Pair of Stairs, the lowest End placed at ten Foot Distance from the Wall of the Chamber. The Book I had a Mind to read was put up leaning against the Wall. I first mounted to the upper Step of the Ladder, and turning my Face towards the Book, began at the Top of the Page, and so walking to the Right and Left about eight or ten Paces according to the Length of the Lines, till I had gotten a little below the Level of mine Eyes; and then descending gradually till I came to the Bottom: After which I mounted again, and began the other Page in the same Manner, and so turned over the Leaf, which I could easily do with both my Hands, for it was as thick and stiff as a Paste-board,²⁶ and in the largest Folio's not above eighteen or twenty Foot long.

Their Stile is clear, masculine, and smooth, but not Florid;²⁷ for they avoid nothing more than multiplying unnecessary Words, or using various Expressions. I have perused many of their Books, especially those in History and Morality.²⁸ Among the latter I was much diverted with a little old Treatise, which always lay in *Glumdalclitch's* Bedchamber, and belonged to her Governess, a grave elderly Gentlewoman, who dealt in Writings of Morality and Devotion. The Book treats of the Weakness of Human kind; and is in little Esteem except among Women and the

26 *a Paste-board*: a piece of board made by pasting together sheets of paper, used especially for the covering of a book (*OED*, 3, citing this passage).

27 *not Florid*: Swift's own preference was for an unadorned prose style, as his maxim, 'Proper Words in proper Places, makes the true Definition of a Stile', implies (Davis, vol. IX, p. 65). He deplored many developments in usage of his own day as corruptions, hence his *Proposal for Correcting, Improving and Ascertaining the English Tongue* (1712), which aimed to repair the damage the language had sustained since the 'great Rebellion in Forty-two', as a consequence of which English publications were 'filled with a Succession of affected Phrases, and new conceited Words, either borrowed from the current Style of the Court, or from those, who, under the character of Men of Wit and Pleasure, pretended to give the Law. Many of these Refinements have already been long antiquated, and are now hardly intelligible; which is no Wonder, when they were the Product only of Ignorance and Caprice' (Davis, vol. IV, pp. 9 and 10). The Houyhnhnms follow a Swiftian severity in language, employing only 'the fewest and most significant Words' (Part IV, Chapter 10, below pp. 418–19).

28 *History and Morality*: again, this corresponds closely to the record of Swift's own reading for 1697: Ehrenpreis, vol. I, pp. 175–6, *CWJS*, vol. I, pp. 273–4, and GS, pp. lvi–lvii.

Vulgar. However, I was curious to see what an Author of that Country could say upon such a Subject. This Writer went through all the usual Topicks of *European Moralists*;²⁹ shewing how diminutive, contemptible, and helpless an Animal was Man in his own Nature; how unable to defend himself from Inclemencies of the Air, or the Fury of wild Beasts: How much he was excelled by one Creature in Strength, by another in Speed, by a third in Foresight, by a fourth in Industry.³⁰ He added, that Nature was degenerated in these latter declining Ages of the World, and could now produce only small abortive Births in Comparison of those in ancient Times.³¹ He said, it was very reasonable to think, not only that the Species of Man were originally much larger, but also that there must have been Giants in former Ages;³² which, as it is asserted by History and Tradition, so it hath been confirmed by huge Bones and Sculls casually dug up in several Parts of the Kingdom, far exceeding the common dwindled Race of Man in our Days.³³ He argued, that the very Laws of Nature absolutely

- 29 *European Moralists*: philosophers known to Swift who had written on the natural imbecility of men compared with animals included Pufendorf (*On the Duty of Man and Citizen*, I.iii.5 and II.i.4) and Mandeville (*Fable of the Bees*, vol. I, pp. 177 and 205).
- 30 *fourth in Industry*: Gulliver's Houyhnhnm master will make similar observations about the natural weakness and vulnerability of humans in Part IV, Chapters 5 and 7 (below, pp. 365–66 and 389–90). Such mortifying comparisons have a long history, and were central to Epicurean refutations of the existence of Providence: cf. Lucretius, *De Rerum Natura*, V.218–34 and the speech of the Hog to the Ass in Machiavelli's *L'Asino*, especially VIII.106–51. Cf. also Defoe, *Projects*, p. 31. However, later in the century Adam Smith would identify such weaknesses as drivers of the advancement of human civilization (Phillipson, *Adam Smith*, pp. 116 and 175).
- 31 *in ancient Times*: for examples of such a belief in degeneration, see Genesis 6:4 and Numbers 13:33; for a glancing allusion to such a belief, see *Iliad*, XII.447–9. For the occurrence of such assertions in travel literature, see D. F. Passmann, *'Full of Improbable Lies': Gulliver's Travels und die Reiseliteratur vor 1726* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1987), pp. 166–82. Hume's 'Of the Populousness of Ancient Nations' (1754), a ground-breaking study of the demographics of antiquity, was written to counter what he saw as the widespread 'humour of blaming the present, and admiring the past', a disposition he found exemplified in Isaac Vossius and Montesquieu (*EMPL*, p. 464).
- 32 *in former Ages*: cf. again Genesis 6:4, and, for a more recent statement of the theory of ancient gigantism, see Nicolas Henrion, *Plan du traité historique et chronologique des monnaies romaines* (Paris, n.d. [1718]); I owe this reference to the kindness of Freya Johnston.
- 33 *in our Days*: Jan Huyghen van Linschoten reported that fragments of gigantic skeletons had been dug up in Peru: *John Huyghen Van Linschoten. His Discours of Voyages into ye Easte & West Indies* (1598), p. 270. Claudian describes the gigantic remnants of the Cimbri on the battlefield of Pollentia (*De Bello Getico*, lines 635–47; see *Library and Reading*, pp. 428–33). Gulliver will corroborate his account of the Brobdingnagians to the captain of the ship which rescues him by presenting him with 'a Footman's Tooth . . . about a Foot long, and four Inches in Diameter' (Part II, Chapter 8, below, p. 211). In *Three Hours After Marriage*,

required we should have been made in the Beginning, of a Size more large and robust, not so liable to Destruction from every little Accident of a Tile falling from an House,³⁴ or a Stone cast from the Hand of a Boy,³⁵ or of being drowned in a little Brook. From this Way of Reasoning the Author drew several moral Applications useful in the Conduct of Life, but needless here to repeat. For my own Part, I could not avoid reflecting, how universally this Talent was spread of drawing Lectures in Morality, or indeed rather Matter of Discontent and repining, from the Quarrels we raise with Nature. And, I believe upon a strict Enquiry, those Quarrels might be shewn as ill-grounded among us, as they are among that People.

As to their military Affairs; they boast that the King's Army consists of an hundred and seventy six thousand Foot, and thirty two thousand Horse: If that may be called an Army which is made up of Tradesmen in the several Cities, and Farmers in the Country, whose Commanders are only the Nobility and Gentry, without Pay or Reward.³⁶ They are indeed

Fossile is taken in by Plotwell's tales of gigantic 'Antidiluvians' (II.284; Gay, *Dramatic Works*, vol. I, p. 237).

34 *Tile falling from an House*: a common illustration of the precariousness of human life: e.g. Calvin, *Institutes*, I.xvii.10; Anon., *Memoirs of Edmund Ludlow*, 3 vols., second edition (1721), vol. I, p. 58 (the death of Sir Arthur Ashton); John Savage, *A Select Collection of Letters of the Antients* (1703), p. 364 (Marcus Aurelius on the death of Drusus); *The Church of England Primitive in her Principles and Constitution* (1708), p. 279 (the death of Drusus). For fictive examples, see Juvenal, III.268–77; Lucian, *Charon* (Lucian, vol. I, pp. 171–2); *The Spanish Libertines* (1707), p. 5. But the instance of a falling tile had also been cited repeatedly in the middle of the seventeenth century by Hobbes and his opponents in their arguments and counter-arguments concerning the nature of liberty and necessity: see, e.g., Thomas Hobbes, *The Questions Concerning Liberty, Necessity and Chance Clearly Stated* (1656), pp. 182, 314 and 322; John Bramhall, *Castigations of Mr Hobbes* (1657), pp. 124 and 391; Robert Midgley, *A New Treatise of Natural Philosophy* (1687), p. 21. This philosophical usage had led to the incorporation of this example of random mischance into standard philosophical works such as Franco Burgersdijk's *An Introduction to the Art of Logick* (1701), p. 62. It perhaps also plays a small part in the afterlife of *GT*. In *Nostromo*, Martin Decoud describes his unexpected election to the 'small-arms committee of Sulaco' as 'fantastic . . . like a tile falling on my head'; and in the 'Author's note' to this novel, first published in 1918, Joseph Conrad whimsically compares himself to Gulliver (*Nostromo*, pp. 112 and 409).

35 *Stone cast from the Hand of a Boy*: cf. the boy throwing the hazelnut at Gulliver in Part II, Chapter 2 (above, p. 139).

36 *without Pay or Reward*: both Old (or Commonwealth) Whigs and Tories supported the institution of a militia, rather than a standing army, which was favoured by Court Whigs, William III and George I: see the anonymous works *An Essay for the Better Regulating the Militia* (1701), *Observations Upon . . . the Militia* (1711), and *An Essay for Regulating and Making More Useful the Militia of this Kingdom* (1715). The leading theorist of militias was Andrew Fletcher, whose *Discourse Concerning Militias and Standing Armies* had been published in 1697, and on whom see John Robertson, *The Scottish Enlightenment and the*

perfect enough in their Exercises; and under very good Discipline, wherein I saw no great Merit: For, how should it be otherwise, where every Farmer is under the Command of his own Landlord, and every Citizen under that of the principal Men in his own City, chosen after the Manner of *Venice* by *Ballot*?³⁷

I have often seen the Militia of *Lorbrulgrud* drawn out to Exercise in a great Field near the City, of twenty Miles Square. They were in all not above twenty five thousand Foot, and six thousand Horse; but it was impossible for me to compute their Number, considering the Space of Ground they took up. A *Cavalier* mounted on a large Steed might be about Ninety Foot high. I have seen this whole Body of Horse upon the Word of Command draw their Swords at once, and brandish them in the Air. Imagination can Figure nothing so Grand, so surprising and so astonishing. It looked as if ten thousand Flashes of Lightning were darting at the same time from every Quarter of the Sky.³⁸

I was curious to know how this Prince, to whose Dominions there is no Access from any other Country, came to think of Armies, or to teach his People the Practice of military Discipline. But I was soon informed, both by Conversation, and Reading their Histories. For, in the Course of many Ages they have been troubled with the same Disease, to which

Militia Issue (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1985) and Fletcher, *Political Works*, pp. ix–xxx. See also Long note 12, and above, p. 61, n. 15.

37 *Venice by Ballot*: the secret ballot had been employed in Venice for the election of the Great Council since 1297, and is employed in Utopia (*Utopia*, p. 48). In England, the institution of the ballot had been particularly praised by James Harrington in *The Common-Wealth of Oceana* (1656), pp. 23 and 84; cf. also his *The Benefit of the Ballot: with The Nature and Use thereof: Particularly in the Republick of Venice* (1680?); Anon., *The Patriot's Proposal to the People of England Concerning the Ballot* (1705); and Charlwood Lawton, *Some Reasons for Annual Parliaments* (1693), p. 10. For an explanation of the importance of the Harringtonian tradition to Swift, see Downie, *Swift*, p. 246; Lock, *Politics*, pp. 42–5; and Myrddin Jones, 'Swift, Harrington, and Corruption in England', *PQ*, 53 (1974), 59–70.

38 *every Quarter of the Sky*: cf. *Paradise Lost*, 1.663–6. Cf. also Gulliver's brandishing of his scimitar in Part I, Chapter 2 (above, p. 53). In a letter dated 30 March 1717 Swift described an unusual meteorological effect to Archdeacon Walls in words which anticipate his description of the sword exercises of the Brobdignagian cavalry: 'Last night about 10, we were called out to see an Appearance in the Sky like what was last Summer, Streams shooting from the North, and the Night very light as at Full moon, but it differed from that of last year in this, that the rays which shot flew like lightening and flasht all over the Sky, and darted as we agreed, like the Rays from a Looking glass when you turn it against the sun' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. II, p. 237).

the whole Race of Mankind is Subject;³⁹ the Nobility often contending for Power, the People for Liberty, and the King for absolute Dominion.⁴⁰ All which, however happily tempered by the Laws of that Kingdom, have been sometimes violated by each of the three Parties; and have more than once occasioned Civil Wars, the last whereof was happily put an End to by this Prince's Grandfather in a general Composition;⁴¹ and the Militia then settled with common Consent hath been ever since kept in the strictest Duty.

39 *whole Race of Mankind is Subject*: the conformity of Brobdingnagian history to European norms makes puzzling the King of Brobdingnag's incredulity and indignation at Gulliver's account of seventeenth-century British history (above, p. 188).

40 *for absolute Dominion*: in *A Discourse of the Contests and Dissensions* (1701) Swift had expounded the need for a constitution to incorporate and hold in balance elements of monarchy, aristocracy and democracy, citing the sixth book of Polybius and Lycurgus as his authorities: 'Polybius tells us, the best Government is that which consists of three Forms, *Regno, Optimum, & Populi Imperio*: Which may be fairly translated, the *Kings, Lords, and Commons*. Such was that of *Sparta*, in its primitive Institution by *Lycurgus*; who observing the Corruptions, and Depravations to which every of these was subject, compounded his Scheme out of all; so that it was made up of *Reges, Seniores, & Populus*. Such also was the State of *Rome*, under its Consuls' (Davis, vol. I, p. 200).

41 *a general Composition*: an agreement, or settling of differences. In Anon., *The Royal Marriage. King Lemuel's Lesson* (1722), a 'Patriarchal Birth-Right, or inheritable Title' is preferred before 'any modern Contract, political Agreement, and National Composition' (p. 349). Some Jacobites argued that the Revolution of 1688 might have been averted by a composition: see *Somers Tracts*, vol. X, pp. 212, 213, 527 and 536.

CHAPTER VIII.

The King and Queen make a Progress to the Frontiers. The Author attends them. The Manner in which he leaves the Country very particularly related. He returns to England.

I had always a strong Impulse that I should some time recover my Liberty,¹ although it were impossible to conjecture by what Means, or to form any Project with the least Hope of succeeding. The Ship in which I sailed was the first ever known to be driven within Sight of that Coast; and the King had given strict Orders, that if at any Time another appeared, it should be taken ashore, and with all its Crew and Passengers brought in a Tumbril² to *Lorbrulgrud*. He was strongly bent to get me a Woman of my own Size, by whom I might propagate the Breed;³ But I think I should rather have died than undergone the Disgrace of leaving a Posterity to be kept in Cages like tame Canary Birds;⁴ and perhaps in time sold about the Kingdom to Persons of Quality for Curiosities. I was indeed treated with much Kindness; I was the Favourite of a great King and Queen,

1 *recover my Liberty*: cf. the frequency of Gulliver's desires for liberty in Part I (above, pp. 38, 49, 56, 62, 65).

2 *Tumbril*: a cart so constructed that the body tilts backwards to empty out the load (*OED*, 3).

3 *propagate the Breed*: this application of a bestial idiom to humans anticipates its much more frequent use in Part IV (see below, pp. 386, 404, 407). It looks forward to the language of *A Modest Proposal* (1729); e.g. 'a Child, just dropt from its Dam', 'an Hundred and Seventy Thousand Breeders', 'become Breeders themselves', 'the constant Breeders' (Davis, vol. X, pp. 110, 113, 115).

4 *tame Canary Birds*: as well as its literal sense, the phrase is thieves' slang for a regular inmate of prison (*OED*, 2); see also *A New Canting Dictionary* (1725), 'Canary-Bird'. In the early eighteenth century, the term also possessed a particular political connotation, referring to either German or Dutch interlopers who had accompanied George I or William III. See Anon., *Canary-Birds Naturaliz'd in Utopia. A Canto*. (1709), which begins: 'In our unhappy Days of Yore, / When foreign Birds, from German Shore, / Came flocking to *Utopia's* Coast, / And o'er the Country rul'd the Roast; / Of our good People, did two Thirds / So much admire *Canary-Birds*, / For outward Show, or finer Feathers, / Far more regarded than all others' (p. 4); also [Edmund Stacy], *The Blackbird's Song* (1715), pp. 14–15. In the early 1720s it was applied to the Directors of the South-Sea Company: see *The Political Letters in the London Journal* (1721), p. 50.

and the Delight of the whole Court; but it was upon such a Foot as ill became the Dignity of human Kind. I could never forget those domestick Pledges⁵ I had left behind me. I wanted to be among People with whom I could converse upon even Terms; and walk about the Streets and Fields without Fear of being trod to Death like a Frog or young Puppy. But, my Deliverance came sooner than I expected, and in a Manner not very common: The whole Story and Circumstances of which I shall faithfully relate.

I had now been two Years in this Country; and, about the Beginning of the third, *Glumdalclitch* and I attended the King and Queen in Progress to the South Coast of the Kingdom. I was carried as usual in my Travelling-Box,⁶ which, as I have already described, was a very convenient Closet of twelve Foot wide. I had ordered a Hammock to be fixed by silken Ropes from the four Corners at the Top; to break the Jolts, when a Servant carried me before him on Horseback, as I sometimes desired; and would often sleep in my Hammock while we were upon the Road. On the Roof of my Closet, set not directly over the Middle of the Hammock, I ordered the Joyner to cut out a Hole of a Foot square to give me Air in hot Weather as I slept; which Hole I shut at pleasure with a Board that drew backwards and forwards through a Groove.

When we came to our Journey's End, the King thought proper to pass a few Days at a Palace he hath near *Flanflasnic*, a City within eighteen *English* Miles of the Sea-side. *Glumdalclitch* and I were much fatigued: I had gotten a small Cold; but the poor Girl was so ill as to be confined to her Chamber. I longed to see the Ocean, which must be the only Scene of my Escape, if ever it should happen. I pretended to be worse than I really was; and desired leave to take the fresh Air of the Sea, with a Page whom I was very fond of, and who had sometimes been trusted with me. I shall never forget with what Unwillingness *Glumdalclitch* consented; nor the strict Charge she gave the Page to be careful of me; bursting at the same time into a Flood of Tears, as if she had some Foreboding of what was to happen. The Boy took me out in my Box about Half an Hour's Walk from the Palace, towards the Rocks on the Sea-shore. I ordered him to set

5 *domestick Pledges*: i.e. Gulliver's wife and children: cf. above, p. 111 and n. 12.

6 *my Travelling-Box*: according to Deane Swift, Swift from time to time insisted that he had been born in England and then smuggled into Ireland in a band-box (*Essay*, p. 26; cf. Davis, vol. V, p. 192).

me down; and lifting up one of my Sashes, cast many a wistful melancholy Look towards the Sea.⁷ I found myself not very well; and told the Page that I had a Mind to take a Nap in my Hammock, which I hoped would do me good. I got in, and the Boy shut the Window close down, to keep out the Cold. I soon fell asleep: And all I can conjecture is, that while I slept, the Page thinking no Danger could happen, went among the Rocks to look for Birds Eggs; having before observed him from my Window searching about, and picking up one or two in the Clefs. Be that as it will; I found my self suddenly awaked with a violent Pull upon the Ring which was fastned at the Top of my Box, for the Conveniency of Carriage. I felt the Box raised very high in the Air,⁸ and then born forward with prodigious Speed. The first Jolt had like to have shaken me out of my Hammock; but afterwards the Motion was easy enough. I called out several times as loud as I could raise my Voice, but all to no purpose. I looked towards my Windows, and could see nothing but the Clouds and Sky. I heard a Noise just over my Head like the clapping of Wings; and then began to perceive the woful Condition I was in; that some Eagle⁹ had got the Ring of my Box in his Beak, with an Intent to let it fall on a Rock, like a Tortoise in a Shell, and then pick out my Body and devour it.¹⁰ For the Sagacity¹¹ and Smell of this Bird enable him to discover his Quarry at a great Distance,¹² although better concealed than I could be within a two Inch Board.

7 *melancholy Look towards the Sea*: a topos: cf. *Odyssey*, V.151–8 and *Aeneid*, IV.408–11. In *The Spectator* no. 94 (18 June 1711) a Muslim king, reduced to poverty, ‘was walking along by the sea-side, being seized with many melancholy reflections upon his former and his present state of life’ (*Spectator*, vol. I, p. 401). In Aphra Behn’s *The Emperor of the Moon* (1687), Harlequin claims to have been ‘exhaled up’ to the moon while ‘one day in a musing Melancholy, walking by the Sea-side’ (Behn, *Works*, vol. VII, p. 198).

8 *raised very high in the Air*: in Lucian’s *True History*, a ship is raised 350 miles into the air by a waterspout, from the island of giants on which they found footprints an acre in size (Lucian, vol. II, p. 139).

9 *some Eagle*: Madagascar (see Long note 16) was said to be home to ‘a great *Ruck* . . . whose Wings are twelve Foot long, which can soop [*sic*] up a Horse and his Rider, or an Elephant, as our Kites do a Mouse’ (John Wilkins, *Mathematical and Philosophical Works* (1708), p. 132; cf. David Russen, *Iter Lunare* (1703), p. 36).

10 *and devour it*: Aeschylus was said to have been killed when an eagle, mistaking his bald head for a stone, dropped a tortoise on it.

11 *Sagacity*: acute sense of smell (*OED*, 1). Note Johnson’s definition of ‘sagacity’ as ‘the *nose* of the mind’ (Boswell, *Life*, vol. IV, p. 335).

12 *at a great Distance*: on the acuity of the eagle’s sense of smell, see Matthew 24:28 and Job 39:28–30. Guy Miège relates that the coat of arms of the Royal Society incorporates an eagle ‘to intimate the Sagacity implied in penetrating and searching after the Works of Nature’

In a little time I observed the Noise and flutter of Wings to encrease very fast; and my Box was tossed up and down like a Sign-post in a windy Day. I heard several Bangs or Buffets, as I thought, given to the Eagle (for such I am certain it must have been that held the Ring of my Box in his Beak) and then all on a sudden felt my self falling perpendicularly down for above a Minute; but with such incredible Swiftmess that I almost lost my Breath. My Fall was stopped by a terrible Squash,¹³ that sounded louder to mine Ears than the Cataract of *Niagara*,¹⁴ after which I was quite in the Dark for another Minute, and then my Box began to rise so high that I could see Light from the Tops of my Windows. I now perceived that I was fallen into the Sea.¹⁵ My Box, by the Weight of my Body, the Goods that were in, and the broad Plates of Iron fixed for Strength at the four Corners of the Top and Bottom, floated about five Foot deep in Water. I did then, and do now suppose, that the Eagle which flew away with my Box was pursued by two or three others, and forced to let me drop while he was defending himself against the Rest, who hoped to share in the Prey. The Plates of Iron fastned at the Bottom of the Box, (for those were the strongest) preserved the Balance while it fell; and hindred it from being broken on the Surface of the Water. Every Joint of it was well grooved, and the Door did not move on Hinges, but up and down like a Sash; which

(*The New State of England*, fourth edition (1701), pp. 170–1). Swift mocked the ‘profound Sagacity’ of Gilbert Burnet by saying that he could ‘smell *Poperie* at five hundred Miles distance, better than *Fanaticism* just under his Nose’ (Davis, vol. IV, p. 74).

13 *Squash*: the shock or impact occasioned by a soft heavy body falling upon a surface; the sound produced by this (*OED*, 4 b, citing this passage).

14 *Cataract of Niagara*: not, to judge from the text of *GT*, a place previously visited by Gulliver; and a place never visited by Swift. However, travellers had marvelled in print at Niagara before the publication of *GT*: ‘At the North-East End of this Lake is another Canal . . . call’d by the Natives *Niagara*, having a delicate level, beautiful, fertile Country on each Side of it; but being pass’d about two Thirds of the Way, it is straiten’d by mighty Rocks, and precipitates itself several Hundred Feet, being the greatest Catarack, that hath ever yet come unto our Knowledge, in the whole World’ (Daniel Coxe, *A Description of the English Province of Carolana*, second edition (1726), p. 54); ‘Father Gabriel and I went over Land to view the great Fall, the like whereof is not in the whole World. It is compounded of two great cross streams of Water and two Falls, with an Isle sloping along the middle of it. The Waters which fall from this vast height do foam and boil after the most hideous manner imaginable, making an outrageous Noise more terrible than that of Thunder; so that when the Wind blows from the S. their dismal Roaring may be heard above fifteen Leagues off’ (John Harris, *Navigantium atque Itinerantium Bibliotheca*, 2 vols. (1705), vol. II, p. 907).

15 *fallen into the Sea*: the dwarf John Wormberg was drowned when the porter carrying his box fell into the river: see Taylor, ‘Sights and Monsters’, p. 30.

kept my Closet so tight that very little Water came in. I got with much Difficulty out of my Hammock, having first ventured to draw back the Slip-board on the Roof already mentioned, contrived on purpose to let in Air; for want of which I found my self almost stifled.

How often did I then wish my self with my dear *Glumdalclitch*, from whom one single Hour had so far divided me! And I may say with Truth, that in the midst of my own Misfortune, I could not forbear lamenting my poor Nurse, the Grief she would suffer for my Loss, the Displeasure of the Queen, and the Ruin of her Fortune. Perhaps many Travellers have not been under greater Difficulties and Distress than I was at this Juncture; expecting every Moment to see my Box dashed in Pieces, or at least overset by the first violent Blast, or a rising Wave. A Breach in one single Pane of Glass would have been immediate Death: Nor could any thing have preserved the Windows but the strong Lattice Wires placed on the outside against Accidents in Travelling.¹⁶ I saw the Water ooze in at several Crannies, although the Leaks were not considerable; and I endeavoured to stop them as well as I could. I was not able to lift up the Roof of my Closet, which otherwise I certainly should have done, and sat on the Top of it, where I might at least preserve myself from being shut up, as I may call it, in the Hold. Or, if I escaped these Dangers for a Day or two, what could I expect but a miserable Death of Cold and Hunger! I was four Hours under these Circumstances, expecting and indeed wishing every Moment to be my last.

I have already told the Reader, that there were two strong Staples fixed upon the Side of my Box which had no Window, and into which the Servant, who used to carry me on Horseback, would put a Leathern Belt, and buckle it about his Waist. Being in this disconsolate State, I heard, or at least thought I heard some kind of grating Noise on that Side of my Box where the Staples were fixed; and soon after I began to fancy that the Box was pulled, or towed along in the Sea; for I now and then felt a sort of tugging, which made the Waves rise near the Tops of my Windows, leaving me almost in the Dark. This gave me some faint Hopes of Relief, although I were not able to imagine how it could be brought about. I ventured to unscrew one of my Chairs, which were always fastned to the Floor; and having made a hard shift to screw it down again directly under

16 *Accidents in Travelling*: see above, p. 148.

the Slipping-board that I had lately opened; I mounted on the Chair, and putting my Mouth as near as I could to the Hole, I called for Help in a loud Voice, and in all the Languages I understood. I then fastned my Handkerchief to a Stick I usually carried, and thrusting it up the Hole, waved it several times in the Air; that if any Boat or Ship were near, the Seamen might conjecture some unhappy Mortal to be shut up in the Box.

I found no Effect from all I could do, but plainly perceived my Closet to be moved along; and in the Space of an Hour, or better,¹⁷ that Side of the Box where the Staples were, and had no Window, struck against something that was hard. I apprehended it to be a Rock, and found my self tossed more than ever. I plainly heard a Noise upon the Cover of my Closet, like that of a Cable, and the grating of it as it passed through the Ring. I then found my self hoisted up by Degrees at least three Foot higher than I was before. Whereupon, I again thrust up my Stick and Handkerchief, calling for Help till I was almost hoarse. In return to which, I heard a great Shout repeated three times, giving me such Transports of Joy as are not to be conceived but by those who feel them. I now heard a trampling over my Head; and somebody calling through the Hole with a loud Voice in the *English* Tongue: *If there be any Body below, let them speak.* I answered, I was an *Englishman*, drawn by ill Fortune into the greatest Calamity that ever any Creature underwent; and begged, by all that was moving, to be delivered out of the Dungeon¹⁸ I was in. The Voice replied, I was safe, for my Box was fastned to their Ship; and the Carpenter should immediately come, and saw an Hole in the Cover, large enough to pull me out. I answered, that was needless, and would take up too much Time; for there was no more to be done, but let one of the Crew put his Finger into the Ring, and take the Box out of the Sea into the Ship, and so into the Captain's Cabbin. Some of them upon hearing me talk so wildly, thought I was mad; others laughed; for indeed it never came into my Head, that I was now got among People of my own Stature and Strength. The Carpenter came, and in a few Minutes sawed a Passage about four Foot square; then let down a small Ladder, upon which I mounted, and from thence was taken into the Ship in a very weak Condition.

¹⁷ *better*: more (*OED*, 3 a).

¹⁸ *Dungeon*: given what Gulliver has earlier said about his box, this strongly pejorative term indicates a sudden reversal of perspective.

The Sailors were all in Amazement, and asked me a thousand Questions, which I had no Inclination to answer. I was equally confounded at the Sight of so many Pigmies; for such I took them to be, after having so long accustomed mine Eyes to the monstrous Objects I had left. But the Captain, Mr. *Thomas Wilcocks*, an honest worthy *Shropshire* Man, observing I was ready to faint, took me into his Cabbin, gave me a Cordial¹⁹ to comfort me, and made me *turn in*²⁰ upon his own Bed; advising me to take a little Rest, of which I had great need. Before I went to sleep I gave him to understand, that I had some valuable Furniture in my Box too good to be lost; a fine Hammock, an handsome Field-Bed, two Chairs, a Table and a Cabinet: That my Closet was hung on all Sides, or rather quilted with Silk and Cotton: That if he would let one of the Crew bring my Closet into his Cabbin, I would open it before him, and shew him my Goods. The Captain hearing me utter these Absurdities, concluded I was raving: However, (I suppose to pacify me) he promised to give Order as I desired; and going upon Deck, sent some of his Men down into my Closet, from whence (as I afterwards found) they drew up all my Goods, and stripped off the Quilting; but the Chairs, Cabinet and Bed-sted being screwed to the Floor, were much damaged by the Ignorance of the Seamen, who tore them up by Force. Then they knocked off some of the Boards for the Use of the Ship; and when they had got all they had a Mind for, let the Hulk drop into the Sea, which by Reason of many Breaches made in the Bottom and Sides, sunk *to rights*.²¹ And indeed I was glad not to have been a Spectator of the Havock they made; because I am confident it would have sensibly touched me, by bringing former Passages²² into my Mind, which I had rather forget.

I slept some Hours, but perpetually disturbed with Dreams of the Place I had left, and the Dangers I had escaped. However, upon waking I found my self much recovered. It was now about eight a Clock at Night, and the Captain ordered Supper immediately, thinking I had already fasted too

19 *Cordial*: a medicine, food, or beverage which invigorates the heart and stimulates the circulation; a comforting or exhilarating drink (*OED*, B 1, citing this passage).

20 *turn in*: to go to bed (*OED*, 'turn', 73 f); still at this time a recognizably nautical expression, hence the italicization. In William Congreve's *Love for Love* (1695), the 'half Sea-bred' Ben Legend employs the expression (III.i.878).

21 *to rights*: at once, completely (*OED*, 14 b, citing this passage).

22 *Passages*: occurrences, incidents or events (*OED*, 14).

long. He entertained me with great Kindness, observing me not to look wildly, or talk inconsistently; and when we were left alone, desired I would give him a Relation of my Travels, and by what Accident I came to be set adrift in that monstrous wooden Chest.²³ He said, that about twelve a Clock at Noon, as he was looking through his Glass, he spied it at a Distance, and thought it was a Sail, which he had a Mind to make;²⁴ being not much out of his Course, in hopes of buying some Biscuit, his own beginning to fall short. That, upon coming nearer, and finding his Error, he sent out his Long-boat to discover what I was; that his Men came back in a Fright, swearing they had seen a swimming House. That he laughed at their Folly, and went himself in the Boat, ordering his Men to take a strong Cable along with them. That the Weather being calm, he rowed round me several times, observed my Windows, and the Wire Lattices that defended them. That he discovered two Staples upon one Side, which was all of Boards, without any Passage for Light. He then commanded his Men to row up to that Side; and fastning a Cable to one of the Staples, ordered his Men to tow my Chest (as he called it) towards the Ship. When it was there, he gave Directions to fasten another Cable to the Ring fixed in the Cover, and to raise up my Chest with Pullies, which all the Sailors were not able to do above two or three Foot. He said, they saw my Stick and Handkerchief thrust out of the Hole, and concluded, that some unhappy Man must be shut up in the Cavity. I asked whether he or the Crew had seen any prodigious Birds in the Air about the Time he first discovered me: To which he answered, that discoursing this Matter with the Sailors while I was asleep, one of them said he had *observed* three Eagles flying towards the North; but remarked nothing of their being larger than the usual Size; which I suppose must be imputed to the great Height they were at: And he could not guess the Reason of my Question. I then asked the Captain how far he reckoned we might be from Land; he said, by the best Computation he could make, we were at least an hundred Leagues. I assured him, that he must be mistaken by almost half; for I had not left the Country from whence I came, above two Hours before I dropt into the

23 *adrift in that monstrous wooden Chest*: another detail with Biblical and mythological parallels. Moses was set adrift in 'an ark of bullrushes' (Exodus 2:3). The infant Perseus and his mother Danae were cast adrift in a chest in an attempt to avert the prophecy that Perseus would kill his grandfather Acrisius.

24 *make*: reach, come to, arrive at (*OED*, 52 b).

Sea. Whereupon he began again to think that my Brain was disturbed, of which he gave me a Hint, and advised me to go to Bed in a Cabin he had provided. I assured him I was well refreshed with his good Entertainment and Company, and as much in my Senses as ever I was in my Life. He then grew serious, and desired to ask me freely whether I were not troubled in Mind by the Consciousness of some enormous Crime, for which I was punished at the Command of some Prince, by exposing me in that Chest; as great Criminals in other Countries have been forced to Sea in a leaky Vessel without Provisions:²⁵ For, although he should be sorry to have taken so ill a Man into his Ship, yet he would engage his Word to set me safe on Shore in the first Port where we arrived. He added, that his Suspicions were much increased by some very absurd Speeches I had delivered at first to the Sailors, and afterwards to himself, in relation to my Closet or Chest, as well as by my odd Looks and Behaviour while I was at Supper.

I begged his Patience to hear me tell my Story; which I faithfully did from the last Time I left *England*, to the Moment he first discovered me. And, as Truth always forceth its Way into rational Minds; so, this honest worthy Gentleman, who had some Tincture of Learning, and very good Sense, was immediately convinced of my Candor and Veracity. But, further to confirm all I had said, I entreated him to give Order that my Cabinet should be brought, of which I kept the Key in my Pocket, (for he had already informed me how the Seamen disposed of my Closet) I opened it in his Presence, and shewed him the small Collection of Rarities I made in the Country from whence I had been so strangely delivered. There was the Comb I had contrived out of the Stumps of the King's Beard; and another of the same Materials, but fixed into a paring of her Majesty's Thumb-nail, which served for the Back. There was a Collection of Needles and Pins from a Foot to half a Yard long. Four Wasp-Stings, like Joyners Tacks: Some Combing of the Queen's Hair: A Gold Ring which one Day she made me a Present of in a most obliging Manner, taking it from her little Finger, and throwing it over my Head like a Collar. I desired the Captain would please to accept this Ring in Return of his Civilities; which he

25 *a leaky Vessel without Provisions*: GT's first readers might have recalled that this had been the predicament of the pirate Captain Kidd in May 1699: see *A Collection of State Tracts Publish'd During the Reign of King William III*, 3 vols. (1707), vol. III, p. 235 and Anon., *A Full Account of the Proceedings in Relation to Captain Kidd* (1701), p. 9; cf. also Anon., *The Four Years Voyages of Capt. George Roberts* (1726), p. 282.

absolutely refused. I shewed him a Corn that I had cut off with my own Hand from a Maid of Honour's Toe; it was about the Bigness of a *Kentish Pippin*,²⁶ and grown so hard, that when I returned to *England*, I got it hollowed into a Cup and set in Silver. Lastly, I desired him to see the Breeches I had then on, which were made of a Mouse's Skin.

I could force nothing on him but a Footman's Tooth, which I observed him to examine with great Curiosity, and found he had a Fancy for it. He received it with abundance of Thanks, more than such a Trifle could deserve. It was drawn by an unskilful Surgeon in a Mistake from one of *Glumdalclitch's* Men, who was afflicted with the Tooth-ach; but it was as sound as any in his Head. I got it cleaned, and put it into my Cabinet. It was about a Foot long, and four Inches in Diameter.

The Captain was very well satisfied with this plain Relation I had given him; and said, he hoped when we returned to *England*, I would oblige the World²⁷ by putting it in Paper, and making it publick. My Answer was, that I thought we were already over-stocked with Books of Travels: That nothing could now pass which was not extraordinary; wherein I doubted, some Authors less consulted Truth than their own Vanity or Interest, or the Diversion of Ignorant Readers. That my Story could contain little besides common Events, without those ornamental Descriptions of strange Plants, Trees, Birds, and other Animals; or the barbarous Customs and Idolatry of savage People, with which most Writers abound.²⁸ However, I thanked him for his good Opinion, and promised to take the Matter into my Thoughts.

He said, he wondered at one Thing very much; which was, to hear me speak so loud; asking me whether the King or Queen of that Country were thick of Hearing. I told him it was what I had been used to for above two Years past; and that I admired as much at the Voices of him and his Men, who seemed to me only to whisper, and yet I could hear them well enough. But, when I spoke in that Country, it was like a Man talking in the Street to another looking out from the Top of a Steeple, unless when I was placed on

26 *Kentish Pippin*: a dessert apple, commonly grown in Kent (*OED*, 3 a).

27 *oblige the World*: see Long note 6.

28 *most Writers abound*: for the contemporary debate on the utility or otherwise of travel literature, see above p. 84, n. 8. For a recent study, see Daniel Carey, *Locke, Shaftesbury, and Hutcheson: Contesting Diversity in the Enlightenment and Beyond* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

a Table, or held in any Person's Hand. I told him, I had likewise observed another Thing; that when I first got into the Ship, and the Sailors stood all about me, I thought they were the most little contemptible Creatures I had ever beheld.²⁹ For, indeed, while I was in that Prince's Country, I could never endure to look in a Glass after mine Eyes had been accustomed to such prodigious Objects; because the Comparison gave me so despicable a Conceit³⁰ of my self. The Captain said, that while we were at Supper, he observed me to look at every thing with a Sort of Wonder;³¹ and that I often seemed hardly able to contain my Laughter; which he knew not well how to take, but imputed it to some Disorder in my Brain. I answered, it was very true; and I wondered how I could forbear, when I saw his Dishes of the Size of a Silver Three-pence, a Leg of Pork hardly a Mouthful, a Cup not so big as a Nutshell: And so I went on, describing the rest of his Houshold-stuff and Provisions after the same Manner. For although the Queen had ordered a little Equipage of all Things necessary for me while I was in her Service; yet my Ideas were wholly taken up with what I saw on every Side of me; and I winked at³² my own Littleness, as People do at their own Faults. The Captain understood my Raillery very well, and merrily replied with the old *English* Proverb, that he doubted, mine Eyes were bigger than my Belly; for he did not observe my Stomach so good, although I had fasted all Day: And continuing in his Mirth, protested he would have gladly given an Hundred Pounds to have seen my Closet in the Eagle's Bill, and afterwards in its Fall from so great an Height into the Sea; which would certainly have been a most astonishing Object, worthy to have the Description of it transmitted to future Ages: And the Comparison of *Phaeton* was so obvious, that he could not forbear applying it, although I did not much admire the Conceit.³³

The Captain having been at *Tonquin*,³⁴ was in his Return to *England* driven North Eastward to the Latitude of 44 Degrees, and of Longitude

29 *I had ever beheld*: an echo of the King of Brobdingnag's verdict on the English at the end of Part II, Chapter 6 (above, p. 189).

30 *Conceit*: judgement, or estimation (*OED*, 4 b).

31 *a Sort of Wonder*: Socrates states that philosophy has its origin in wonder (*Theaetetus*, 156D).

32 *winked at*: was blind to, overlooked.

33 *admire the Conceit*: in Greek mythology, Phaeton was the son of Helios, the sun-god, who attempted to drive the chariot of the sun, lost control, and was destroyed by Zeus. The myth was commonly interpreted as an illustration of pride going before a fall.

34 *Tonquin*: now northern Vietnam.

143.³⁵ But meeting a Trade Wind³⁶ two Days after I came on board him, we sailed Southward a long Time, and coasting *New-Holland*,³⁷ kept our Course West-south-west, and then South-south-west till we doubled the *Cape of Good-hope*.³⁸ Our Voyage was very prosperous, but I shall not trouble the Reader with a Journal of it. The Captain called in at one or two Ports, and sent in his Long-boat for Provisions and fresh Water; but I never went out of the Ship till we came into the *Downs*,³⁹ which was on the 3d Day of *June* 1706, about nine Months after my Escape. I offered to leave my Goods in Security for Payment of my Freight; but the Captain protested he would not receive one Farthing.⁴⁰ We took kind Leave of each other; and I made him promise he would come to see me at my House in *Redriff*. I hired a Horse and Guide for five Shillings, which I borrowed of the Captain.

As I was on the Road; observing the Littleness of the Houses, the Trees, the Cattle and the People, I began to think my self in *Lilliput*. I was afraid of trampling on every Traveller I met; and often called aloud to have them stand out of the Way; so that I had like to have gotten one or two broken Heads for my Impertinence.

When I came to my own House, for which I was forced to enquire, one of the Servants opening the Door, I bent down to go in (like a Goose under a Gate)⁴¹ for fear of striking my Head. My Wife ran out to embrace me, but I stooped lower than her Knees, thinking she could otherwise never be able to reach my Mouth. My Daughter kneeled to ask me Blessing, but I

35 *to the Latitude of 44 Degrees, and of Longitude 143*: a reference corresponding to northern Japan.

36 *Trade Wind*: generally, a wind that blows steadily in the same direction (*OED*, 1): more specifically, a wind that blows constantly towards the equator from about the thirtieth parallels, north and south (*OED*, 3); a loose synonym for the monsoons of the Indian Ocean (*OED*, 2).

37 *New-Holland*: Australia. Gulliver is sailing along the north-west coast.

38 *Cape of Good-hope*: see above, p. 117, n. 5.

39 *the Downs*: see above, p. 112, n. 14.

40 *Farthing*: the smallest English coin, worth one quarter of a pre-decimal penny, and thus one 960th of a pound.

41 *like a Goose under a Gate*: in early eighteenth-century literature, a proverbial expression for an unnecessary or irrational action: see, e.g., Edward Ward, *The London-Spy Compleat*, fourth edition (1709), p. 187; Anon., *The Female Critick* (1701), p. 91; Anon., *The Young Gentleman's Mechanicks* (1713), p. 52; Edward Ward, *The Delights of the Bottle*, second edition (1721), p. 32. Note Dostoevsky's embellished mis-remembering of Gulliver's exaggerated sense of size in *The Devils*, ch. 1.

could not see her till she arose; having been so long used to stand with my Head and Eyes erect to above Sixty Foot; and then I went to take her up with one Hand, by the Waist. I looked down upon the Servants, and one or two Friends who were in the House, as if they had been Pigmies, and I a Giant. I told my Wife, she had been too thrifty; for I found she had starved herself and her Daughter to nothing. In short, I behaved my self so unaccountably, that they were all of the Captain's Opinion when he first saw me; and concluded I had lost my Wits. This I mention as an Instance of the great Power of Habit and Prejudice.

In a little Time I and my Family and Friends came to a right Understanding: But my Wife protested I should never go to Sea any more; although my evil Destiny so ordered, that she had not Power to hinder me; as the Reader may know hereafter. In the mean Time, I here conclude the second Part of my unfortunate Voyages.

The End of the Second Part.

Parts Unknown



Figure 5. Map of Laputa

Fig. 5 1701: Gulliver arrives in Balnibarbi in 1707. For contemporary knowledge of the geography of these latitudes.

PART III

A VOYAGE to Laputa,² Balnibarbi, Luggnagg, Glubbdubdrib, and Japan.

CHAPTER I.

The Author sets out on his Third Voyage. Is taken by Pyrates. The Malice of a Dutchman.³ His Arrival at an Island. He is received into Laputa.

1 *Part III*: see Long note 22.

2 *Laputa*: in Spanish 'la puta' means 'the whore'. One aspect of Swift's satire in Part III is the association of Hanoverian England with Laputa, and Jacobite literature had depicted England after the Glorious Revolution of 1688 as a whore; see, e.g., Charles Leslie, *A Catalogue of Books of the Newest Fashion* (1694), p. 8. Charles H. Firth forges a connection between this etymology and Swift's resentment of English economic policy towards Ireland by means of the Spanish proverb that a whore 'leaves the purse empty' (Firth, p. 254). There may also be a circular chain of puns: '*Laputa* is a near-anagram of *utopia*. *Utopia* means *nowhere*. *Nowhere* contains an anagram of *whore*. *Laputa* means *whore*' (Mezciems, 'Unity', p. 6). However, 'puta' is also a term encountered in early modern treatises of mathematics written in Latin, where it means 'is equivalent to', 'think it out' or 'reckon it as': and the Laputans are enthusiastic mathematicians (see below, pp. 228–29). Swift uses the word in this sense in his annotations to Aulus Gellius (*Library and Reading*, p. 689). Cf. Cecil C. Seronsy, 'Some Proper Names in "Gulliver's Travels"', *N&Q*, 202 (1957), 471. I am grateful to Jackie Stedall for guidance on the usage of early modern mathematical Latinity.

3 *Malice of a Dutchman*: during the seventeenth century English resentment of the Dutch had focused on what Temple in his 'Observations upon the United Provinces of the Netherlands' referred to as 'their [the Dutch] barbarous Usage to some of our Men in the *East-Indies*' (Temple, vol. I, p. 53). Following the Dutch seizure of the British factory at Amboyna and subsequent massacre in 1623 (see above, p. 118, n. 9), the malice of the Dutch had become almost proverbial: see Henry Stubbe, *A Further Justification of the Present War against the United Netherlands* (1673), p. 30; Fabian Phillips, *Ursa Major and Minor* (1681), p. 29; and Robert Ferguson, *A Brief Account of Some of the Late Incroachments and Depredations of the Dutch upon the English* (1695), pp. 5 and 21. Swift's mistrust and dislike of the Dutch had crystallized in the years 1710–14, when he had formed an adverse view of their conduct and motives in the War of the Spanish Succession – a view most memorably expressed in *The Conduct of the Allies* (1711) (*CWJS*, vol. VIII, pp. 45–106; Davis, vol. VI, pp. 1–65). In a letter to Francis Grant of 23 March 1734 Swift summarized his view: 'The Dutch are like a Knot of Sharpers among a Parcel of honest Gentlemen, who think they understand Play, and are bub[b]led of their

I had not been at home above ten Days, when Captain *William Robinson*, a *Cornish* Man, Commander of the *Hopewell*,⁴ a stout Ship of three Hundred Tuns, came to my House. I had formerly been Surgeon of another Ship where he was Master, and a fourth Part Owner, in a Voyage to the *Levant*.⁵ He had always treated me more like a Brother than an inferior Officer; and hearing of my Arrival made me a Visit, as I apprehended only out of Friendship, for nothing passed more than what is usual after long Absence. But repeating his Visits often, expressing his Joy to find me in good Health, asking whether I were now settled for Life, adding that he intended a Voyage to the *East-Indies*, in two Months, at last he plainly invited me, although with some Apologies, to be Surgeon of the Ship. That I should have another Surgeon under me, besides our two Mates; that my Sallary should be double to the usual Pay; and that having experienced my Knowledge in Sea-Affairs to be at least equal to his, he would enter into any Engagement to follow my Advice, as much as if I had Share in the Command.

He said so many other obliging things, and I knew him to be so honest a Man, that I could not reject his Proposal; the Thirst I had of seeing the World,⁶ notwithstanding my past Misfortunes, continuing as violent as ever. The only Difficulty that remained, was to persuade my Wife, whose Consent however I at last obtained, by the Prospect of Advantage she proposed⁷ to her⁸ Children.

Money. I love them for the Love they have to their Country; which, however, is no Virtue in them, because it is their private Interest, which is directly contrary to England' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, p. 730). Cf. also J. B. Tavernier's 'Histoire de la Conduite des Hollandois en Asie' (Tavernier, *Recueil*, pp. 203–312).

4 *Hopewell*: Swift here brings together the name of a real early eighteenth-century captain and a popular name for vessels. In 1710 a William Robinson captained a ship called the *Adventure* (the name of Gulliver's vessel in Parts II and IV). The name *Hopewell* was given to at least three contemporary ships (Quinlan, 'Ships', p. 413). In 1609 a vessel called *Hopewell* was under the command of David Middleton in the seas around Java, where it encountered Dutch high-handedness and hostility (Purchas, vol. III, pp. 92–3 and 102–10).

5 *the Levant*: the countries of the East (*OED*, I a); 'any country situate to the east of us' (*Chambers Cyclopaedia* (1727–41)).

6 *seeing the World*: in Thomas More's *Utopia* Raphael Hythloday is 'eager to see the world' (*Utopia*, p. 10).

7 *proposed*: set before herself as an aim or object (*OED*, 2 c).

8 *her*: not, perhaps strangely, 'our'.

We set out the 5th Day of *August*, 1706, and arrived at Fort St. *George*,⁹ the 11th of *April* 1707. We stayed there three Weeks to refresh our Crew, many of whom were sick. From thence we went to *Tonquin*,¹⁰ where the Captain resolved to continue some time; because many of the Goods he intended to buy were not ready, nor could he expect to be dispatched in several Months. Therefore in hopes to defray some of the Charges he must be at, he bought a Sloop, loaded it with several Sorts of Goods, wherewith the *Tonquinese* usually trade to the neighbouring Islands; and putting Fourteen Men on Board, whereof three were of the Country, he appointed me Master of the Sloop, and gave me Power to traffick, while he transacted his Affairs at *Tonquin*.

We had not sailed above three Days, when a great Storm arising, we were driven five Days to the North-North-East, and then to the East; after which we had fair Weather, but still with a pretty strong Gale from the West. Upon the tenth Day we were chased by two Pyrates, who soon overtook us; for my Sloop was so deep loaden, that she sailed very slow; neither were we in a Condition to defend our selves.

We were boarded about the same Time by both the Pyrates, who entered furiously at the Head of their Men; but finding us all prostrate upon our Faces, (for so I gave Order,) they pinioned us with strong Ropes, and setting a Guard upon us, went to search the Sloop.

I observed among them a *Dutchman*, who seemed to be of some Authority, although he were not Commander of either Ship. He knew us by our Countenances to be *Englishmen*, and jabbering to us in his own Language, swore we should be tyed Back to Back,¹¹ and thrown into the Sea. I spoke

9 *Fort St. George*: Madras, in southern India.

10 *Tonquin*: Hanoi.

11 *tyed Back to Back, and thrown into the Sea*: a form of punishment with a long pedigree; cf. *Aeneid*, VIII.482–8; Valerius Maximus, IX.2 ext. 10; Nashe, *Works*, vol. II, p. 231. During the seventeenth century, however, it had been notoriously revived in the East Indies by the Dutch: see, e.g., Abraham Woofe, *Tyranny of the Dutch Against the English* (1653), p. 21; Giovanni Battista Stoppa, *The Religion of the Dutch Represented in Several Letters* (1680), p. 51; Charles Leslie, *Delenda Carthago* (1695), p. 4; Robert Ferguson, *An Account of the Obligations the States of Holland have to Great-Britain* (1711), p. 39; R. Hall, *The History of the Barbarous Cruelties and Massacres, Committed by the Dutch* (1712), p. 142; Roger Coke, *A Detection of the Court and State of England*, 3 vols. (1719), vol. I, p. 318. For a discussion of some of these passages, see Higgins, pp. 188–9. In *Some Remarks on the Barrier Treaty* (1712), Swift had feared that the successful conclusion of the War of the Spanish Succession

Dutch tolerably well; I told him who we were, and begged him in Consideration of our being Christians and Protestants, of neighbouring Countries, in strict Alliance,¹² that he would move the Captains to take some Pity on us. This inflamed his Rage; he repeated his Threatnings, and turning to his Companions, spoke with great Vehemence, in the *Japanese* Language, as I suppose; often using the Word *Christianos*.

The largest of the two Pyrate Ships was commanded by a *Japanese* Captain, who spoke a little *Dutch*, but very imperfectly. He came up to me, and after several Questions, which I answered in great Humility, he said we should not die. I made the Captain a very low Bow, and then turning to the *Dutchman*, said, I was sorry to find more Mercy in a Heathen, than in a Brother Christian. But I had soon Reason to repent those foolish Words; for that malicious Reprobate, having often endeavoured in vain to persuade both the Captains that I might be thrown into the Sea, (which they would not yield to after the Promise made me, that I should not die) however prevailed so far as to have a Punishment inflicted on me, worse in all human Appearance than Death it self. My Men were sent by an equal Division into both the Pyrate-Ships, and my Sloop new manned. As to my self, it was determined that I should be set a-drift, in a small Canoe, with Paddles and a Sail, and four Days Provisions; which last the *Japanese* Captain was so kind to double out of his own Stores, and would permit no Man to search me. I got down into the Canoe, while the *Dutchman* standing upon the Deck, loaded me with all the Curses and injurious Terms his Language¹³ could afford.

About an Hour before we saw the Pyrates, I had taken an Observation, and found we were in the Latitude of 46 N. and of Longitude 183.¹⁴ When

would render the Dutch 'in a condition to strike Terror into Us, with fifty thousand *Veterans* ready to invade us, from that Country which we have conquered for them; and to commit insolent Hostilities upon us, in all other Parts, as they have lately done in the *East-Indies*' (*CWJS*, vol. VIII, p. 135; Davis, vol. VI, p. 97).

12 *strict Alliance*: the English and the Dutch were partners in the 'Grand Alliance' assembled by William III during the summer of 1701 to fight the War of the Spanish Succession (1702–13).

13 *his Language*: cf. *The Examiner* 58: '*Dutch*; a Language that is work'd up with great profuseness of Consonants, and all the Majesty of Sound: For which reason *Billingsgate* ought to pay as great a Regard to it, as our *Opera's* do to *Italian*' (*The Second Volume of the Examiners* (1714), p. 321).

14 *Longitude 183*: this would place Gulliver in the Pacific Ocean, off the eastern coast of Japan, and south of the Aleutian Islands.

I was at some Distance from the Pyrates, I discovered by my Pocket-Glass several Islands to the South-East. I set up my Sail, the Wind being fair, with a Design to reach the nearest of those Islands, which I made a Shift¹⁵ to do in about three Hours. It was all rocky; however, I got many Birds Eggs; and striking Fire, I kindled some Heath¹⁶ and dry Sea Weed, by which I roasted my Eggs.¹⁷ I eat no other Supper, being resolved to spare my Provisions as much as I could. I passed the Night under the Shelter of a Rock, strowing some Heath under me, and slept pretty well.

The next Day I sailed to another Island, and thence to a third and fourth, sometimes using my Sail, and sometimes my Paddles. But not to trouble the Reader with a particular Account of my Distresses; let it suffice, that on the 5th Day, I arrived at the last Island in my Sight, which lay South-South-East to the former.

This Island was at a greater Distance than I expected, and I did not reach it in less than five Hours. I encompassed it almost round before I could find a convenient Place to land in, which was a small Creek, about three Times the Wideness of my Canoe. I found the Island to be all rocky, only a little intermingled with Tufts of Grass, and sweet smelling Herbs. I took out my small Provisions, and after having refreshed myself, I secured the Remainder in a Cave, whereof there were great Numbers. I gathered Plenty of Eggs upon the Rocks, and got a Quantity of dry Sea-weed, and parched Grass, which I designed to kindle the next Day, and roast my Eggs as well as I could. (For I had about me my Flint, Steel, Match,¹⁸ and Burning-glass.¹⁹) I lay all Night in the Cave where I had lodged my Provisions. My Bed was the same dry Grass and Sea-weed which I intended for Fewel. I slept very little; for the Disquiets of my Mind prevailed over

15 *made a Shift*: see above, p. 33, n. 26.

16 *Heath*: plants and shrubs found upon heaths or in open or waste places (*OED*, 2 a).

17 *roasted my Eggs*: cf. Swift to Mrs Howard, 27 November 1726: 'I cannot answer your Queryes about Eggs buttered or poached [Mrs Howard had asked 'whether the Big-Endian's ever differ'd in opinion about the braking of Eggs, when they were either to be butter'd, or Poach'd?'], but I possess one Talent which admirably qualifiyes me for roasting them. For, as the world with respect to Eggs is divided into Pelters and Roasters, it is my Unhappyness to be one of the latter, and consequently to be persecuted by the former' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, p. 55; cf. p. 50).

18 *Match*: a piece of cord, cloth, paper, wood etc., dipped in melted sulphur so as to be readily ignited with a flint, and used to light a candle or lamp, or to light fuel (*OED*, 2 a).

19 *Burning-glass*: a lens, by which the rays of the sun may be concentrated on an object, so as to burn it if it is combustible (*OED*, citing this passage).

my Wearyness, and kept me awake. I considered how impossible it was to preserve my Life, in so desolate a Place; and how miserable my End must be. Yet I found my self so listless and desponding, that I had not the Heart to rise; and before I could get Spirits enough to creep out of my Cave, the Day was far advanced. I walked a while among the Rocks, the Sky was perfectly clear, and the Sun so hot, that I was forced to turn my Face from it: When all on a Sudden it became obscured, as I thought, in a Manner very different from what happens by the Interposition of a Cloud.²⁰ I turned back, and perceived a vast Opaque Body²¹ between me and the Sun, moving forwards towards the Island: It seemed to be about two Miles high, and hid the Sun six or seven Minutes, but I did not observe the Air to be much colder, or the Sky more darkned, than if I had stood under the Shade of a Mountain.²² As it approached nearer over the Place where I was, it appeared to be a firm Substance, the Bottom flat, smooth, and shining very bright from the Reflexion of the Sea below. I stood upon a Height about two Hundred Yards from the Shoar, and saw this vast Body descending almost to a Parallel with me, at less than an *English*

20 *Interposition of a Cloud*: cf. the strange weather observed in London on 19 March 1720: 'People here were surprised with a strange Phænomenon. The Weather being sharp and cold, with a strong Gale of Wind at North East, and a clear and serene Sky, a globular fiery Cloud was seen descending from the Atmosphere, till it came within about Twenty Yards from the Surface of the Earth, when dividing into Two, it gave such a Flash of Light as made the whole Horizon as bright as at Noon Day; and then darting from the *North East* towards the *South West*, disappear'd in about a quarter of a Minute; leaving behind it strange Impressions on the Minds of the Weak and Superstitious' (*The Annals of King George, Year the Sixth* (1721), p. 418).

21 *a vast Opaque Body*: in Swift's day a phrase associated with the moon: see Anon., *The Compleat Geographer*, fourth edition (1723), p. iii; John Quincy, *De Secretis Mulierum* (1725), p. 39; Bernard le Bovier de Fontenelle, tr. A. Behn, *The Theory or System of Several New Inhabited Worlds* (1718), p. 31. Figurative meanings included that of sin ('Tis only *sin* that can *eclipse* this *light*. 'Tis the *interposure* of this gross opaque *body*, that *blacks* the else *bright soul*', Owen Felltham, *Resolves: Divine, Moral, Political*, twelfth edition (1709), p. 327) and, perhaps more significantly given some of Swift's comments elsewhere in *GT*, a courtier: 'He [the courtier] is a Weathercock, that turns always with the Air of the Court: He is a sort of opaque Body, like that of the Moon, which has no Light but what it receives from the Sun' (Whitelock Bulstrode, *Essays* (1724), p. 3). In Lucian's *True History* the moon is described as 'an island with air for sea, glistening, spherical, and bathed in light' (Lucian, vol. II, p. 140).

22 *under the Shade of a Mountain*: during the war in Heaven, the faithful angels rip up mountains to overwhelm Satan's artillery: 'so dread they saw / The bottom of the mountains upward turned' (*Paradise Lost*, VI.648–9).

Mile Distance. I took out my Pocket-Perspective,²³ and could plainly discover Numbers of People moving up and down the Sides of it, which appeared to be sloping, but what those People were doing, I was not able to distinguish.

The natural Love of Life gave me some inward Motions of Joy: and I was ready to entertain a Hope, that this Adventure might some Way or other help to deliver me from the desolate Place and Condition I was in. But, at the same Time, the Reader can hardly conceive my Astonishment, to behold an Island in the Air,²⁴ inhabited by Men, who were able (as it should seem) to raise, or sink, or put it into a progressive Motion,²⁵ as they pleased.²⁶ But not being, at that Time, in a Disposition to philosophise upon this Phænomenon, I rather chose to observe what Course the Island

23 *my Pocket-Perspective*: a pocket telescope (*OED*, 2 a).

24 *Island in the Air*: cf. *Paradise Lost*, II.404–10: ‘Who shall tempt with wand’ring feet / The dark unbottomed infinite abyss / And through the palpable obscure find out / His uncouth way, or spread his airy flight / Upborne with indefatigable wings / Over the vast abrupt, ere he arrive / The happy isle’. The ancients believed the moon to be ‘a round and bright Island hanging in the Air’ (William King, *An Historical Account of the Heathen Gods and Heroes* [1711?], p. 76). For a discussion of the possible significance of the shape of Laputa, see Chris Worth, ‘Swift’s “Flying Island”: Buttons and Bomb-Vessels’, *RES*, 42 (1991), 343–60.

25 *a progressive Motion*: a term of scientific art at this time, which may have affronted Swift’s sense of linguistic propriety: see William Derham, *Physico-Theology*, second edition (1714), p. 348 (cf. Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. IV, p. 212); Robert Boyle, *Philosophical Works*, vol. I, pp. 277, 309; vol. II, pp. 200, 470, 547; vol. III, p. 532. John Wallis’s *A Brief Letter from a Young Oxonian to One of his Late Fellow-Pupils Upon the Subject of Magnetism* (1697) uses the phrase in an attempt to explain the operation of magnetism (which is also the principle of motion of the Flying Island): ‘The Body of the Aethereal Matter therefore rushing into the Pores of the *Magnetical* Bodies, and there labouring to exert its self on all sides, and obtain a free Passage or a convenient Receptacle, distends and explicates these little Springs which lie ranged in one and the same order, from this *Pole* to that *Pole* of the *Magnetical* Body, the consequence of which distention can not be a direct Progressive Motion of the Body, because then all parts of these Springs must equally resist the Impulses of the Aethereal Matter, but being of a Taper form, larger and stronger toward the Radix of them than toward their Summit or Cuspis, (forgive my Pedantry where I cannot help it,) the finer and weaker parts of them suffer a readier or more forcible Expansion or Diastole than the larger and radical, whereupon ensues instead of a Progressive Motion a Deflexion or Distortion of the Springs themselves, and of the Continuum to which they adhere’ (p. 7).

26 *as they pleased*: note Temple’s scorn for those who claimed to have acquired the ‘Art of Flying’ (Temple, vol. I, p. 303); scorn echoed by the Scriblerians (*Scriblerus*, pp. 167 and 332–4). The possibility of flight was a subject of keen interest for those associated with the Royal Society, such as John Wilkins (*Mathematical and Philosophical Works* (1708), ‘The Second Book’, pp. 116 ff.). Chapter 6 of Samuel Johnson’s *Rasselas* (1759) provides a mid-century point of comparison.

would take; because it seemed for a while to stand still. Yet soon after it advanced nearer; and I could see the Sides of it, encompassed with several Gradations of Galleries and Stairs, at certain Intervals, to descend from one to the other. In the lowest Gallery, I beheld some People fishing with long Angling Rods, and others looking on. I waved my Cap, (for my Hat was long since worn out,)²⁷ and my Handkerchief towards the Island; and upon its nearer Approach, I called and shouted with the utmost Strength of my Voice; and then looking circumspectly, I beheld a Crowd gathered to that Side which was most in my View. I found by their pointing towards me and to each other, that they plainly discovered me, although they made no Return to my Shouting: But I could see four or five Men running in great Haste up the Stairs to the Top of the Island, who then disappeared. I happened rightly to conjecture, that these were sent for Orders to some Person in Authority upon this Occasion.

The Number of People increased; and in less than Half an Hour, the Island was moved and raised in such a Manner, that the lowest Gallery appeared in a Parallel of less than an Hundred Yards Distance from the Height where I stood. I then put my self into the most supplicating Postures, and spoke in the humblest Accent, but received no Answer. Those who stood nearest over-against me, seemed to be Persons of Distinction, as I supposed by their Habit. They conferred earnestly with each other, looking often upon me. At length one of them called out in a clear, polite, smooth Dialect, not unlike in Sound to the *Italian*;²⁸ and therefore I returned an Answer in that Language, hoping at least that the Cadence might be more agreeable to his Ears. Although neither of us understood the other, yet my Meaning was easily known, for the People saw the Distress I was in.

27 *long since worn out*: cf. Part I, Chapter 3 (above, pp. 60–61).

28 *Italian*: the association of Italy with moral and aesthetic corruption extends deep into the early modern period, but it had become particularly acute in early eighteenth-century England. In 1706 John Dennis had published *An Essay on the Opera's After the Italian Manner*, in which he had inveighed against 'that soft and effeminate Musick which abounds in the *Italian Opera*' (Dennis, vol I, p. 384; cf. also the full note on pp. 522–3). After the accession of George I, an enthusiast for Italian opera, the note of criticism became more strident: cf., e.g., Pope, *The Dunciad*, IV.45 and note, and IV.559. Swift's own disparagement of the Italian style is expressed in *Intelligencer* 3, in which he complains about being 'over-run with *Italian Effeminacy*, and *Italian Nonsense*' (Davis, vol. XII, p. 37); and also in 'Directions for a Birth-Day Song' (Williams, *Poems*, p. 469, line 278). For a possible association between Italian and devotion to mathematics, see below, p. 230, n. 16.

They made Signs for me to come down from the Rock, and go towards the Shoar, which I accordingly did; and the flying Island being raised to a convenient Height, the Verge directly over me, a Chain was let down from the lowest Gallery, with a Seat fastned to the Bottom, to which I fixed my self, and was drawn up by Pullies.

CHAPTER II.

The Humours and Dispositions of the Laputians described. An Account of their Learning. Of the King and his Court. The Author's Reception there. The Inhabitants subject to Fears and Disquietudes. An Account of the Women.

At my alighting I was surrounded by a Crowd of People, but those who stood nearest seemed to be of better Quality. They beheld me with all the Marks and Circumstances of Wonder; neither indeed was I much in their Debt;¹ having never till then seen a Race of Mortals so singular² in their Shapes, Habits, and Countenances. Their Heads were all reclined either to the Right, or the Left; one of their Eyes turned inward, and the other directly up to the Zenith.³ Their outward Garments were adorned

1 *much in their Debt*: that is to say, Gulliver is as astonished as the Laputans.

2 *so singular*: in *The London Spy*, Ned Ward describes a visit to 'Gresham-Colledge', then the home of the Royal Society, and describes one of its inhabitants in terms which recall Swift's description of the Laputans: 'we step'd thro' a little Brick Court, and then came into a Spacious Quadrangle, where, in a Melancholy Cloister, we saw a Peripatetick walking, ruminating, as I suppose, upon his *Entities, Essences, and Occult Qualities*, or else upon the *Philosophers stone*; looking as if he very much wanted it; his steps he measur'd out with that exactness and deliberation, that, I believe, had just such a Number fail'd by bringing him to the end of the Cloister, he would have been in a great Passion with his Legs; during his perambulation, his Eyes were fix'd upon the Pavement, from whence I conjecture, he could see as well into a Millstone as another; all the time we observ'd him, he took great care to follow his Nose, fearing, I suppose, if he had turn'd his Guide towards either Shoulder, he should have lost his way, and have wandron upon some other Stones out of that direct line to which he had confin'd his walk: His Countenance was Mathematical, having as many Lines and Angles in his Face, as you shall find in *Euclid's Elements*; and look'd as if he had fed upon nothing but *Cursus Mathematicus* for a Fortnight; he seem'd to scorn the use of Gloves as much as *Diogenes* did his Dish, crossing his Arms over his Breast, and warming his Hands under his Armpits, his Lips quak'd as if he'd had an Ague in his Mouth; which tremulous motion I conceiv'd was occasion'd by his Soliloquies, to which we left him' (*The London-Spy Compleat* (1703), pp. 56–7).

3 *turned inward . . . to the Zenith*: physical astigmatism is an element in the symbolic iconography of mathematics: Kathleen Williams compares the Laputans to the image of 'Mathematica' in C. Giarda's *Icones Symbolicae* (Milan, 1626), in which the embodiment of mathematics carries 'geometrical instruments, and . . . the lid is closed over one eye, while the other looks directly upwards' ('Swift's Laputans and "Mathematica"', *N&Q*, 10 (1963), 216–17). Note also the

with the Figures of Suns, Moons, and Stars, interwoven with those of Fiddles, Flutes, Harps, Trumpets, Guittars, Harpsicords, and many more Instruments of Musick, unknown to us in *Europe*.⁴ I observed here and there many in the Habit of Servants, with a blown Bladder fastned like a Flail to the End of a short Stick, which they carried in their Hands.⁵ In each Bladder was a small Quantity of dried Pease, or little Pebbles, (as I was afterwards informed.) With these Bladders they now and then flapped the Mouths and Ears of those who stood near them, of which Practice I could not then conceive the Meaning. It seems, the Minds of these People are so taken up with intense Speculations, that they neither can speak, nor attend to the Discourses of others, without being rouzed by some external Taction⁶ upon the Organs of Speech and Hearing; for which Reason, those Persons who are able to afford it, always keep a *Flapper*,⁷ (the Original is *Climenole*) in their Family, as one of their Domesticks; nor ever walk abroad or make Visits without him. And the Business of this Officer

satirical tradition in which physical malformation of the eyes indicates an intellectual or moral blindness. Cf. *Hudibras*: 'While thus the Lady talk'd, the Knight / Turn'd th'Outside of his eyes to white, / (*As men of Inward light are wont / To turn their Opticks in upon't*)' (III.i.479–82). In *The History of John Bull*, the Dissenter Jack 'was a prodigious Ogler; he would ogle you the outside of his Eye inward, and the White upward' (*John Bull*, p. 51). Cf. Swift's description of Jack in Section 11 of *A Tale of a Tub*: 'When he had some Roguish Trick to play, he would down with his Knees, up with his Eyes, and fall to Prayers, tho' in the midst of the Kennel' (*CWJS*, vol. I, p. 126; Davis, vol. I, p. 124). In Section 1 of *The Mechanical Operation of the Spirit* the enthusiasts 'violently strain their Eye balls inward, half closing the Lids' (*CWJS*, vol. I, p. 175; Davis, vol. I, p. 177); cf. also the description of the goddess Criticism in *The Battel of the Books* (*CWJS*, vol. I, p. 154; Davis, vol. I, p. 154). This affinity in Swift's imagination between religious dissent and abstraction will resurface below, p. 259. Cf. Swift's teasing of Mrs Howard in a letter of 27 November 1726 (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, p. 54).

- 4 *unknown to us in Europe*: the outlandish appearance of the Laputans was a detail seized upon by Swift's imitators. In 'Mr Murtagh McDermot', *A Trip to the Moon* (Dublin, 1728), the traveller meets a man whose 'Nose was plac'd in his Forehead, and his Mouth was below his Chin; his Eyes and Ears, Legs and Arms, had chang'd their Places, and his Gate was between Walking and Flying. He wore a Mantle artfully wrought with many Figures' (p. 65).
- 5 *in their Hands*: an instrument which recalls the symbol of the jester or fool, a pig's bladder on the end of a stick.
- 6 *external Taction*: the act of touching, or contact (*OED*, citing this passage and also the *Philosophical Transactions*); another instance of Swift's mocking adoption of terms of art from the new science of his day.
- 7 *always keep a Flapper*: the Flappers of Laputa recall the *nomenclators* of ancient Rome, slaves retained by great men who whispered to their masters the names of those they met. They are referred to frequently by Suetonius ('Augustus', XIX; 'Caligula', XLI; 'Claudius', XXXIV); an author present in Swift's library, whom he annotated, and with whose writings he was clearly familiar (*Library and Reading*, p. 1761–7; note especially the transcript of Rylands MS 659, which preserves Swift's annotations).

is, when two or more Persons are in Company,⁸ gently to strike with his Bladder the Mouth of him who is to speak, and the Right Ear of him or them to whom the Speaker addresseth himself. This *Flapper* is likewise employed diligently to attend his Master in his Walks, and upon Occasion to give him a soft Flap on his Eyes; because he is always so wrapped up in Cogitation, that he is in manifest Danger of falling down every Precipice, and bouncing his Head against every Post;⁹ and in the Streets, of jostling others, or being jostled himself into the Kennel.¹⁰

It was necessary to give the Reader this Information, without which he would be at the same Loss with me, to understand the Proceedings of these People, as they conducted me up the Stairs, to the Top of the Island, and from thence to the Royal Palace. While we were ascending, they forgot several Times what they were about, and left me to my self, till their Memories were again roused by their *Flappers*; for they appeared altogether unmoved by the Sight of my foreign Habit and Countenance, and by the Shouts of the Vulgar,¹¹ whose Thoughts and Minds were more disengaged.

At last we entered the Palace, and proceeded into the Chamber of Presence;¹² where I saw the King seated on his Throne, attended on each Side by Persons of prime Quality. Before the Throne, was a large Table filled with Globes and Spheres, and Mathematical Instruments

8 *when two or more Persons are in Company*: possibly a blasphemous re-application of Matthew 18:19–20: 'For where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them.' For a similarly dangerous re-application of Biblical language, see Part IV, Chapter 11 (below, p. 434).

9 *against every Post*: cf. Jack in Section 11 of *A Tale of a Tub*, who 'would shut his Eyes as he walked along the Streets, and if he happened to bounce his Head against a Post, or fall into the Kennel (as he seldom missed either to do one or both) . . .' (*CWJS*, vol. I, p. 125; Davis, vol. I, p. 123). This satire against predestination offended William Wotton as a 'direct Prophanation of the Majesty of God' (*A Defense of the Reflections Upon Ancient and Modern Learning* (1705), p. 61), and was mocked also by the anonymous author of *Essays Divine, Moral, and Political* (1714), p. 10; cf. Ehrenpreis, vol. I, pp. 210–11. The absurd abstraction of philosophers goes back to the very beginning of the Western philosophical tradition, embodied as it was in the person of Thales, who falls over as a result of staring at the heavens; cf. Michel de Montaigne, 'Apologie de Raimond Sebond' (*Essays*, p. 604).

10 *Kennel*: the surface drain of a street; the gutter (*OED* n. 2). Cf. 'Of Poetry: A Rapsody': 'Like stepping Stones to save a Stride, / In Streets where Kennels are too wide' (Williams, *Poems*, p. 645, lines 169–70).

11 *the Vulgar*: the common people (*OED*, 3).

12 *Chamber of Presence*: a place prepared for ceremonial presence or attendance (*OED*, 'presence', 2 d).

of all Kinds.¹³ His Majesty took not the least Notice of us, although our Entrance were not without sufficient Noise, by the Concourse of all Persons belonging to the Court. But, he was then deep in a Problem, and we attended at least an Hour, before he could solve it. There stood by him on each Side, a young Page, with Flaps in their Hands; and when they saw he was at Leisure, one of them gently struck his Mouth, and the other his Right Ear; at which he started like one awaked on the sudden, and looking towards me, and the Company I was in, recollected the Occasion of our coming, whereof he had been informed before. He spoke some Words; whereupon immediately a young Man with a Flap came up to my Side, and flapt me gently on the Right Ear; but I made Signs as well as I could, that I had no Occasion for such an Instrument; which as I afterwards found, gave his Majesty and the whole Court a very mean Opinion of my Understanding. The King, as far as I could conjecture, asked me several Questions, and I addressed my self to him in all the Languages I had. When it was found, that I could neither understand nor be understood, I was conducted by his Order to an Apartment in his Palace, (this Prince being distinguished above all his Predecessors for his Hospitality to Strangers,)¹⁴ where two Servants were appointed to attend me. My Dinner was brought, and four Persons of Quality, whom I remembered to have seen very near the King's Person, did me the Honour to dine with me. We had two Courses, of three Dishes each. In the first Course, there was a Shoulder of Mutton, cut into an *Æquilateral Triangle*; a Piece of Beef into a *Rhomboides*; and a Pudding into a *Cycloid*.¹⁵ The second Course was two Ducks, trussed up into the Form of Fiddles; Sausages and Puddings resembling Flutes and Haut-boys, and a Breast of Veal in the Shape of a Harp. The Servants

13 *Mathematical Instruments of all Kinds*: mathematicians were major recipients of Hanoverian patronage. Enthusiasm for mathematics on the part of a monarch might at this time be associated with indifference towards religion: see *Conversations with a Lady, on the Plurality of Worlds*, fourth edition (1719), pp. 15–16.

14 *Hospitality to Strangers*: an ancient virtue: see 'An Inquiry Concerning Virtue and Merit', in Shaftesbury, *Characteristicks*, vol. II, p. 166. It was said to have been a characteristic of Robert Boyle, one of the targets of Swift's anti-scientific satire in *GT*: see *The Theological Works of the Honourable Robert Boyle* (1715), p. 73.

15 *Æquilateral* . . . *Cycloid*: '*Æquilateral Triangle*': a triangle with sides of equal length; '*Rhomboides*': a quadrilateral figure having only its opposite sides and angles equal (*OED*, B 1); '*Cycloid*': the curve traced in space by a point in the circumference (or on a radius) of a circle as the circle rolls along a straight line (*OED*, 1 a, citing this passage).

cut our Bread into Cones, Cylinders, Parallelograms, and several other Mathematical Figures.¹⁶

While we were at Dinner, I made bold to ask the Names of several Things in their Language; and those noble Persons, by the Assistance of their *Flappers*, delighted to give me Answers, hoping to raise my Admiration of their great Abilities, if I could be brought to converse with them. I was soon able to call for Bread, and Drink, or whatever else I wanted.

After Dinner my Company withdrew, and a Person was sent to me by the King's Order, attended by a *Flapper*. He brought with him Pen, Ink, and Paper, and three or four Books; giving me to understand by Signs, that he was sent to teach me the Language. We sat together four Hours, in which Time I wrote down a great Number of Words in Columns, with the Translations over against them. I likewise made a Shift to learn several short Sentences. For my Tutor would order one of my Servants to fetch something, to turn about, to make a Bow, to sit, or stand, or walk, and the like. Then I took down the Sentence in Writing. He shewed me also in one of his Books, the Figures of the Sun, Moon, and Stars, the Zodiack, the Tropics, and Polar Circles, together with the Denominations of many Figures of Planes and Solids. He gave me the Names and Descriptions of all the Musical Instruments, and the general Terms of Art¹⁷ in playing on each of them. After he had left me, I placed all my Words with their Interpretations in alphabetical Order. And thus in a few Days, by the Help of a very faithful Memory, I got some Insight into their Language.

16 *Mathematical Figures*: cf. Butler's description of Sir Hudibras's inappropriate application of mathematics to food and drink: 'In *Mathematicks* he was greater / Than *Tycho Brahe* or *Erra Pater*. / For he by *Geometrick* scale / Could take the size of *Pots of Ale*; / Resolve by Sines and Tangents straight, / If *Bread* or *Butter* wanted weight; / And wisely tell what hour o'th'day / The Clock does strike, by *Algebra*' (*Hudibras*, I.i.119–26). For an example of the claims made on behalf of mathematics which Swift is deriding, see *Il Saggiatore* (Rome, 1623), in which Galileo had rebuked one of his critics by insisting on mathematics as a universal philosophical language: 'Philosophy is written in the grand book, the universe, which stands continually open to our gaze. But the book cannot be understood unless one first learns to comprehend the language and read the letters in which it is composed. It is written in the language of mathematics, and its characters are triangles, circles, and other geometric figures without which it is humanly impossible to understand a single word of it; without these, one wanders about in a dark labyrinth' (Galileo, *Saggiatore*, pp. 119–20). Note Swift's description of the Laputan language as 'a clear, polite, smooth Dialect, not unlike in Sound to the *Italian*' (above, p. 224).

17 *Terms of Art*: words or phrases used in a definite or precise sense in some particular subject, as a science or art; technical expressions (*OED*, 'term', 13 a).

The Word, which I interpret the *Flying* or *Floating Island*,¹⁸ is in the Original *Laputa*; whereof I could never learn the true Etymology.¹⁹ *Lap* in the old obsolete Language signifieth *High*, and *Untub* a *Governor*; from which they say by Corruption was derived *Laputa* from *Lapuntub*. But I do not approve of this Derivation, which seems to be a little strained. I ventured to offer to the Learned among them a Conjecture of my own, that *Laputa* was *quasi Lap outed*; *Lap* signifying properly the dancing of the Sun Beams in the Sea;²⁰ and *outed* a Wing, which however I shall not obtrude, but submit to the judicious Reader.²¹

Those to whom the King had entrusted me, observing how ill I was clad, ordered a Taylor to come next Morning, and take my Measure for a Suit of

18 *Flying or Floating Island*: in his 'Of Popular Discontents' and his 'Memoirs, from 1672, to 1676' Temple referred to England during the reign of Charles II as a 'floating Island', thereby drawing attention to its inconstancy of purpose and policy, 'driven one Way or t'other according to the Winds or Tides' (Temple, vol. I, pp. 263 and 470).

19 *the true Etymology*: arguments from etymology had been decisively deployed by Richard Bentley in his *Dissertation Upon the Epistles of Phalaris* (1697), pp. 117, 225, 292 and 308. However, appeals to etymology might be regarded as suspect or ridiculous: see, for instance, Tom Brown's mockery of John Dunton's recourse to etymology (*The Third Volume of the Works of Mr. Thomas Brown* (1708), p. 137); William King's contempt for etymologies as nothing more than material for 'Quiblers, Punsters, and Conundrum-Makers' (*Miscellanies in Prose and Verse* (1709), p. 301); Charles Leslie's impatience with the use made of etymology by Dissenters and deists (*A Short and Easie Method with the Deists* (1723), pp. 48, 91, 102 and 104); and William Coward's insistence that it was an error to urge 'an Etymology for an Argument, but where it was back'd with other more Material Reasons to justify its Signification' (*The Grand Essay: or, a Vindication of Reason and Religion Against Impostures of Philosophy* (1704), p. 234). The frequency with which etymology is appealed to in Jeffery Keating's *The General History of Ireland* (1723) suggests that it may have been a form of argument of which the Irish were at this time particularly fond (see, e.g., pp. vii, 151, 152 and 230). Swift himself occasionally indulged in bogus etymologies, such as when he claimed in Section 1 of *A Tale of a Tub* that the etymology of 'bench' is '*The Place of Sleep*' (CWJS, vol. 1, p. 37; Davis, vol. I, p. 34). But equally he resisted calls for a purely phonetic spelling on the grounds that to do so would incur 'the obvious Inconvenience of utterly destroying our Etymology' (Davis, vol. IV, p. 11). Note that Gulliver gives the etymology of 'Houyhnhnm' as '*the Perfection of Nature*' (below, p. 350).

20 *Sun Beams in the Sea*: a conjunction which, in literature of Swift's day, was used (following the myth of Icarus) to suggest dangerous temptation: see John Wilkinson, *Poems on Several Occasions* (1725), p. 15: 'So ICARUS, because he try'd / To trace the trackless Way, / Was, all at once, like You, destroy'd / By Sun-beams and by Sea.' Cf. Marius d'Assigny, *The Christian's Defence Against the Fears of Death*, fifth edition (1707), p. 503; Anthony Horneck, *The Great Law of Consideration*, eighth edition (1704), p. 104.

21 *the judicious Reader*: again, a phrase used by Bentley (Bentley, *Phalaris*, p. 68), and one which occurs nowhere else in *GT*. It is, however, much used by Swift in his earlier writings, particularly in Sections 5 and 7 of *A Tale of a Tub* and Section 1 of *The Mechanical Operation of the Spirit*: see CWJS, vol. I, pp. 84 (twice), 98 and 172; Davis, vol. I, pp. 80, 81, 94 and 173.

Cloths. This Operator did his Office after a different Manner from those of his Trade in *Europe*. He first took my Altitude by a Quadrant,²² and then with Rule and Compasses, described the Dimensions and Out-Lines of my whole Body; all which he entred upon Paper, and in six Days brought my Cloths very ill made, and quite out of Shape, by happening to mistake a Figure in the Calculation.²³ But my Comfort was, that I observed such Accidents very frequent, and little regarded.

During my Confinement for want of Cloaths, and by an Indisposition that held me some Days longer, I much enlarged my Dictionary; and when I went next to Court, was able to understand many Things the King spoke, and to return him some Kind of Answers. His Majesty had given Orders, that the Island should move North-East and by East, to the vertical Point over *Lagado*, the Metropolis of the whole Kingdom, below upon the firm Earth. It was about Ninety Leagues distant, and our Voyage lasted four Days and an Half. I was not in the least sensible of the progressive Motion made in the Air by the Island. On the second Morning, about Eleven o'Clock, the King himself in Person, attended by his Nobility, Courtiers, and Officers, having prepared all their Musical Instruments, played on them for three Hours without Intermission;²⁴ so that I was quite stunned with the Noise; neither could I possibly guess the Meaning, till my Tutor informed me. He said, that the People of their Island had their Ears adapted to hear the Musick of the Spheres,²⁵ which always played

22 *Altitude by a Quadrant*: cf. Part I, Chapter 3, in which the Lilliputians measure the height of Gulliver's body 'by the Help of a Quadrant' (above, p. 65); although of course the Lilliputians adopt this expedient with more justification.

23 *mistake a Figure in the Calculation*: in a letter to Swift of probably 17 November 1726 Mrs Howard refers to Laputan tailoring (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, p. 50); cf. Swift's letter to Sheridan of mid June 1735 (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. IV, p. 125). In the manuscript of *A Proposal for Correcting, Improving and Ascertaining the English Tongue* (1712), Swift illustrated the absurdity of phonetic spelling with a simile deleted from the published text: 'It would be just as wise to shape our Bodies to our Cloathes and not our Cloaths to our bodies' (Davis, vol. IV, p. 11). Cf. John Hoole's uncle, the '*metaphysical taylor*', whose coats were of poor cut because 'he was too mathematical, and used to draw squares and triangles on his shop-board' (Boswell, *Life*, vol. IV, p. 187).

24 *without Intermission*: a satiric glance at the enthusiasm for, and patronage of, music at the court of George I, who had bestowed a series of pensions on Handel, and helped to establish the Royal Academy of Music in May 1719 with a grant of £1,000.

25 *Musick of the Spheres*: a concept derived from the philosophy of Pythagoras, whose followers saw a correspondence between the intervals of music and the distances of the various heavenly bodies from the earth: see Plato, *Republic*, X.14, 617B; Quintilian, I.x.12; Cicero, *Somnium Scipionis*, XI.19; Plutarch, *De Re Musica*, XLIV. The notion proved popular with

at certain Periods; and the Court was now prepared to bear their Part in whatever Instrument they most excelled.

In our Journey towards *Lagado* the Capital City, his Majesty ordered that the Island should stop over certain Towns and Villages, from whence he might receive the Petitions of his Subjects. And to this Purpose, several Packthreads²⁶ were let down with small Weights at the Bottom. On these Packthreads the People strung their Petitions, which mounted up directly like the Scraps of Paper fastned by School-boys²⁷ at the End of the String that holds their Kite. Sometimes we received Wine and Victuals from below, which were drawn up by Pullies.

The Knowledge I had in Mathematicks gave me great Assistance in acquiring their Phraseology, which depended much upon that Science and Musick; and in the latter I was not unskilled. Their Ideas are perpetually conversant in Lines and Figures. If they would, for Example, praise the Beauty of a Woman, or any other Animal, they describe it by Rhombs, Circles, Parallelograms, Ellipses, and other Geometrical Terms;²⁸ or else by Words of Art drawn from Musick, needless here to repeat. I observed in the King's Kitchen all Sorts of Mathematical and Musical Instruments, after the Figures of which they cut up the Joynts that were served to his Majesty's Table.

the neoplatonists of the Renaissance, whose idea of the music of the spheres is well expressed by Montaigne: 'those solid material circles rub and lightly play against each other and so cannot fail to produce a wondrous harmony (by the modulations and mutations of which are conducted the revolutions and variations of the dance of the stars) yet none of the creatures in the whole Universe can hear it, loud though it is, since . . . our sense of hearing has been dulled by the continuity of the sound' ('On Habit', *Essays*, p. 123). References to the music of the spheres in poems such as Arthur Danvers's elegy for the Duke of Marlborough, *The Funeral* (Dublin, 1725), p. 8, and in John Dryden's 'Alexander's Feast', lines 37–41, would have made it in Swift's eyes only more eligible for mockery (for Swift's views on his kinsman Dryden, see Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. IV, p. 88).

26 *Packthreads*: possibly a recollection of Lucian's *Icaromenippus*, in which Zeus receives supplications from the world below through holes in the floor of his palace (Lucian, vol. III, p. 140). However, Curll thought it a satire on Bishop Wilkins's work on cryptography, *Mercury, or, the Secret and Swift Messenger* (Key, Part III, p. 10). Note the frequency with which Swift uses the word 'packthread' in *GT*: above, pp. 40, 57, 74.

27 *Scraps of Paper fastned by School-boys*: compare the innovative teaching of mathematics in Part III, Chapter 5 (below, pp. 273–74).

28 *Geometrical Terms*: a satirical thrust at contemporary reductions of questions of aesthetics to geometrical proportion; see, e.g., Charles Gildon, *The New Metamorphosis*, 2 vols. (1724), vol. II, p. 83.

Their Houses are very ill built, the Walls bevil,²⁹ without one right Angle in any Apartment; and this Defect ariseth from the Contempt they bear for practical Geometry; which they despise as vulgar and mechanick,³⁰ those Instructions they give being too refined for the Intellectuals³¹ of their Workmen; which occasions perpetual Mistakes.³² And although they are dextrous enough upon a Piece of Paper in the Management of the Rule, the Pencil, and the Divider,³³ yet in the common Actions and Behaviour of Life, I have not seen a more clumsy, awkward, and unhandy People, nor so slow and perplexed in their Conceptions upon all other Subjects, except those of Mathematicks and Musick.³⁴ They are very bad Reasoners, and vehemently given to Opposition, unless when they happen to be of

29 *bevil*: sloping, slant, inclined from a right angle, or from a horizontal or vertical position (*OED*, 2).

30 *mechanick*: belonging to or characteristic of the lower part of the social scale or the lower classes; vulgar, coarse (*OED*, 3).

31 *Intellectuals*: mental capacities.

32 *perpetual Mistakes*: Swift's own experience of the 'perpetual mistakes' of workmen was sharpest when he decided to enclose 'Naboth's Vineyard', a piece of ground to the south of the Deanery of St Patrick's, with a wall 'which will ruin both my Health and Fortune', as he announced on 16 June 1724 to Charles Ford (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. II, p. 500). Within a few weeks, the builders were denounced as 'a number of the greatest rogues in Ireland', costs had escalated to £400, and Swift believed he had ruined himself by 'squandering all I had saved on a cursed wall' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. II, pp. 508, 531, 553 and 555).

33 *Divider*: a kind of compasses worked by means of a screw fastened to one leg and passing through the other; used for measuring or setting off very small intervals (*OED*, 6 a).

34 *Mathematicks and Musick*: for Swift's suspicion of the Hanoverian enthusiasm for music, see his remarks to Charles Ford on 13 February 1724 concerning the Royal Academy of Music (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. II, p. 489); cf. also above, p. 224, n. 28. Swift noticed a connection between an interest in mathematics and a tendency to abstraction (or 'égarement d'esprit' as he called it) in his friend Thomas Sheridan (letter dated 18 September 1725; Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. II, p. 599). But the Scriblerian suspicion of mathematics should not be exaggerated (cf. *The Dunciad*, IV.647); an early work of Pope and Swift's friend, and co-Scriblerian, John Arbuthnot was his *Essay on the Usefulness of Mathematical Learning* (Oxford, 1701). Patrick Delany reports that Swift's pride might overcome even his aversion to mathematics: 'he could so ill bear to be considered as a cypher in any *scientific* society, that he applied himself even to mathematics, in that period [1714–20]; and made some progress in them. And I have seen him more than once, undertake to solve an algebraic problem, by arithmetic' (*Observations*, p. 101). For contemporary attempts to connect music and mathematics, see e.g. Thomas Salmon, 'The Theory of Musick Reduced to Arithmetical and Geometrical Proportions' (*Philosophical Transactions*, vol. XXIV, pp. 2072–7, defective pagination), or *A Proposal to Perform Musick, in Perfect and Mathematical Proportions* (1688), to which John Wallis contributed annotation and commentary. In his 'An Essay on Charity and Charity Schools', Bernard Mandeville identified a willingness to see mathematics as 'the only valuable Study, [to be] made use of in every thing even when it is ridiculous' as an aspect of the post-South Sea Bubble tendency for 'turning the Penny and short Bargains' (*Fable of the Bees*, vol. I, pp. 321, 320).

the right Opinion, which is seldom their Case. Imagination, Fancy, and Invention, they are wholly Strangers to, nor have any Words in their Language by which those Ideas can be expressed; the whole Compass of their Thoughts and Mind, being shut up within the two forementioned Sciences.

Most of them, and especially those who deal in the Astronomical Part, have great Faith in judicial Astrology,³⁵ although they are ashamed to own it publicly. But, what I chiefly admired, and thought altogether unaccountable, was the strong Disposition I observed in them towards News and Politicks;³⁶ perpetually enquiring into publick Affairs, giving their Judgments in Matters of State; and passionately disputing every Inch of a Party Opinion. I have indeed observed the same Disposition among most of the Mathematicians I have known in *Europe*;³⁷ although I could

35 *judicial Astrology*: defined in 1727 by Chambers as 'that which pretends to foretell moral events, *i.e.* such as have a dependence on the free will and agency of man; as if that were directed by the stars'. It had been often satirized since the Renaissance. More's Utopians are accomplished astronomers, but (like More himself) they despise 'that whole deceitful business of divination by the stars' (*Utopia*, p. 65; cf. Rabelais, Book II, Chapter 8, p. 223). In a prolepsis of Swift's own will, Traiano Boccalini has Seneca divide his immense fortune into endowments for four hospitals for 'miserable Fools, with which the World so extravagantly abounds', one of which is devoted to 'such Coxcombs, as . . . vainly hope to attain the skill of foretelling things to come by the study of Judicial Astrology' (Boccalini, *Advices*, p. 311). A belief in judicial astrology was sometimes attributed to Oriental credulity: cf. Pierre Bayle, *Miscellaneous Reflections Occasion'd by the Comet* (1708), p. 37 and Temple, 'Some Thoughts Upon Reviewing the Essay of Antient and Modern Learning' (Temple, vol. I, p. 297). In Arbuthnot's *The History of John Bull*, Don Diego Dismallo (*i.e.* the Earl of Nottingham) is a conjurer and astrologer (*John Bull*, p. 20). Swift's exuberant mockery of the astrologer John Partridge was a high-point of his early career (Davis, vol. II, pp. 139–70). Note also the spoof etymology of 'Astrologer' in *A Discourse to Prove the Antiquity of the English Tongue* (Davis, vol. IV, p. 238).

36 *News and Politicks*: for Swift's contempt for the English claim to possess 'a pragmatistical disposition to politicks', see his 'Of Publick Absurdities in England' (Davis, vol. V, p. 79). On 10 September 1710 Swift had written to Stella that his servant Patrick had noticed that 'the rabble here [*i.e.* in London] are much more inquisitive in politicks, than in Ireland' (Williams, *JSt*, p. 14).

37 *Mathematicians I have known in Europe*: perhaps a glance at Isaac Newton, who was a court Whig in politics, and at Gottfried Leibniz, who had supported England's involvement in the War of the Spanish Succession. Note, however, that Gulliver associates mathematical ability with party fervour in general, not merely with Whiggism. Cf. John Boyle, Earl of Orrery on the origins of Swift's prejudice against mathematics: 'Swift was little acquainted with mathematical knowledge, and was prejudiced against it, by observing the strange effects it produced in those, who applied themselves entirely to that science' (*Remarks*, p. 95). It may have been the example of Gilbert Burnet which cemented in Swift's mind the connection between enthusiasm for mathematics and weakness of practical judgement (Ehrenpreis, vol. II, pp. 89–90).

never discover the least Analogy between the two Sciences; unless those People suppose, that because the smallest Circle hath as many Degrees as the largest, therefore the Regulation and Management of the World require no more Abilities than the handling and turning of a Globe. But, I rather take this Quality to spring from a very common Infirmary of human Nature, inclining us to be more curious and conceited in Matters where we have least Concern, and for which we are least adapted either by Study or Nature.

These People are under continual Disquietudes, never enjoying a Minute's Peace of Mind; and their Disturbances proceed from Causes which very little affect the rest of Mortals. Their Apprehensions arise from several Changes they dread in the Celestial Bodies. For Instance; that the Earth by the continual Approaches of the Sun towards it, must in Course of Time be absorbed or swallowed up.³⁸ That the Face of the Sun will by Degrees be encrusted with its own Effluvia, and give no more Light to the World.³⁹ That, the Earth very narrowly escaped a Brush from the Tail of the last Comet,⁴⁰ which would have infallibly reduced it to Ashes; and that the next, which they have calculated for One and Thirty Years hence, will probably destroy us.⁴¹ For, if in its Perihelion⁴² it should approach within a certain Degree of the Sun, (as by their Calculations they have Reason to dread) it will conceive a Degree of Heat ten Thousand Times more intense than that of red hot glowing Iron; and in its Absence from the Sun, carry

38 *swallowed up*: a possibility noted in Newton's *Principia Mathematica* (1687), I.vii–viii.

39 *Light to the World*: the *Philosophical Transactions* of the Royal Society included communications about sunspots. One theory was that they were the result of solar volcanoes, which might in time encrust the surface of the sun (Nicolson, p. 125). Martinus Scriblerus had made a 'Computation of the Duration of the Sun, and how long it will last before it be burn'd out' (Scriblerus, p. 167).

40 *Tail of the last Comet*: i.e. Halley's comet of 1680, which was predicted to return in 1758 (Nicolson, pp. 127–9).

41 *probably destroy us*: such apocalyptic possibilities had been suggested by William Whiston in his *A New Theory of the Earth* (1696) and *The Cause of the Deluge Demonstrated* (1714), in which the Flood was ascribed to the action of a comet which, on a later return, would cause a final 'Conflagration' (p. 12); see Nicolson, pp. 131–2.

42 *Perihelion*: the point in the orbit of a planet or comet when it is closest to the sun (*OED*). Swift's vocabulary in this paragraph recalls that of Robert Hooke and Isaac Newton: see, respectively, *Posthumous Works*, p. 194 and Nicolson, p. 132. In a letter to Ambrose Philips of 10 July 1708 Swift had amused himself with the technical vocabulary of astronomy: 'I am not so good an Astronomer to know whether Venus ever Cuts the Arctick Circle, or comes within the Vortex of Ursa major' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. I, p. 198).

a blazing Tail Ten Hundred Thousand and Fourteen Miles long; through which if the Earth should pass at the Distance of one Hundred Thousand Miles from the *Nucleus*, or main Body of the Comet, it must in its Passage be set on Fire, and reduced to Ashes. That the Sun daily spending its Rays without any Nutriment to supply them, will at last be wholly consumed and annihilated;⁴³ which must be attended with the Destruction of this Earth, and of all the Planets that receive their Light from it.

They are so perpetually alarmed with the Apprehensions of these and the like impending Dangers, that they can neither sleep quietly in their Beds, nor have any Relish for the common Pleasures or Amusements of Life. When they meet an Acquaintance in the Morning, the first Question is about the Sun's Health; how he looked at his Setting and Rising, and what Hopes they have to avoid the Stroak of the approaching Comet.⁴⁴ This Conversation they are apt to run into with the same Temper that Boys discover, in delighting to hear terrible Stories of Sprites and Hobgoblins, which they greedily listen to, and dare not go to Bed for fear.

The Women of the Island have Abundance of Vivacity; they condemn their Husbands, and are exceedingly fond of Strangers, whereof there is always a considerable Number from the Continent below, attending at Court, either upon Affairs of the several Towns and Corporations, or their own particular Occasions; but are much despised, because they want the same Endowments.⁴⁵ Among these the Ladies chuse their Gallants: But the Vexation is, that they act with too much Ease and Security; for the Husband is always so wrapped in Speculation,⁴⁶ that the Mistress and Lover may proceed to the greatest Familiarities before his Face, if he be

43 *consumed and annihilated*: a possibility suggested by Robert Hooke (*Posthumous Works*, p. 45; cf. Nicolson, pp. 126–7). Martinus Scriblerus had calculated 'Tide-Tables, for a Comet, that is to approximate towards the Earth' (*Scriblerus*, p. 167).

44 *the Stroak of the approaching Comet*: for the popular belief that comets exerted a baleful influence on earthly events, see *Paradise Lost*, II.708–11. John Evelyn saw the Thirty Years War as a consequence of the comet of 1618 (Evelyn, vol. II, pp. 6–7). In *The Praise of Folly*, Erasmus had employed the image of the 'baleful comet' as an image of oppressive monarchy: a connection of particular relevance to Part III of *GT* (*Praise of Folly*, p. 107). For scepticism on the subject, cf. Pierre Bayle, *Miscellaneous Reflections Occasion'd by the Comet* (1708).

45 *same Endowments*: lack the same intellectual capacities as the Laputans (although with the possibility of an indecent innuendo?).

46 *wrapped in Speculation*: compare Juvenal's phrase for a complacent cuckold, 'doctus spectare lacunar', 'trained to stare at the ceiling' (I.56).

but provided with Paper and Implements, and without his *Flapper* at his Side.

The Wives and Daughters lament their Confinement to the Island, although I think it the most delicious Spot of Ground in the World; and although they live here in the greatest Plenty and Magnificence, and are allowed to do whatever they please: They long to see the World, and take the Diversions of the Metropolis, which they are not allowed to do without a particular Licence from the King; and this is not easy to be obtained, because the People of Quality have found by frequent Experience, how hard it is to persuade their Women to return from below. I was told, that a great Court Lady, who had several Children, is married to the prime Minister,⁴⁷ the richest Subject in the Kingdom, a very graceful Person, extremely fond of her, and lives in the finest Palace of the Island; went down to *Lagado*, on the Pretence of Health, there hid her self for several Months, till the King sent a Warrant to search for her; and she was found in an obscure Eating-House all in Rags, having pawned her Cloths to maintain an old deformed Footman, who beat her every Day, and in whose Company she was taken much against her Will. And although her Husband received her with all possible Kindness, and without the least Reproach; she soon after contrived to steal down again with all her Jewels, to the same Gallant, and hath not been heard of since.⁴⁸

This may perhaps pass with the Reader rather for an *European* or *English* Story,⁴⁹ than for one of a Country so remote. But he may please to consider, that the Caprices of Womankind are not limited by any Climate or Nation; and that they are much more uniform than can be easily imagined.

In about a Month's Time I had made a tolerable Proficiency in their Language, and was able to answer most of the King's Questions, when I had the Honour to attend him. His Majesty discovered not the least Curiosity to enquire into the Laws, Government, History, Religion, or

47 *married to the prime Minister*: possibly a satiric thrust at the marital infidelity of Sir Robert Walpole, who was notoriously neither graceful in person nor fond of his wife.

48 *heard of since*: cf. this instance of the 'Caprices of Womankind' with the ravenous sexual appetite of the female Yahoo in Part IV, Chapter 8 (below, pp. 400–1).

49 *European or English Story*: this episode was indeed compared by Curll to a contemporary scandal 'the Case of the late *John Dormer* Esq; and *Tom Jones* his Footman' (*Key*, Part III, p. 12).

Manners of the Countries where I had been;⁵⁰ but confined his Questions to the State of Mathematicks, and received the Account I gave him, with great Contempt and Indifference, though often roused by his *Flapper* on each Side.

50 *where I had been*: in this lack of curiosity the King of Laputa contrasts with the King of Brobdingnag (above, p. 179) and Gulliver's Houyhnhnm Master in Part IV (below, p. 358).

CHAPTER III.

A Phænomenon solved by modern Philosophy and Astronomy. The Laputians great Improvements in the latter. The King's Method of suppressing Insurrections.

I desired Leave of this Prince to see the Curiosities of the Island; which he was graciously pleased to grant, and ordered my Tutor to attend me. I chiefly wanted to know to what Cause in Art or in Nature, it owed its several Motions; whereof I will now give a philosophical Account to the Reader.

The flying or floating Island is exactly circular; its Diameter 7837 Yards, or about four Miles and an Half, and consequently contains ten Thousand Acres.¹ It is three Hundred Yards thick. The Bottom, or under Surface, which appears to those who view it from below, is one even regular Plate of Adamant,² shooting up to the Height of about two Hundred Yards. Above it lye the several Minerals in their usual Order;³ and over all is a Coat of rich Mould ten or twelve Foot deep. The Declivity of the upper Surface, from the Circumference to the Center, is the natural Cause why all the Dews and Rains which fall upon the Island, are conveyed in small Rivulets towards the Middle, where they are emptied into four large Basons, each of about Half a Mile in Circuit, and two Hundred Yards distant from the Center. From these Basons the Water is continually exhalel by the Sun in the

1 *ten Thousand Acres*: in fact, 9,961.

2 *Adamant*: a rock or mineral, concerning which vague, contradictory, and fabulous notions had long prevailed. The properties ascribed to it show a confusion of ideas associated with diamonds (or other hard gems) and the loadstone or magnet. Colloquially, a poetical or rhetorical name for the embodiment of surpassing hardness, or a material which is impregnable to any application of force (*OED*). Cf., e.g., *Paradise Lost*, II.436.

3 *in their usual Order*: the belief that metals and minerals were found only in a certain order was a tenet of creationists such as John Ray (*The Wisdom of God Manifested in the Works of the Creation*, fifth edition (1709), p. 116), but it was vigorously disputed by scientists, such as the Scriblerian butt John Woodward (*An Essay Towards a Natural History of the Earth*, second edition (1702), pp. 172–3; *The Natural History of the Earth* (1726), p. 33). Swift uses Gulliver as a proxy to support the contentions of the creationists.

Day-time, which effectually prevents their overflowing. Besides, as it is in the Power of the Monarch to raise the Island above the Region of Clouds⁴ and Vapours, he can prevent the falling of Dews and Rains whenever he pleases. For the highest Clouds cannot rise above two Miles,⁵ as Naturalists agree, at least they were never known to do so in that Country.

At the Center of the Island there is a Chasm about fifty Yards in Diameter, from whence the Astronomers descend into a large Dome, which is therefore called *Flandona Gagnole*, or the *Astronomers Cave*,⁶ situated at the Depth of an Hundred Yards beneath the upper Surface of the Adamant. In this Cave are Twenty Lamps continually burning, which from the Reflection of the Adamant cast a strong Light into every Part. The Place is stored with great Variety of Sextants, Quadrants, Telescopes, Astrolabes, and other Astronomical Instruments. But the greatest Curiosity, upon which the Fate of the Island depends, is a Load-stone⁷ of a prodigious

4 *the Region of Clouds*: a phrase with overtones both diabolical (Isaiah 14:12–15) and divine (Psalms 36:5). In the early eighteenth century it had acquired connotations of presumption (William Diaper, *Nereides: Or, Sea Eclogues* (1712), pp. 57–8; *Poems and Translations by Several Hands* (1714), p. 37; Thomas Burnet, *The Sacred Theory of the Earth*, sixth edition, 2 vols. (1726), vol. I, pp. 376–7). For Swift and Diaper, see Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. I, pp. 481–2.

5 *above two Miles*: the determination of the altitude of clouds was one of the problems posed for urgent solution by Robert Hooke in his 'Method of Improving Natural Philosophy' (*Posthumous Works*, p. 30). Unscientific estimates in popular works could range as high as fifty miles (Anon., *The Second Volume of the Phenix* (1708), p. 461). Joseph Witty, basing his calculations on the speed of sound and timings taken during thunder storms, specified altitudes ranging from just over two to just over seven miles (*An Essay Towards a Vindication of the . . . Mosaic History* (1705), 'Preface'). The anonymous *An Essay Towards a New Method to Shew the Longitude at Sea* (1714) – a subject in which we know Swift took an interest (below, p. 314, n. 14) – estimated two miles as the normal height of clouds (p. 16). However, Robert Boyle 'very rarely found any even of the white ones, in fair weather, to be more than three quarters of a mile, and seldom above half a mile, from the surface of the earth' (*Philosophical Works*, vol. III, p. 25). J. T. Desaguliers realized that clouds will 'float about at that Height, where the Air is of the same specifick Gravity as the Clouds' (*A Course of Experimental Philosophy*, 2 vols. (1734), vol. I, p. 22); and he later estimated their range of altitude at one sixth of a mile to one and a half or two miles (*A Course of Experimental Philosophy*, 'The Third Edition Corrected', 2 vols. (1763), vol. II, pp. 314–15).

6 *Astronomers Cave*: the Royal Observatory at Paris included a cave.

7 *Load-stone*: a piece of magnetic oxide of iron used as a magnet (*OED*, 1). Temple disparaged the loadstone, for although it was one of the 'greatest Modern Inventions,' it had nevertheless 'not served for any common or necessary Use to Mankind . . . having been employed . . . only to feed their Avarice, or increase their Luxury' (Temple, vol. I, p. 303). The *Key* decodes the loadstone as 'a just Emblem of the *British* Linen and Woollen Manufactures, on which depends the Welfare of those *United Dominions*' (*Key*, Pt III, p. 15). The Laputan use of the loadstone appears to endorse the magnetic philosophy of the Copernican William Gilbert, who in *De Magnete* (1600) had argued that the earth was a great loadstone, and that it was

Size, in Shape resembling a Weaver's Shuttle.⁸ It is in Length six Yards, and in the thickest Part at least three Yards over. This Magnet is sustained by a very strong Axle of Adamant, passing through its Middle, upon which it plays, and is poized so exactly that the weakest Hand can turn it. It is hooped round with an hollow Cylinder of Adamant, four Foot deep, as many thick, and twelve Yards in Diameter, placed horizontally, and supported by Eight Adamantine Feet, each Six Yards high. In the Middle of the Concave Side there is a Groove Twelve Inches deep, in which the Extremities of the Axle are lodged, and turned round as there is Occasion.

This Stone cannot be moved from its Place by any Force, because the Hoop and its Feet are one continued Piece with that Body of Adamant which constitutes the Bottom of the Island.

By Means of this Load-stone, the Island is made to rise and fall, and move from one Place to another. For, with respect to that Part of the Earth over which the Monarch presides, the Stone is endued at one of its Sides with an attractive Power, and at the other with a repulsive. Upon placing the Magnet erect with its attracting End towards the Earth, the Island descends; but when the repelling Extremity points downwards, the Island mounts directly upwards. When the Position of the Stone is oblique, the Motion of the Island is so too. For in this Magnet the Forces always act in Lines parallel to its Direction.

By this oblique Motion the Island is conveyed to different Parts of the Monarch's Dominions. To explain the Manner of its Progress,⁹ let AB represent a Line drawn cross the Dominions of *Balnibarbi*; let the Line $c d$ represent the Load-stone, of which let d be the repelling End, and c the attracting End, the Island being over C ; let the Stone be placed in the Position $c d$ with its repelling End downwards; then the Island will be driven upwards obliquely towards D . When it is arrived at D , let the Stone be turned upon its Axle till its attracting End points towards E , and then the Island will be carried obliquely towards E ; where if the Stone

the earth's magnetism which prevented objects on the earth's surface from being spun off into space; cf. also Galileo, *Dialogue*, pp. 403–4.

⁸ *Weaver's Shuttle*: an instrument used in weaving for passing the thread of the weft to and fro from one edge of the cloth to the other between the threads of the warp (*OED*, 2 a). Cf. Job 7:6.

⁹ *the Manner of its Progress*: what follows is a pastiche of the technical mathematical language of Swift's day: cf., e.g., William Whiston, *The Longitude and Latitude Found by the Inclinary or Dipping Needle* (1721), p. 56; and *Miscellanea Curiosa*, 2 vols. (1723), vol. II, p. 181.

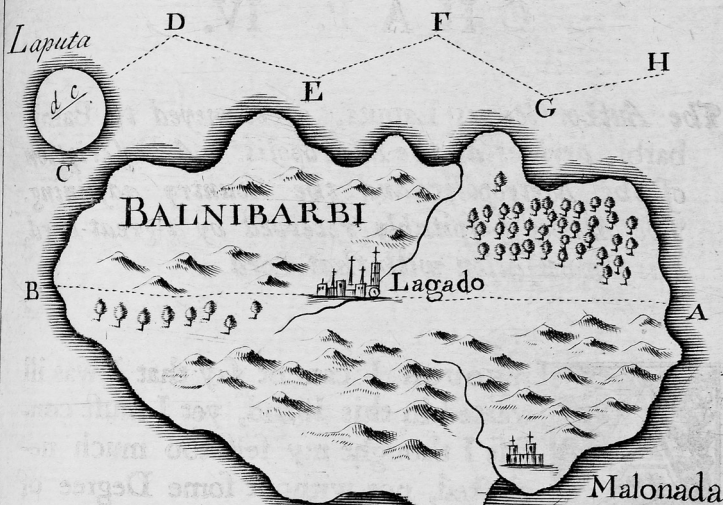


Figure 6. Operation of the Flying Island

be again turned upon its Axle till it stands in the Position *E F*, with its repelling Point downwards, the Island will rise obliquely towards *F*, where by directing the attracting End towards *G*, the Island may be carried to *G*, and from *G* to *H*, by turning the Stone, so as to make its repelling Extremity point directly downwards. And thus by changing the Situation of the Stone as often as there is Occasion, the Island is made to rise and fall by Turns in an oblique Direction; and by those alternate Risings and Fallings (the Obliquity being not considerable) is conveyed from one Part of the Dominions to the other.

But it must be observed, that this Island cannot move beyond the Extent of the Dominions below; nor can it rise above the Height of four Miles. For which the Astronomers (who have written large Systems concerning the Stone) assign the following Reason: That the Magnetick Virtue does not extend beyond the Distance of four Miles, and that the Mineral which acts upon the Stone in the Bowels of the Earth, and in the Sea about six Leagues distant from the Shoar, is not diffused through the whole Globe, but terminated with the Limits of the King's Dominions: And it was easy from the great Advantage of such a superior Situation, for a Prince to bring under his Obedience whatever Country lay within the Attraction of that Magnet.

When the Stone is put parallel to the Plane of the Horizon, the Island standeth still; for in that Case, the Extremities of it being at equal Distance from the Earth, act with equal Force, the one in drawing downwards, the other in pushing upwards; and consequently no Motion can ensue.

This Load-stone is under the Care of certain Astronomers, who from Time to Time give it such Positions as the Monarch directs. They spend the greatest Part of their Lives in observing the celestial Bodies, which they do by the Assistance of Glasses, far excelling ours in Goodness. For, although their largest Telescopes do not exceed three Feet, they magnify much more than those of a Hundred with us, and shew the Stars with greater Clearness.¹⁰ This Advantage hath enabled them to extend their

10 *greater Clearness*: see the collation below, p. 692. Sir Harold Williams discusses the significance of this variant (Williams, *Text*, pp. 53–5). The Laputan interest in small but powerful telescopes chimes with the scientific fashion of Swift's own day: see, e.g., John Dollond's 'An Account of Some Experiments Concerning the Different Refrangibility of Light', which concludes with the claim that he could 'construct refracting telescopes [which] far exceed anything that has been hitherto produced' (*Philosophical Transactions*, vol. L (1758), pp. 733–42).

Discoveries much farther than our Astronomers in *Europe*. They have made a Catalogue of ten Thousand fixed Stars, whereas the largest of ours do not contain above one third Part of that Number.¹¹ They have likewise discovered two lesser Stars,¹² or *Satellites*, which revolve about *Mars*; whereof the innermost is distant from the Center of the primary Planet exactly three of his Diameters, and the outermost five; the former revolves in the Space of ten Hours, and the latter in Twenty-one and an Half; so that the Squares of their periodical Times, are very near in the same Proportion with the Cubes of their Distance from the Center of *Mars*;¹³

11 *one third Part of that Number*: fixed stars are those celestial bodies which are not planets, comets or meteors (*OED*, I 1 a). Galileo's telescopic observations, published in *Sidereus Nuncius* (1610), had greatly increased the number of observed fixed stars. John Flamsteed had catalogued approximately 3,000 fixed stars in his *Historia Coelestis Britannica*, 3 vols. (1725); cf. George Gordon, *An Introduction to Geography, Astronomy, and Dialling* (1726), p. 67; J. A. Comnenius, *Orbis Sensualium Picus*, tr. Charles Hoole (1705), p. 127; Henry Curson, *The Theory of Sciences Illustrated* (1702), pp. 347–8. Swift's attention may have been drawn to the subject of fixed stars because of their possible connection with the determination of longitude, a subject in which we know he dabbled (below, p. 314, n. 14): see, e.g., Charles Hayes, *A New and Easy Method to find the Longitude at Land or Sea* (1710), p. 18; *The Guardian*, no. 107, 14 July 1713; John Ward, *A Practical Method to Discover the Longitude at Sea* (1714), p. 7; Isaac Hawkins, *An Essay for the Discovery of the Longitude at Sea* (1714), p. xi; William Whiston, *A New Method for Discovering the Longitude Both at Sea and Land* (1714), pp. 9, 13 and 14; Jonah Crathorne, *The Longitude Demonstrated* (1718), p. 15. For modern commentary, see William Donahue, *The Dissolution of the Celestial Spheres, 1595–1650* (New York: Arno Press, 1981); Edward Grant, *Planets, Stars and Orbs: The Medieval Cosmos, 1200–1687* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); and Francis Willmoth (ed.), *Flamsteed's Stars: New Perspectives on the Life and Work of the First Astronomer Royal, 1646–1719* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1997). 'Fixed stars' were also a panegyric trope; see John Dunton, *The Golden Age* (1714), sig. P2^v and Richard Russell, *The Junto. A Poem* (1712), p. 40.

12 *lesser Stars, or Satellites*: Mars was thought to be without satellites or moons, a fact deplored as unfair by Fontenelle (*A Discovery of New Worlds*, tr. A. Behn (1688), p. 125). John Harris FRS stated the matter less emotionally: 'it doth not appear that *Venus* or *Mars* have any *Satellites* at all' (*Astronomical Dialogues*, second edition (1725), p. 52): Swift appears again to be using the Laputans to rebuke and mock the Royal Society of his own day. William Derham (an author read in Swift's circle: Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. IV, p. 212) discussed the possibility of satellites of Mars in close conjunction with the subject of fixed stars: 'it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between those Fix'd Stars and the *Satellites* of the Planets. Thus I have sometimes been ready to fancy that I saw one or more *Satellites* near *Mars*, until by future Observations I perceived they were only some of the Telescopick fix'd Stars lying in the way of Mars' (*Astro-Theology*, fifth edition (1726), p. 24). The moons of Mars, Phobos and Deimos, were not discovered until 1877.

13 *Center of Mars*: Gulliver is here re-stating Kepler's Law, which derives from Newton's 'inverse square' law of gravitation; I am grateful to my colleague Marc Lackenby for guidance on this point. Swift may have read of Johannes Kepler's Law in Edmund Halley's *A Synopsis of the Astronomy of Comets* (1705), where Halley records Kepler's discovery in language close to

which evidently shews them to be governed by the same Law of Gravitation,¹⁴ that influences the other heavenly Bodies.

They have observed Ninety-three different Comets, and settled their Periods with great Exactness.¹⁵ If this be true, (and they affirm it with great Confidence) it is much to be wished that their Observations were made publick; whereby the Theory of Comets, which at present is very lame and defective,¹⁶ might be brought to the same Perfection with other Parts of Astronomy.

The King would be the most absolute Prince in the Universe, if he could but prevail on a Ministry to join with him; but these having their Estates¹⁷ below on the Continent, and considering that the Office of a Favourite¹⁸ hath a very uncertain Tenure, would never consent to the enslaving their Country.

If any Town should engage in Rebellion or Mutiny, fall into violent Factions, or refuse to pay the usual Tribute; the King hath two Methods of reducing them to Obedience. The first and the mildest Course is by keeping the Island hovering over such a Town, and the Lands about it; whereby he can deprive them of the Benefit of the Sun and the Rain,¹⁹

that used by Gulliver: 'He [Kepler] discover'd also, That *the Distances of the Planets from the Sun are in the Sequialtera Ratio of the Periodical Times*, or (which is all one) That *the Cubes of the Distances are as the Squares of the Times*' (p. 4).

14 *same Law of Gravitation*: a rare moment in which Gulliver (and, through him, Swift?) appears to be endorsing Newton's theory of the universal operation of gravity.

15 *great Exactness*: here again the Laputans excel the Europeans of Swift's day in their astronomy. In 1704 Edmund Halley had calculated the orbits of only twenty-four comets.

16 *very lame and defective*: a jab at Newton, whose explanation of the '*Phaenomena of Comets*' had been lavishly praised by Halley. Halley had, however, acknowledged that 'Astronomers have a large Field to exercise themselves in for many Ages' before their understanding of comets would be entirely satisfactory, and he had in particular called for 'an accurate Series of requisite Observations' from India or 'the Southern Parts of the World' (*A Synopsis of the Astronomy of Comets* (1705), pp. 5, 22 and 19). Laputa is in the northern hemisphere.

17 *their Estates*: in his 'Thoughts on Various Subjects' Swift had asserted that 'Law in a free Country, is, or ought to be the Determination of the Majority of those who have Property in Land' (Davis, vol. IV, p. 245). Requiring the aristocracy to reside at court rather than on their estates was a recognized tactic of monarchical absolutism, used to great effect by Louis XIV.

18 *the Office of a Favourite*: favourites are an object of Swift's contempt throughout *GT* (although Gulliver himself in a sense becomes one in Parts II and IV). The precariousness of their position recurs in Part IV, Chapter 7 (below, pp. 394–95).

19 *Benefit of the Sun and the Rain*: in Lucian's *True History* Phaeton cuts off the light of the sun from the moon-people as a reprisal after their battle (Lucian, vol. II, p. 144). This detail of *GT* is often read as a reference to the oppressive economic policy adopted in Swift's day towards Ireland by England: in *The Drapier's Letters*, Swift deplored the English policy which deprived the Irish of 'the Benefits which God and Nature intended to us' (Davis, vol. X,

and consequently afflict the Inhabitants with Dearth and Diseases. And if the Crime deserve it, they are at the same time pelted from above with great Stones, against which they have no Defence, but by creeping into Cellars or Caves, while the Roofs of their Houses are beaten to Pieces. But if they still continue obstinate, or offer to raise Insurrections; he proceeds to the last Remedy, by letting the Island drop directly upon their Heads, which makes a universal Destruction both of Houses and Men. However, this is an Extremity to which the Prince is seldom driven, neither indeed is he willing to put it in Execution; nor dare his Ministers advise him to an Action, which as it would render them odious to the People, so it would be a great Damage to their own Estates that lie all below;²⁰ for the Island is the King's Demesn.²¹

But there is still indeed a more weighty Reason, why the Kings of this Country have been always averse from executing so terrible an Action, unless upon the utmost Necessity. For if the Town intended to be destroyed should have in it any tall Rocks, as it generally falls out in the larger Cities; a Situation probably chosen at first with a View to prevent such a Catastrophe: Or if it abound in high Spires or Pillars of Stone, a sudden Fall might endanger the Bottom or under Surface of the Island, which although it consist as I have said, of one entire Adamant two hundred Yards thick, might happen to crack by too great a Choque,²² or burst by approaching too near the Fires from the Houses below; as the Backs both of Iron and Stone will often do in our Chimneys.²³ Of all this the People are well apprized, and understand how far to carry their Obstinacy, where their Liberty or Property²⁴ is concerned. And the King, when he is highest provoked, and most determined to press a City to Rubbish,²⁵ orders the Island to descend with great Gentleness, out of a Pretence of Tenderness

p. 141). Temple's account of the oppression of the Low Countries by the Spanish in the late sixteenth century may also have been in the background of Swift's mind: Temple, vol. I, pp. 7–30.

20 *that lie all below*: a characteristic Swiftian unmasking of base self-interest beneath the pretence of lofty principle.

21 *Demesn*: the personal possession of the king (*OED*, I 1).

22 *Choque*: shock, impact.

23 *in our Chimneys*: on moving into the Deanery at St Patrick's Swift had had to have a new chimney piece made (Ehrenpreis, vol. III, p. 32).

24 *Liberty or Property*: see Long note 23.

25 *press a City to Rubbish*: Swift would have read in ancient history of princely reprisals involving the destruction of cities, perhaps most obviously in relation to Nero (Suetonius, 'Nero', XXXVIII).

to his People,²⁶ but indeed for fear of breaking the Adamantine Bottom; in which Case it is the Opinion of all their Philosophers, that the Load-stone could no longer hold it up, and the whole Mass would fall to the Ground.²⁷

By a fundamental Law²⁸ of this Realm, neither the King nor either of his two elder Sons, are permitted to leave the Island; nor the Queen till she is past Child-bearing.²⁹

26 *a Pretence of Tenderness to his People*: another unmasking of self-interest beneath a display of compassion. Cf. 'Directions for a Birth-day Song', which shows how the deceptions of the great are a mirror-image of the strategy of the satirist: 'Thus your Encomiums, to be strong, / Must be apply'd directly wrong: / A Tyrant for his Mercy praise, / And crown a Royal Dunc with Bays' (Williams, *Poems*, p. 464, lines 117–20). Cf. also the feigned clemency of the Emperor of Lilliput in Part I, Chapter 7 (above, p. 103).

27 *fall to the Ground*: at this point Charles Ford's interleaved copy of *GT* contains a long passage describing the successful revolt of 'Lindalino', the second city of the kingdom; for a transcription, see below, pp. 742–43. This has usually been taken as an oblique account of Irish resistance to the English imposition of William Wood's halfpence, against which Swift himself had written *The Drapier's Letters* (Davis, vol. X). The synchronicity of the composition of Part III of *GT* and *The Drapier's Letters* is established by Swift's letter to Ford of 19 January 1724 (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. II, p. 487; for a discussion of its significance, see the 'Introduction', above, pp. li–lviii). Harold Williams thought that the account of the revolt of Lindalino should be 'restored in any reconstructed text of *Gulliver*' (Williams, *Text*, p. 55). Reasons for demurring, and for recognizing the Lindalino episode as material deleted by Swift himself from the final text of *GT*, rather than a passage suppressed by Benjamin Motte, are given in 'MS readings from particular copies', below, pp. 722–24.

28 *fundamental Law*: a leading or primary principle, rule, law, or article, which serves as the groundwork of a system; an essential part (*OED*, B 1 a).

29 *past Child-bearing*: this oblique thrust at royal immorality was said by Abel Boyer (with what justification is unclear) to be 'a late interpolation, not to be found in the original manuscript' (Ehrenpreis, vol. III, p. 503). In *A Modest Proposal* (1729) the proposer demonstrates his disinterestedness by revealing at the end of the pamphlet that his 'Wife [is] past Child-bearing' (Davis, vol. XII, p. 118). In the *Key*, Part III, it is likened to the 'English Act of Settlement', the legal measure of 1701 which had established the crown in the house of Hanover, and which states that 'no person who shall hereafter come to the possession of this crown, shall go out of the dominions of England, Scotland, or Ireland, without consent of parliament'. However, George I spent portions of the year in Hanover for purposes of adultery, and to facilitate those recreations had persuaded Parliament to repeal this part of the Act.

CHAPTER IV.

The Author leaves Laputa, is conveyed to Balnibarbi, arrives at the Metropolis. A Description of the Metropolis and the Country adjoining. The Author hospitably received by a great Lord. His Conversation with that Lord.

Although I cannot say that I was ill treated in this Island, yet I must confess I thought my self too much neglected, not without some Degree of Contempt. For neither Prince nor People appeared to be curious in any Part of Knowledge, except Mathematicks and Musick, wherein I was far their inferior, and upon that Account very little regarded.

On the other Side, after having seen all the Curiosities of the Island, I was very desirous to leave it, being heartily weary of those People.¹ They were indeed excellent in two Sciences for which I have great Esteem, and wherein I am not unversed; but at the same time so abstracted and involved in Speculation, that I never met with such disagreeable Companions.² I conversed only with Women, Tradesmen, *Flappers*, and Court-Pages, during two Months of my Abode there; by which at last I rendered my self extremely contemptible; yet these were the only People from whom I could ever receive a reasonable Answer.

I had obtained by hard Study a good Degree of Knowledge in their Language: I was weary of being confined to an Island where I received so little Countenance;³ and resolved to leave it with the first Opportunity.

There was a great Lord at Court, nearly related to the King, and for that Reason alone used with Respect. He was universally reckoned the

1 *heartily weary of those People*: just as Lucian, in the *True History*, grew weary of life inside his whale (or floating island) (Lucian, vol. II, p. 154).

2 *such disagreeable Companions*: Swift was renowned for his exactingness over what constituted agreeable company; cf. his letter to Charles Ford of 20 November 1733, in which he reveals that 'I dine constantly at home, with one or two friends, whom I can be easy with' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, p. 708). *Polite Conversation* (1738) displays Swift as the laureate of irksome sociability.

3 *so little Countenance*: patronage; appearance of favour (*OED*, 8; quoting Johnson).

most ignorant and stupid Person among them.⁴ He had performed many eminent Services for the Crown, had great natural and acquired Parts, adorned with Integrity and Honour; but so ill an Ear for Musick, that his Detractors reported he had been often known to beat Time in the wrong Place; neither could his Tutors without extreme Difficulty teach him to demonstrate the most easy Proposition in the Mathematicks. He was pleased to shew me many Marks of Favour, often did me the Honour of a Visit, desired to be informed in the Affairs of *Europe*, the Laws and Customs, the Manners and Learning of the several Countries where I had travelled. He listened to me with great Attention, and made very wise Observations on all I spoke. He had two *Flappers* attending him for State, but never made use of them except at Court, and in Visits of Ceremony; and would always command them to withdraw when we were alone together.

I intreated this illustrious Person to intercede in my Behalf with his Majesty for Leave to depart; which he accordingly did, as he was pleased to tell me, with Regret: For, indeed he had made me several Offers very advantageous, which however I refused with Expressions of the highest Acknowledgment.⁵

On the 16th Day of *February*, I took Leave of his Majesty and the Court. The King made me a Present to the Value of about two Hundred Pounds *English*; and my Protector his Kinsman as much more, together with a Letter of Recommendation to a Friend of his in *Lagado*, the Metropolis: The Island being then hovering over a Mountain about two Miles from it, I was let down from the lowest Gallery, in the same Manner as I had been taken up.

The Continent, as far as it is subject to the Monarch of the *Flying Island*, passeth under the general Name of *Balnibarbi*; and the Metropolis, as I said before, is called *Lagado*. I felt some little Satisfaction in finding myself on firm Ground. I walked to the City without any Concern, being clad like one of the Natives, and sufficiently instructed to converse with

4 *the most ignorant and stupid Person among them*: another attack on the perverseness of court values.

5 *Expressions of the highest Acknowledgment*: for Swift's own lofty pose of being above such matters, see his letter of 1 October 1711 to Archbishop King: 'It is my Maxim to leave great Ministers to do as they please; and, if I cannot distinguish myself enough, by being useful in such a Way, as becomes a Man of Conscience and Honour, I can do no more; for, I never will solicit for myself, although I often do for others' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. I, p. 385).

them. I soon found out the Person's House to whom I was recommended; presented my Letter from his Friend the Grandee in the Island, and was received with much Kindness. This great Lord, whose Name was *Munodi*,⁶ ordered me an Apartment in his own House, where I continued during my Stay, and was entertained in a most hospitable Manner.

The next Morning after my Arrival he took me in his Chariot to see the Town, which is about half the Bigness of *London*; but the Houses very strangely built, and most of them out of Repair. The People in the Streets walked fast, looked wild, their Eyes fixed, and were generally in Rags.⁷ We passed through one of the Town Gates, and went about three Miles into the Country, where I saw many Labourers working with several Sorts of Tools in the Ground, but was not able to conjecture what they were about; neither did I observe any Expectation either of Corn or Grass, although the Soil appeared to be excellent. I could not forbear admiring at these odd Appearances both in Town and Country; and I made bold to desire my Conductor, that he would be pleased to explain to me what could be meant by so many busy Heads, Hands and Faces, both in the Streets and the Fields, because I did not discover any good Effects they produced; but on the contrary, I never knew a Soil so unhappily cultivated, Houses so

6 *Munodi*: plausibly derived from the Latin phrase *mundum odi* ('I hate the world'). Lord Munodi has been identified with a range of individuals known to Swift, from his first patron Sir William Temple, to figures from his later life such as Oxford, Bolingbroke, Carteret and Middleton (Firth, p. 258). However, F. P. Lock regards Munodi not as the portrait of any individual, but rather as an embodiment of the 'benevolent, conservative, country gentleman of Swift's Tory mythology' (Lock, *Politics*, p. 120).

7 *generally in Rags*: Swift saw similar dilapidation and degradation in the Ireland of his own day. In *A Short View of the State of Ireland* (1727), he complained of 'The miserable Dress, and Dyet, and Dwelling of the People. The general Desolation in most Parts of the Kingdom. The old Seats of the Nobility and Gentry all in Ruins, and no new ones in their Stead. The Families of Farmers, who pay great Rents, living in Filth and Nastiness upon Butter-milk and Potatoes, without a Shoe or Stocking to their Feet; or a House so convenient as an English Hog-sty, to receive them' (Davis, vol. XII, p. 10). Cf. also the opening sentence of *A Modest Proposal* (1729) (Davis, vol. XII, p. 109), and his comments on Tipperary in a letter to Dean Brandreth of 30 June 1732 (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, pp. 493–4). On 30 August 1734 he described Ireland to Oxford as 'a Mass of Beggars, Thieves, Oppressors, fools and Knaves . . . In this great City nine tenths of the Inhabitants are beggars, the chief Streets half ruinous or desolate; It is dangerous to walk the Streets for fear of Houses falling on our heads, and it is the same in every City and Town through the Island' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, p. 753; for his adverse comments on Dublin, see Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, pp. 139, 192 and 194). In 1752 the new archbishop of Tuam reported that the majority of Irish towns were 'no better than so many nests of filthy cabins inhabited by miserable and half starved creatures some of them scarcely with human appearances' (Connolly, *Religion, Law, and Power*, p. 45).

ill contrived and so ruinous, or a People whose Countenances and Habit expressed so much Misery and Want.⁸

This Lord *Munodi* was a Person of the first Rank, and had been some Years Governor of *Lagado*; but by a Cabal⁹ of Ministers was discharged for Insufficiency.¹⁰ However the King treated him with Tenderness, as a well-meaning Man, but of a low contemptible Understanding.

When I gave that free Censure of the Country and its Inhabitants, he made no further Answer than by telling me, that I had not been long enough among them to form a Judgment; and that the different Nations of the World had different Customs;¹¹ with other common Topicks to the same Purpose. But when we returned to his Palace, he asked me how I liked the Building, what Absurdities I observed, and what Quarrel I had with the Dress and Looks of his Domesticks. This he might safely do; because every Thing about him was magnificent, regular and polite. I answered, that his Excellency's Prudence, Quality, and Fortune, had exempted him from those Defects which Folly and Beggary had produced in others. He

8 *Misery and Want*: another transposed impression of the Irish countryside. Swift reported to Charles Ford on 22 July 1722 that he had passed through 'miserable Regions' to reach the house of Robert Cope, with whom he stayed while working on *GT* (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. II, p. 427). Prior to 1750 the Irish economy was characterized by 'underdevelopment', demonstrated in 'a pattern of trade in which imports of manufactured goods were paid for by the export of a narrow range of basic products, a sparse population, recurrent subsistence crises, and widespread poverty' (Connolly, *Religion, Law, and Power*, p. 41).

9 *Cabal*: a small body of persons engaged in secret or private machination or intrigue; a junto, clique, coterie, party, faction (*OED*, 5). It was applied in the reign of Charles II to the small committee or junto of the Privy Council, otherwise called the 'Committee for Foreign Affairs', which had the chief management of the course of government. By chance the initials of the five ministers who signed the Treaty of Alliance with France for war against Holland in 1672 (Clifford, Arlington, Buckingham, Ashley and Lauderdale) spelled 'cabal'. These men were the political opponents of Swift's first patron, Sir William Temple, who had worked for closer relations between England and the Low Countries (although Arlington had at first been Temple's patron).

10 *Insufficiency*: unfitness, incapacity, incompetence (*OED*, 1). Orrery reports that at Trinity College Dublin, Swift was set aside for the degree of Bachelor of Arts 'on account of insufficiency' (*Remarks*, p. 7).

11 *the different Nations of the World had different Customs*: note that Gulliver ascribes the King of Brobdingnag's inability to appreciate European practices to his ignorance of 'the Manners and Customs that most prevail in other Nations' (above, p. 191); but that in Part I he has tried to apologize for what the Emperor of Lilliput sees as the inversion of his moral values with 'the common Answer, that different Nations had different Customs; for, I confess, I was heartily ashamed' (above, p. 84). For Swift's faith in the uniformity of human nature, see his exchange with the Abbé Desfontaines (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, pp. 97 and 111; discussed in the 'Introduction', above, pp. lxxxvi–lxxxvii).

said, if I would go with him to his Country House about Twenty Miles distant, where his Estate lay, there would be more Leisure for this Kind of Conversation.¹² I told his Excellency, that I was entirely at his Disposal; and accordingly we set out next Morning.

During our Journey, he made me observe the several Methods used by Farmers in managing their Lands; which to me were wholly unaccountable: For except in some very few Places, I could not discover one Ear of Corn, or Blade of Grass.¹³ But, in three Hours travelling, the Scene was wholly altered; we came into a most beautiful Country; Farmers Houses at small Distances, neatly built, the Fields enclosed, containing Vineyards, Corngrounds and Meadows.¹⁴ Neither do I remember to have seen a more

12 *more Leisure for this Kind of Conversation*: a periphrasis suggesting that Munodi is under government surveillance. Swift's correspondence was regularly opened at the Post Office, a subject of bitter amusement in his letters. See Williams, *Corr.*, vol. V, pp. 230–3 and below, p. 282, n. 29.

13 *one Ear of Corn, or Blade of Grass*: an echo of the maxim of the King of Brobdingnag in Part II, Chapter 7, that 'that whoever could make two Ears of Corn, or two Blades of Grass to grow upon a Spot of Ground where only one grew before; would deserve better of Mankind, and do more essential Service to his Country, than the whole Race of Politicians put together' (above, p. 194). The Brobdingnagians are the opposite of the Laputans in their commitment to practical benefits, and their indifference towards abstraction; their endeavour 'is wholly applied to what may be useful in Life; to the Improvement of Agriculture and all mechanical Arts; so that among us it would be little esteemed. And as to Ideas, Entities, Abstractions and Transcendentals, I could never drive the least Conception into their Heads' (above, p. 195; cf. the conviction of the Utopians that they are 'cultivators rather than landlords': *Utopia*, p. 43, and cf. p. 48). This allusive reminder of the primacy of agriculture – a principle which Swift himself endorsed in his *A Short View of the State of Ireland* (1727), in which he asserts that the 'first Cause of a Kingdom's thriving, is the Fruitfulness of the Soil' (Davis, vol. XII, p. 5) – is the keynote for Gulliver's description of the Laputan countryside.

14 *Vineyards, Corngrounds and Meadows*: an elliptical evocation of the *locus amoenus*, to which the most obvious classical parallel is *Georgics*, II.458–74. The primacy of agriculture, associated with a golden age of innocence and health, is unsurprisingly a note struck in earlier utopian fiction: see, e.g., *Utopia*, pp. 43–4, and p. 18 for Hythlodæus's attack on the policy of enclosure, which converted arable land into pasture. That utopian emphasis on the fundamental importance of agriculture had been reinforced more recently by natural law theory, in which the right of property was derived from utility and improvement, such as flowed from cultivation of the land: see Grotius, *De Iure Belli et Pacis*, II.ii.17. More immediately still, Munodi's farm (which seems to be predominantly arable) is an inverted image of the Irish landscape known to Swift, in which it was forbidden to turn pasture over to cultivation (Ehrenpreis, vol. III, p. 119). Swift's description of Munodi's estate thus implicitly rebukes not only the policy of the Laputans, but the policy of the English towards the Irish. Swift was assiduous in his cultivation of his own plot of land, 'Naboth's Vineyard' (Ehrenpreis, vol. III, pp. 330–2). For another diptych of a land blessed and a land cursed, written at roughly the same time as *GT*, see Swift's 'On Reading Dr Young's Satires, Called the Universal Passion' (Williams, *Poems*, pp. 390–2).

delightful Prospect.¹⁵ His Excellency observed my Countenance to clear up; he told me with a Sigh, that there his Estate began, and would continue the same till we should come to his House. That his Countrymen ridiculed and despised him for managing his Affairs no better, and for setting so ill an Example to the Kingdom; which however was followed by very few, such as were old and wilful, and weak like himself.

We came at length to the House, which was indeed a noble Structure, built according to the best Rules of ancient Architecture. The Fountains, Gardens, Walks, Avenues, and Groves were all disposed with exact Judgment and Taste. I gave due Praises to every Thing I saw, whereof his Excellency took not the least Notice till after Supper; when, there being no third Companion,¹⁶ he told me with a very melancholy Air, that he doubted he must throw down his Houses in Town and Country, to rebuild them after the present Mode;¹⁷ destroy all his Plantations, and cast others into such a Form as modern Usage required; and give the same Directions to all his Tenants, unless he would submit to incur the Censure of Pride, Singularity, Affectation, Ignorance, Caprice; and perhaps encrease his Majesty's Displeasure.¹⁸

15 *Prospect*: that which is looked at or seen from any place or point of view; a spectacle, a scene; the visible scene or landscape (*OED*, 3 a). In 1726 'prospect' was a semi-technical term, and formed part of the emerging vocabulary of the picturesque. On 25 August 1711 Swift wrote to Stella concerning Moses Bernage, who had just arrived from Portugal: 'he never saw London nor England before; he is ravished with Kent, which was his first prospect when he landed' (Williams, *JSt*, p. 344).

16 *no third Companion*: who might inform on what was said during this dangerous conversation.

17 *after the present Mode*: the fashion in dress, manners, etiquette, etc., prevailing in society at a particular time (*OED*, 8 a). This meaning of 'mode' is derived from the French; according to Swift's *A Proposal for Correcting the English Tongue* (1712), the source of corruption in English usage (Davis, vol. IV, pp. 105 and 10). Swift might view words such as 'mode' with distaste.

18 *encrease his Majesty's Displeasure*: Temple had attacked 'common Criticks, who can at best pretend but to value themselves, by discovering the Defaults of other Men, rather than any Worth or Merit of their own: A sort of Levellers, that will needs equal the best or richest of the Country, not by improving their own Estates, but reducing those of their Neighbours, and making them appear as mean and wretched as themselves' (Temple, vol. I, pp. 299–300). In *The Sentiments of a Church-of-England Man* Swift compared the flexibility of the clergy in considering alterations to the liturgy to 'a Man, who should pull down and change the Ornaments of his House, in Compliance to every one who was disposed to find fault as he passed by; which, besides the perpetual Trouble and Expence, would very much damage, and perhaps in Time destroy the Building' (Davis, vol. II, p. 5). In his influential *An Account of Denmark, as it was in the Year 1692* (1694), Robert Molesworth had deplored the situation of the Danish yeomanry: 'Yeomanry, which is the Strength of England, is a

That the Admiration I appeared to be under, would cease or diminish when he had informed me of some Particulars, which probably I never heard of at Court, the People there being too much taken up in their own Speculations, to have Regard to what passed here below.

The Sum of his Discourse was to this Effect. That about Forty Years ago,¹⁹ certain Persons went up to *Laputa*, either upon Business or Diversion; and after five Months Continuance, came back with a very little Smattering in Mathematicks, but full of Volatile Spirits acquired in that Airy Region.²⁰ That these Persons upon their Return, began to dislike the Management of every Thing below; and fell into Schemes of putting all Arts, Sciences, Languages, and Mechanicks upon a new Foot.²¹ To this End they procured a Royal Patent for erecting an Academy of PROJECTORS²² in

State not known or heard of in *Denmark*. . . If any of these Wretches prove to be of a diligent and improving Temper, who endeavours to live a little better than his Fellows, and to that End has repaired his Farm-house, making it convenient, neat, or pleasant; it is forty to one but he is presently transplanted from thence to a naked and uncomfortable Habitation. . . ' (Molesworth, *Denmark*, pp. 79–80). For Gulliver's idealizing of the English yeomanry, see below, p. 303. For Swift's admiration for Molesworth, see Davis, vol. IX, pp. 58–9 and vol. X, pp. 93–4; cf. also Ehrenpreis, vol. III, pp. 286–305 and Davis, vol. IV, p. 70.

19 *about Forty Years ago*: the Royal Society had received its first charter in 1662, forty-five years before the supposed date of this conversation.

20 *Volatile Spirits acquired in that Airy Region*: 'volatile' and 'airy' are both terms applied at this time by the English to the French, in disparagement of what was perceived to be their national character: e.g. 'the volatile and sceptical Spirits of *France*' (Sir Richard Blackmore, *Essays Upon Several Subjects*, 2 vols. (1717), vol. II, p. 72; cf. Anon., *The Chimera: or, The French Way of Paying National Debts* (1720), p. 29; Daniel Defoe, *The Farther Adventures of Robinson Crusoe* (1719), p. 21; Daniel Defoe, *The History and Remarkable Life of . . . Colonel Jacque* (1723), p. 271); 'this light airy Humour of the French' (Joseph Addison, *Remarks on Several Parts of Italy* (1705), p. 45; cf. Thomas Baker, *Tunbridge-Walks* (1714), p. 17; George Farquhar, *Sir Harry Wildair*, I, lines 149–50, in Farquhar, *Works*, vol. I, p. 260; Elkanah Settle, *Eusebia Triumphans* (1703), p. 49). In his depiction of Laputa, Swift overlaid aspects of Hanoverian England with aspects of contemporary France.

21 *upon a new Foot*: cf. Temple's account in 'An Essay Upon the Ancient and Modern Learning' of the impertinent presumption of the moderns: 'But, God be thanked, his Pride is greater than his Ignorance; and what he wants in Knowledge, he supplies by Sufficiency. When he has looked about him as far as he can, he concludes there is no more to be seen; when he is at the End of his Line, he is at the Bottom of the Ocean; when he has shot his best, he is sure, none ever did nor ever can shoot better or beyond it. His own Reason is the certain Measure of Truth, his own Knowledge, of what is possible in Nature, though his Mind and his Thoughts change every Seven Years, as well as his Strength and his Features; nay, though his Opinions change every Week or every Day, yet he is sure, or at least confident, that his present Thoughts and Conclusions are just and true, and cannot be deceived' (Temple, vol. I, p. 165).

22 *PROJECTORS*: see Long note 24.

Lagado: And the Humour²³ prevailed so strongly among the People, that there is not a Town of any Consequence in the Kingdom without such an Academy. In these Colleges,²⁴ the Professors contrive new Rules and Methods of Agriculture and Building, and new Instruments and Tools for all Trades and Manufactures, whereby, as they undertake, one Man shall do the Work of Ten; a Palace may be built in a Week, of Materials so durable as to last for ever without repairing. All the Fruits of the Earth shall come to Maturity at whatever Season we think fit to chuse,²⁵ and increase an Hundred Fold more than they do at present; with innumerable other happy Proposals.²⁶ The only Inconvenience is, that none of these Projects are yet brought to Perfection; and in the mean time, the whole Country lies miserably waste, the Houses in Ruins, and the People without Food or Cloaths.²⁷ By all which, instead of being discouraged, they are

- 23 *Humour*: mood, temper (*OED*, 5); but given the materiality of the activities of the academicians of *Lagado*, the older Galenic sense, in which the humours were the four chief fluids of the body – namely, blood, phlegm, choler and melancholy or black choler – by the relative proportions of which a person's physical and mental qualities and disposition were held to be determined (*OED*, 2 b), is also operative. *A Tale of a Tub* shows Swift's fascination with the inter-permeability of the physical and the psychological: e.g. his explanation of Henri IV's warmongering in Section 9 (*CWJS*, vol. I, pp. 106–7; Davis, vol. I, pp. 103–4).
- 24 *Colleges*: Swift's youthful lines on the wrongful imprisonment of Learning within institutions of education are relevant, both generally and in matters of detail, to his description of the Academy of *Lagado*: 'Confine her [Learning's] Walks to Colleges and Schools, / Her Priests, her Train and Followers show / As if they all were Spectres too, / They purchase Knowledge at the Expence / Of common Breeding, common Sense, / And at once grow Scholars and Fools; / Affect ill-manner'd Pedantry, / Rudeness, Ill-nature, Incivility, / And sick with Dregs of Knowledge grown, / Which greedily they swallow down, / Still cast it up and nauseate Company' ('Ode to the Hon^{ble} Sir William Temple', lines 39–49: Williams, *Poems*, p. 27).
- 25 *at whatever Season we think fit to chuse*: in Bacon's *New Atlantis*, the Father of Salomon's House makes similar claims: 'And we make (by art) in the same orchards and gardens, trees and flowers to come earlier or later than their seasons; and to come up and bear more speedily than by their natural course they do. We make them also by art greater much than their nature; and their fruit greater and sweeter and of differing taste, smell, colour, and figure, from their nature' (Bacon, *Advancement*, p. 241). On the pernicious forcing of nature, cf. also 'Cadenus and Vanessa': 'Or, as Philosophers, who find / Some fav'rite System to their Mind, / In ev'ry Point to make it fit, / Will force all Nature to submit' (Williams, *Poems*, p. 709, lines 722–5).
- 26 *innumerable other happy Proposals*: cf. the passage from Temple's 'Some Thoughts Upon Reviewing the Essay of Antient and Modern Learning' quoted in Long note 22 (Temple, vol. I, p. 303), which contains parallels to these projects of the Laputans, who in this respect are for Swift the embodiment of degraded intellectual modernity.
- 27 *the People without Food or Cloaths*: cf. Swift to Oxford, describing Dublin, 30 August 1734: 'In this great City nine tenths of the Inhabitants are beggars, the chief Streets half ruinous or desolate' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, p. 753).

Fifty Times more violently bent upon prosecuting their Schemes, driven equally on by Hope and Despair: That, as for himself, being not of an enterprizing Spirit, he was content to go on in the old Forms; to live in the Houses his Ancestors had built, and act as they did in every Part of Life without Innovation.²⁸ That, some few other Persons of Quality and Gentry had done the same; but were looked on with an Eye of Contempt and ill Will, as Enemies to Art, ignorant, and ill Commonwealths-men,²⁹ preferring their own Ease and Sloth before the general Improvement of their Country.³⁰

His Lordship added, that he would not by any further Particulars prevent the Pleasure I should certainly take in viewing the grand Academy, whither he was resolved I should go. He only desired me to observe a ruined Building upon the Side of a Mountain about three Miles distant, of which he gave me this Account.³¹ That he had a very convenient Mill within Half a Mile of his House, turned by a Current from a large River, and sufficient for his own Family as well as a great Number of his Tenants. That, about seven Years ago, a Club of those Projectors came to him with Proposals to destroy this Mill, and build another on the Side of that Mountain, on the long Ridge whereof a long Canal must be cut for a Repository of Water, to be conveyed up by Pipes and Engines to supply the Mill: Because the

28 *without Innovation*: for Swift's hatred of innovation, particularly linguistic innovation, see his contribution to *The Tatler*, no. 230, 28 September 1710 (Davis, vol. II, pp. 174–7; *Tatler*, vol. III, pp. 190–6).

29 *ill Commonwealths-men*: in a general sense, one lacking in public spirit. But the term 'commonwealthsman' at this time also denoted one who espoused a strident form of Whiggism verging on republicanism, and who adhered to 'Revolution Principles' in a particularly pure form. Examples of commonwealthsmen contemporary with Swift include Henry Neville (1620–94), Walter Moyle (1672–1721) and his eventual friend and ally Robert Molesworth (1657–1725). Cf. Caroline Robbins, *The Eighteenth-Century Commonwealthman* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1959) and John Kenyon, *Revolution Principles: The Politics of Party, 1689–1720* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977).

30 *the general Improvement of their Country*: the insecurity of land tenure in Laputa is another reflection of conditions of life in early eighteenth-century Ireland: 'With most of the soil of the country held by titles based on recent confiscations, with many of the old possessors or their children "still living, still remembered, still honoured by the people", a dread of a fresh and cataclysmic transfer of property underlay all the politics of the landlords' (Ehrenpreis, vol. II, p. 109).

31 *gave me this Account*: in *An Essay on Projects* (1697), one of Defoe's examples of fraudulent projects is a water-mill which defies gravity (pp. 34–5; quoted below, p. 533). In the *New Atlantis*, Bacon described how the House of Salomon possessed 'violent streams and cataracts, which serve us for many motions' (Bacon, *Advancement*, p. 240). Arthur E. Case saw this episode as a satire upon the South Sea Company (*Four Essays*, p. 88).

Wind and Air upon a Height agitated the Water, and thereby made it fitter for Motion:³² And because the Water descending down a Declivity would turn the Mill with half the Current of a River whose Course is more upon a Level. He said, that being then not very well with the Court, and pressed by many of his Friends, he complied with the Proposal; and after employing an Hundred Men for two Years, the Work miscarried, the Projectors went off, laying the Blame intirely upon him; railing at him ever since, and putting others upon the same Experiment, with equal Assurance of Success, as well as equal Disappointment.

In a few Days we came back to Town; and his Excellency, considering the bad Character he had in the Academy, would not go with me himself, but recommended me to a Friend of his to bear me Company thither. My Lord was pleased to represent me as a great Admirer of Projects, and a Person of much Curiosity and easy Belief; which indeed was not without Truth; for I had my self been a Sort of Projector in my younger Days.³³

32 *fitter for Motion*: Swift here echoes and mocks the scientific idiom of his own time: e.g. *Philosophical Works*, vol. I, pp. 267, 280, 327, 336, 552, 721; vol. II, pp. 13, 25, 27, 31; Willem Gravesande, *Mathematical Elements* (1721), p. 274; Henry Pemberton, *A View of Sir Isaac Newton's Philosophy* (1728), p. 268; *Miscellanea Curiosa*, 3 vols. (1705–7), vol. I, p. 210; Sir John Floyer, *Psychrolousia* (1702), p. 111.

33 *a Sort of Projector in my younger Days*: see Long note 24.

CHAPTER V.

The Author permitted to see the grand Academy of Lagado.¹ The Academy largely described. The Arts wherein the Professors employ themselves.

This Academy is not an entire single Building, but a Continuation of several Houses² on both Sides of a Street; which growing waste,³ was purchased and applied to that Use.

I was received very kindly by the Warden, and went for many Days to the Academy. Every Room hath in it one or more Projectors; and I believe I could not be in fewer than five Hundred Rooms.

The first Man I saw was of a meagre Aspect, with sooty Hands and Face, his Hair and Beard long, ragged and singed in several Places. His Clothes, Shirt, and Skin were all of the same Colour. He had been Eight Years

1 *grand Academy of Lagado*: the target of Swift's satire in this chapter has been variously identified as the Royal Society, the University of Leiden and the Dublin Philosophical Society: see Nicolson, pp. 110–54; Dolores J. Palomo, 'The Dutch Connection: The University of Leiden and Swift's Academy of Lagado', *HLQ*, 41 (1977), 27–35; and Ehrenpreis, vol. I, pp. 78–7. The activities of the projectors of Lagado are close to the studies of Jack the Dissenter in Arbuthnot's *History of John Bull*: 'He was no less particular in the Choice of his Studies; they were generally bent towards exploded Chimeras, the *perpetuum Mobile*, the circular Shot, Philosopher's Stone, and silent Gunpowder, making Chains for Fleas, Nets for Flies, and Instruments to unravel Cobwebs, and split Hairs' (*John Bull*, p. 53): cf. also the descriptions of 'The Philosophical, or *Virtuosi* Country' and of the country of 'Physick' in Thomas Brown, *The Third Volume of the Works*, third edition (1715), pp. 94–100, which contain many parallels to the Academy of Lagado. The House of Salomon in Bacon's *New Atlantis* is a positive version of the Academy of Lagado, piously dedicated to 'the study of the Works and Creatures of God' (Bacon, *Advancement*, p. 229). Swift himself proposed an academy to police linguistic usage (Davis, vol. IV, pp. 13–14; Ehrenpreis, vol. II, pp. 542–9). This episode appealed to Mrs Howard, who alluded to it in a letter to Swift of 17 November 1726 (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, p. 50).

2 *several Houses*: in the early eighteenth century the Royal Society had bought up a number of adjacent properties: Nicolson, pp. 137–8, n. 52.

3 *growing waste*: not applied to any purpose; not utilized for cultivation or building (*OED*, 1 c). But note also the word's metaphorical senses: uncultured mentally (*OED*, 1 d) and profitless, serving no purpose, idle, vain (*OED*, 4 a).

upon a Project for extracting Sun-Beams out of Cucumbers,⁴ which were to be put into Vials hermetically sealed, and let out to warm the Air in raw inclement Summers. He told me, he did not doubt in Eight Years more, that he should be able to supply the Governors Gardens with Sun-shine at a reasonable Rate; but he complained that his Stock was low, and intreated me to give him something as an Encouragement to Ingenuity, especially since this had been a very dear Season for Cucumbers. I made him a small Present, for my Lord had furnished me with Money on purpose, because he knew their Practice of begging from all who go to see them.

I went into another Chamber, but was ready to hasten back, being almost overcome with a horrible Stink.⁵ My Conductor pressed me forward, conjuring me in a Whisper to give no Offence, which would be highly resented; and therefore I durst not so much as stop my Nose. The Projector of this Cell was the most ancient Student of the Academy. His Face and Beard were of a pale Yellow; his Hands and Clothes dawbed over with Filth. When I was presented to him, he gave me a very close Embrace, (a Compliment I could well have excused.) His Employment from his first coming into the Academy, was an Operation to reduce human Excrement to its original Food, by separating the several Parts, removing the Tincture which it receives from the Gall, making the Odour exhale, and scumming off the Saliva.⁶ He had a weekly Allowance from the

4 *Sun-Beams out of Cucumbers*: for many years John Hales had performed experiments on the respiration of plants and animals, and had reported the results to the Royal Society: Nicolson, pp. 146–8. In Shadwell's *The Virtuoso* (1676) Sir Nicholas Gimcrack bottles country air and transports it to the city.

5 *a horrible Stink*: Swift is here re-writing and re-imagining a passage from *A Tale of a Tub*, Section 9 (*CWJS*, vol. I, pp. 115–16; Davis, vol. I, pp. 112–13: quoted and discussed in the 'Introduction', above, pp. lvii–lviii). In the 'Dedication' to the anonymous attack on Swift, *Essays Divine Moral and Political* (1714), that passage from *A Tale of a Tub* was re-applied to the person of the critic: '*A Critick is an Animal that is wonderfully delighted with Stinks, a Perfume gives him the Vapours; for which Reason he's always to be found in a Jakes, Raking amongst Excrements, from whence he has contracted such an Ill Habit of Body, that he infects every Thing that he comes near*' (p. v). Cf. also Swift's account of John Partridge on his death bed: 'After half an Hour's Conversation, I took my Leave, being almost stifled by the Closeness of the Room' (Davis, vol. II, p. 155). There is a loose parallel in Rabelais, Book V, Chapter 22 (Rabelais, pp. 283–6).

6 *scumming off the Saliva*: cf. Mandeville's account of the function of the brain for a parallel to Swift's diction here: 'it is the Office in which the Spirits are separated from the Blood, and afterwards sublim'd and volatiliz'd into Particles hardly corporeal' (*Fable of the Bees*, vol. II, p. 165). In Hell Milton's devils 'scummed the bullion dross' to create Pandæmonium (*Paradise Lost*, I.704). In Defoe's *Journal of the Plague Year* (1722), H.F. hoped that the

Society, of a Vessel filled with human Ordure, about the Bigness of a *Bristol* Barrel.⁷

I saw another at work to calcine⁸ Ice into Gun-powder;⁹ who likewise shewed me a Treatise he had written concerning the Malleability of Fire,¹⁰ which he intended to publish.

There was a most ingenious Architect who had contrived a new Method for building Houses, by beginning at the Roof, and working downwards to the Foundation; which he justified to me by the like Practice of those two prudent Insects the Bee and the Spider.¹¹

threat of imminent death would 'scum off the Gall from our Tempers' (Defoe, *Plague Year*, pp. 175–6).

7 *a Bristol Barrel*: see Long note 25.

8 *calcine*: to reduce to quick-lime, or to an analogous substance, by roasting or burning (*OED*, 1). This is a term derived from alchemy: cf. Subtle's catechizing of Ananias – 'Can you sublime, and dulcefie? calcine?' (Ben Jonson, *The Alchemist*, II.v.9). In 1705 John Evelyn reported attending an experiment involving a 'Burning-glasse' at the Royal Society which 'immediatly mealtd, calcined & Vitrified' a variety of substances (Evelyn, vol. V, p. 600).

9 *Ice into Gunpowder*: the conjunction of ice and gunpowder may have been suggested to Swift by the 'Dedication' to Sir Thomas Burnet's *A Second Tale of a Tub* (1715): 'A Flint looks like a common Stone, and promises little Fire, and to a gentle Touch seems to partake more of Ice than Burning or Heat' (p. xvii).

10 *the Malleability of Fire*: again, a detail from an earlier attack on Swift may be relevant. In *The Dignity, Use and Abuse of Glass Bottles* (1715) by the 'Author of the Tale of a Tub' we find recorded 'the Answer of *Julius Caesar* to a certain *Roman*, who proposed to make Glass Malleable, (that is to say, to endure the Hammer;)' (p. 11). There is also a parallel in Rabelais, Book V, Chapter 22 (Rabelais, pp. 283–6).

11 *those two prudent Insects the Bee and the Spider*: compare Thomas Brown's description of the system-building of the philosophers in the 'country of the *Virtuous*': 'Their *Geometricians* work upon so solid a Foundation, that as soon as ever they have well laid the first Stone, they carry on their Buildings without the least Fear, so high as the *Atmosphere*; but their *Philosophers* build those haughty Edifices they call Systems upon a quite different Bottom. They lay their Foundation in the Air, and when they think they are come to solid Ground, the Building disappears, and the Architects tumble down from the Clouds' (Thomas Brown, *The Third Volume of the Works*, third edition (1715), p. 94). Martinus Scriblerus was also an exponent of perverse architecture (*Scriblerus*, p. 169). The *Key* finds here a satiric thrust at Vanbrugh (*Key*, Pt III, p. 19), whom Swift had long ago lampooned for architectural perversity and vanity (Williams, *Poems*, pp. 78–81 and 85–8); cf. also 'His Grace's Answer to Jonathan' (Williams, *Poems*, p. 361, lines 19–20). The bee and the spider were traditionally admired for their skills in building: Virgil, *Georgics*, IV.178–9; Pliny, *Natural History*, XI.5–6 and 28; *Philosophical Works*, vol. I, p. 20. Note, however, Hobbes's scepticism about such anthropomorphism (*Leviathan*, p. 119). Compare the maxim of Gulliver's Houyhnhnm Master in Part IV, Chapter 9, that 'it was no Shame to learn Wisdom from Brutes, as Industry is taught by the Ant, and Building by the Swallow' (below, p. 410; cf. Proverbs 6:6). Swift had already exploited these connotations, as well as distinguishing sharply between them, in the fable of the Spider and the Bee which he had incorporated into *The Battel of the Books* (*CWJS*, vol. I, pp. 149–52; Davis, vol. I, pp. 147–51).

There was a Man born blind, who had several Apprentices in his own Condition: Their Employment was to mix Colours for Painters, which their Master taught them to distinguish by feeling and smelling.¹² It was indeed my Misfortune to find them at that Time not very perfect in their Lessons; and the Professor himself happened to be generally mistaken: This Artist is much encouraged and esteemed by the whole Fraternity.

In another Apartment I was highly pleased with a Projector, who had found a Device of plowing the Ground with Hogs,¹³ to save the Charges of Plows, Cattle, and Labour. The Method is this: In an Acre of Ground you bury at six Inches Distance, and eight deep, a Quantity of Acorns, Dates, Chesnuts, and other Masts¹⁴ or Vegetables whereof these Animals are fondest; then you drive six Hundred or more of them into the Field, where in a few Days they will root up the whole Ground in search of their Food, and make it fit for sowing, at the same time manuring it with their Dung. It is true, upon Experiment they found the Charge and Trouble very great, and they had little or no Crop. However, it is not doubted that this Invention may be capable of great Improvement.

12 *feeling and smelling*: most immediately, a reference to Robert Boyle's account of a blind man who could apparently distinguish colours by touch: Nicolson, pp. 140–2. More generally, an allusion to an important topic in eighteenth-century philosophy concerning the nature of ideas. Cf. Locke, *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, II.iv.5: 'I know not, how Men, who have the same *Idea*, under different Names, or different *Ideas*, under the same Name, can, in that case, talk with one another, any more than a Man, who not being blind, or deaf, has distinct *Ideas* of the Colour of Scarlet, and the sound of a Trumpet, could discourse concerning Scarlet-Colour with the blind Man, I mention in another Place, who fancied, that the *Idea* of Scarlet was like the sound of a Trumpet'; cf. 'For to hope to produce an *Idea* of Light, or Colour, by a Sound, however formed, is to expect that Sounds should be visible, or Colours audible; and to make the Ears do the Office of all the other Senses. Which is all one as to say, that we might Taste, Smell, and See by the Ears: a sort of Philosophy worthy only of *Sancho Panza*, who had the Faculty to see *Dulcinea* by Hearsay' (III.iv.11) Cf. also Hume, *A Treatise of Human Nature*, I.iii.14. Martinus Scriblerus was credited by the Scriblerians with being the first to find out 'the *Palpability of Colours*; and by the delicacy of his Touch, could distinguish the different Vibrations of the heterogeneous Rays of Light' (*Scriblerus*, p. 167).

13 *plowing the Ground with Hogs*: cf. 'The Dean's Reasons': 'His meadows may be dug by swine' (Williams, *Poems*, p. 902, line 111). Cf. also Rabelais, Book V, Chapter 22 (Rabelais, pp. 283–6). Marjorie Nicolson notes that the Royal Society received a report of a similar Ceylonese practice for the fertilization of a piece of ground: Nicolson, p. 149. In his 'An Essay Upon the Advancement of Trade in Ireland', Temple had advocated several innovations in techniques of ploughing (Temple, vol. I, p. 116).

14 *other Masts*: the fruit of beech, oak, chestnut and other woodland trees, especially when fallen and used as food for pigs (*OED*, 1 a): cf. Temple, vol. I, p. 87.

I went into another Room, where the Walls and Ceiling were all hung round with Cobwebs, except a narrow Passage for the Artist to go in and out. At my Entrance he called aloud to me not to disturb his Webs.¹⁵ He lamented the fatal Mistake the World had been so long in of using Silk-Worms, while we had such plenty of domestick Insects,¹⁶ who infinitely excelled the former, because they understood how to weave as well as spin.¹⁷ And he proposed farther, that by employing Spiders, the Charge of dying Silks would be wholly saved; whereof I was fully convinced when he shewed me a vast Number of Flies most beautifully coloured, wherewith he fed his Spiders; assuring us, that the Webs would take a Tincture from them; and as he had them of all Hues, he hoped to fit every Body's Fancy, as soon as he could find proper Food for the Flies, of certain Gums, Oyls, and other glutinous Matter, to give a Strength and Consistence to the Threads.

There was an Astronomer who had undertaken to place a Sun-Dial upon the great Weather-Cock on the Town-House,¹⁸ by adjusting the annual and diurnal Motions of the Earth and Sun, so as to answer and coincide with all accidental Turnings of the Wind.¹⁹

I was complaining of a small Fit of the Cholick;²⁰ upon which my Conductor led me into a Room, where a great Physician resided, who

15 *not to disturb his Webs*: perhaps recalling the anecdote related of the Greek inventor and mathematician Archimedes, who during the sack of Syracuse by Roman forces in 212 or 211 begged the soldier about to kill him not to disturb his circles (Plutarch, 'Marcellus', XIX.4–6). In Dodsley's *Select Fables of Esop and Other Fabulists* (1765) amongst the fables of the moderns there is 'The Spider and the Silkworm': 'How vainly we promise ourselves, that our flimzy productions will be rewarded with immortal honour! A Spider, busied in spreading his web from one side of a room to the other, was asked by an industrious Silkworm, to what end he spent so much time and labour, in making such a number of lines and circles? The Spider angrily replied, Do not disturb me, thou ignorant thing: I transmit my ingenuity to posterity, and fame is the object of my wishes. Just as he had spoken, a chambermaid, coming into the room to feed her Silkworms, saw the Spider at his work; and with one stroke of her broom, swept him away, and destroyed at once his labours, and his hopes of fame' (p. 85). I have not been able to trace this fable higher than 1761; it may thus show the influence of Swift, and not have been an influence upon him.

16 *domestick Insects*: see Long note 26.

17 *how to weave as well as spin*: in Lucian's *True History*, the inhabitants of the Isle of the Blest are dressed 'in fine cobwebs, purple in colour' (Lucian, vol. II, p. 158).

18 *Town-House*: the town hall.

19 *Turnings of the Wind*: another perverse project. Newton had been knighted (according to Swift) for his skill in making sun-dials (Davis, vol. IV, pp. 122–3). Nicolson records that clocks had been attached to weathercocks (Nicolson, pp. 139–40).

20 *small Fit of the Cholick*: severe paroxysmal griping pains in the belly (*OED*, 1).

was famous for curing that Disease by contrary Operations from the same Instrument.²¹ He had a large Pair of Bellows,²² with a long slender Muzzle²³ of Ivory. This he conveyed eight Inches up the Anus, and drawing in the Wind, he affirmed he could make the Guts as lank as a dried Bladder.²⁴ But when the Disease was more stubborn and violent, he let in the Muzzle while the Bellows was full of Wind, which he discharged into the Body of the Patient; then withdrew the Instrument to replenish it, clapping his Thumb strongly against the Orifice of the Fundament; and this being repeated three or four Times, the adventitious Wind would rush out, bringing the noxious along with it (like Water put into a Pump) and the Patient recovers. I saw him try both Experiments upon a Dog,²⁵ but could not discern any Effect from the former. After the latter, the Animal was ready to burst, and made so violent a Discharge, as was very offensive to me and my Companions. The Dog died on the Spot, and we left the Doctor endeavouring to recover him by the same Operation.²⁶

21 *from the same Instrument*: Swift himself was subjected to purges and clysters (Williams, *JSt*, p. 529). Cf. Part IV, Chapter 6 (p. 380 below), where the 'contrary' operations of physicians are once again the target of Swift's satire.

22 *Pair of Bellows*: cf. Swift's use of the same image in Section 8 of *A Tale of a Tub* to satirize pretensions to religious inspiration: 'At other times were to be seen several Hundreds link'd together in a circular Chain, with every Man a Pair of Bellows applied to his Neighbour's Breech, by which they blew up each other to the Shape and Size of a *Tun*' (*CWJS*, vol. I, p. 100; Davis, vol. I, p. 96). Cf. also his reference in Section 7 to 'the Scythians, *who had a Custom, and an Instrument, to blow up the Privities of their Mares, that they might yield the more Milk*' (*CWJS*, vol. I, p. 97; Davis, vol. I, p. 93).

23 *long slender Muzzle*: the opening through which something is taken in or dispensed (*OED*, II 7, citing this passage); but also (more disconcertingly) the opening at the end of the barrel of a firearm (*OED*, II 6 a), and the projecting part of the head of an animal, including the nose and jaws (*OED*, II 4 a).

24 *dried Bladder*: a 'dried bladder' was used by Robert Boyle in some of his experiments: see *Philosophical Works*, vol. I, p. 447. It is also the symbol of a fool.

25 *upon a Dog*: see Long note 27.

26 *the same Operation*: cf. Swift's illustration in *The Drapier's Letters* of the irreversible damage that the introduction of Wood's halfpence would do to Ireland: 'if it once enters, it can be no more confined to a small or moderate Quantity, than the *Plague* can be confined to a few Families; and that no *Equivalent* can be given by any earthly Power, any more than a dead Carcass can be recovered to Life by a *Cordial*' (Davis, vol. X, pp. 60–1). In his 'Ode to the Athenian Society' Swift had mocked human vanity in terms which euphemistically anticipate this attempt to revive the dog by inflation: '(And then how much a nothing is Mankind! / Whose Reason is weigh'd down by Popular air, / Who by that, vainly talks of baffling Death, / And hopes to lengthen Life by a *Transfusion of Breath*, / Which yet whoe're examines right will find / To be an Art as vain, as *Bottling up of Wind*:)' (Williams, *Poems*, p. 21, lines 180–5). In the possibly spurious *Life and Death of Michy Windybank* (1720–1), a 'French Apothecary was order'd to prepare and inject a *Clyster*; who declar'd, upon the Experiment, *That the Parts*

I visited many other Apartments, but shall not trouble my Reader with all the Curiosities I observed, being studious of Brevity.

I had hitherto seen only one Side of the Academy, the other being appropriated to the Advancers of speculative Learning; of whom I shall say something when I have mentioned one illustrious Person more, who is called among them *the universal Artist*.²⁷ He told us, he had been Thirty Years employing his Thoughts for the Improvement of human Life. He had two large Rooms full of wonderful Curiosities, and Fifty Men at work. Some were condensing Air into a dry tangible Substance, by extracting the Nitre, and letting the aqueous or fluid Particles percolate: Others softening Marble for Pillows and Pin-cushions; others petrifying the Hoofs of a living Horse to preserve them from foundring.²⁸ The Artist himself was at that Time busy upon two great Designs: The first, to sow Land with Chaff,²⁹ wherein he affirmed the true seminal Virtue³⁰ to be contained, as he demonstrated by several Experiments which I was not skilful enough to comprehend. The other was, by a certain Composition of Gums, Minerals, and Vegetables outwardly applied, to prevent the Growth of Wool upon two young Lambs; and he hoped in a reasonable Time to propagate the Breed of naked Sheep³¹ all over the Kingdom.

were so obstructed, that he could emit none of the Liquid, and that blowing in Wind would not recover it (Davis, vol. IX, pp. 308–9).

27 *the universal Artist*: Nicolson speculates that this may refer to Robert Boyle (Nicolson, pp. 151–2). Cf., however, Shaftesbury's description of the poet in 'Advice to an Author': 'Like that Sovereign Artist or universal Plastick Nature, he forms a *Whole*, coherent and proportion'd in it-self, with due Subjection and Subordinacy of constituent Parts' (Shaftesbury, *Characteristicks*, vol. I, p. 207). In the *Key* to Part III of *GT* the 'universal artist' is compared to 'Dr. Young [who] has been almost as long in finding out the *Universal Passion*' (p. 19); a reference to Edward Young (1683–1765), author of *The Universal Passion*, seven satires published as separate folios between January 1725 and February 1728.

28 *foundring*: falling lame (*OED*, 4).

29 *sow Land with Chaff*: such unnatural and fruitless projects were also pursued at the court of Queen Whim (Rabelais, Book V, Chapter 22, pp. 283–6).

30 *true seminal Virtue*: i.e. the power of procreation. Cf. Temple's explanation in 'Of Ancient and Modern Learning' of the limited extent to which the human intellect can be improved: 'it cannot go beyond the reach of its Native Force, no more than Life can beyond the Period to which it was destined, by the Strength or Weakness of the seminal Virtue' (Temple, vol. I, p. 158); cf. also Abraham Cowley, 'Of Plants', in his *Works*, vol. III (1708), p. 280 and Nehemiah Grew, *The Anatomy of Plants* (1682), p. 204. In Chapter 5 of the *Contests and Dissensions* Swift had applied the phrase metaphorically to political constitutions (Davis, vol. I, p. 228).

31 *naked Sheep*: perhaps echoing the proverb, 'where every hand fleeceth, the sheep go naked' (*Wit's Commonwealth* (1722), p. 156 and *A Complete Collection of Scottish Proverbs* (1721),

We crossed a Walk to the other Part of the Academy, where, as I have already said, the Projectors in speculative Learning resided.

The first Professor³² I saw was in a very large Room, with Forty Pupils about him. After Salutation, observing me to look earnestly upon a Frame,³³ which took up the greatest Part of both the Length and Breadth of the Room; he said, perhaps I might wonder to see him employed in a Project for improving speculative Knowledge by practical and mechanical Operations. But the World would soon be sensible of its Usefulness; and he flattered himself, that a more noble exalted Thought never sprang in

p. 243). Tavernier reported that in the mountains of Persia 'the Sheep in those Parts have this particular property, that when they have fed upon new Grass from *January* till *May*, the Fleece falls off, of it self, and leaves the Sheep naked, and their Skins smooth, like a Pig's that is scalded off' (*The Six Voyages of John Baptista Tavernier* (1677), p. 40).

32 *first Professor*: according to Orrery, this satire is aimed at 'those authors, who, instead of receiving materials from their own thoughts and observations, collect from dictionaries and common place-books, an irregular variety, without order, use, or design' (*Remarks*, p. 98). If so, it resonates with Swift's earlier literary career, since this was an accusation levelled at the scholarship of Richard Bentley (whose armour, in *The Battel of the Books*, is 'patch'd up of a thousand incoherent Pieces': *CWJS*, vol. I, p. 160; Davis, vol. I, p. 160). However, the imaginative reach of Swift's satire here extends beyond its primary focus of the corruptions in learning to embrace also political corruption, as suggested in his complaint to Archbishop King in a letter of 10 October 1710: 'I never yet knew one great Minister who made any Scruple to mould the Alphabet into whatever words he pleased' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. I, p. 305).

33 *earnestly upon a Frame*: the language machine has points of contact with Swift's earlier scepticism about the possibility of spontaneous order. In Section 9 of *A Tale of a Tub* he noted as a delusion the opinion of 'Epicurus, [who] modestly hoped, that one Time or other, a certain Fortuitous Concourse of all Mens Opinions, after perpetual Justlings, the Sharp with the Smooth, the Light and the Heavy, the Round and the Square, would by certain *Clinamina*, unite in the Notions of *Atoms* and *Void*, and these did in the Originals of all Things' (*CWJS*, vol. I, p. 108; Davis, vol. I, p. 105). He later made the same point more explicitly in *A Trritical Essay Upon the Faculties of the Mind* (1707): 'how can the *Epicureans* Opinion be true, that the Universe was formed by a fortuitous Concourse of Atoms; which I will no more believe, than that the accidental Jumbling of the Letters in the Alphabet, could fall by Chance into a most ingenious and learned Treatise of Philosophy' (Davis, vol. I, pp. 246–7; for earlier parallels cf. Dryden, 'Prologue, To the University of Oxon.', lines 32–5 and Richard Bentley, *A Confutation of Atheism* (1693), pp. 41–2). Both passages echo the anti-Lucretian argument of Lucilius Balbus in Cicero's *De Natura Deorum*, who mocked the theory of atoms in *De Natura Rerum* by imagining the impossibility of random distributions of letters producing the text of the *Annals* of Ennius (II.37). There is a possible connection with Ramon Lull (Robert Irwin, *For Lust of Knowing: The Orientalists and their Enemies* (London: Allen Lane, 2006), p. 47; cf. also Jorge Luis Borges, 'Ramón Llull's Thinking Machine', in Borges, pp. 155–9). *A Trip to the Moon* (Dublin, 1728) describes poems of various kinds being mechanically composed (pp. 62–5). Cf. the diagram published in the Royal Society's *Philosophical Transactions*, vol. III (1705), p. 377, to illustrate the feasibility of a universal alphabet.

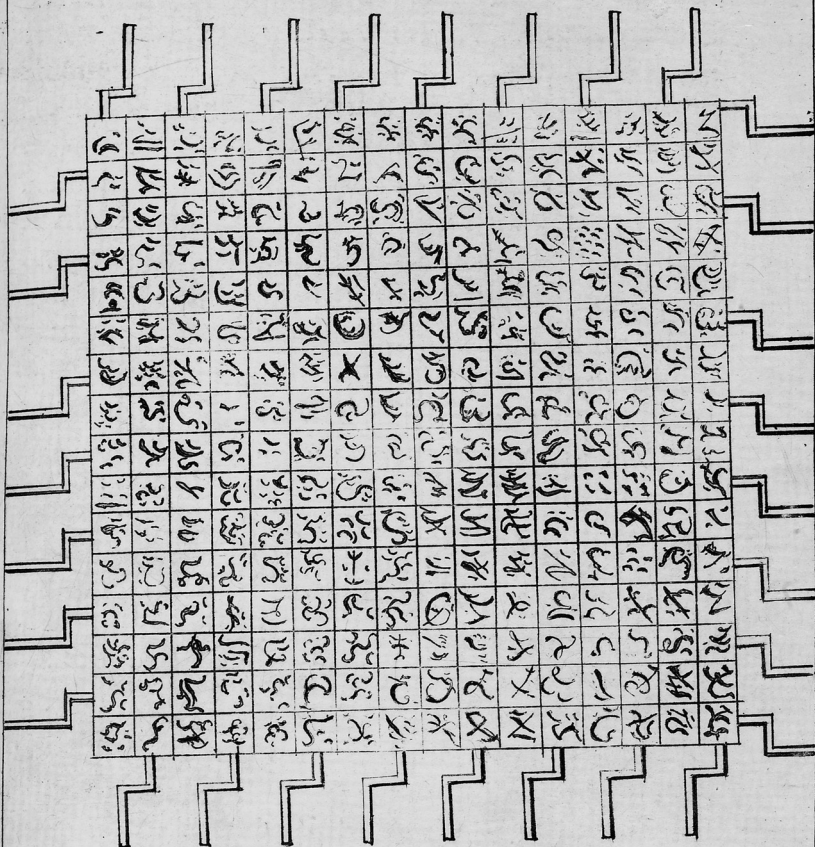


Figure 7. The Language Machine

any other Man's Head. Every one knew how laborious the usual Method is of attaining to Arts and Sciences; whereas by his Contrivance, the most ignorant Person at a reasonable Charge, and with a little bodily Labour, may write Books in Philosophy, Poetry, Politicks, Law, Mathematicks and Theology, without the least Assistance from Genius or Study.³⁴ He then led me to the Frame, about the Sides whereof all his Pupils stood in Ranks. It was Twenty Foot square, placed in the Middle of the Room. The Superficies³⁵ was composed of several Bits of Wood, about the Bigness of a Dye, but some larger than others. They were all linked together by slender Wires. These Bits of Wood were covered on every Square with Paper pasted on them; and on these Papers were written all the Words of their Language in their several, Moods, Tenses, and Declensions,³⁶ but without any Order. The Professor then desired me to observe, for he was going to set his Engine at work. The Pupils at his Command took each of them hold of an Iron Handle, whereof there were Forty fixed round the Edges of the Frame; and giving them a sudden Turn, the whole Disposition of the Words was entirely changed. He then commanded Six and Thirty of the Lads to read the several Lines softly as they appeared upon the Frame; and where they found three or four Words together that might make Part of a

34 *Assistance from Genius or Study*: in Section 7 of *A Tale of a Tub* Swift had lampooned the various 'modern' methods of becoming '*Scholars and Wits*, without the Fatigue of *Reading* or of *Thinking*' (*CWJS*, vol. I, p. 96; Davis, vol. I, p. 91). Cf., however, Mandeville's celebration of the mechanizing of artistry as an achievement of modernity in 'The Sixth Dialogue' of *The Fable of the Bees*: 'I know nothing to which the Laws and establish'd Oeconomy of a well-order'd City may be more justly compared, than the Knitting-frame. The Machine, at first View, is intricate and unintelligible; yet the Effects of it are exact and beautiful; and in what is produced by it, there is a surprizing Regularity: But the Beauty and Exactness in the Manufacture are principally, if not altogether, owing to the Happiness of the Invention, the Contrivance of the Engine. For the greatest Artist at it can furnish us with no better Work, than may be made by almost any Scoundrel after half a Year's Practice' (*Fable of the Bees*, vol. II, p. 322).

35 *Superficies*: the outer surface of a body (*OED*, 2). The term is used in Section 9 of *A Tale of a Tub*, in its half mock, half serious, advice that 'He that can with *Epicurus* content his Ideas with the *Films* and *Images* that fly off upon his Senses from the *Superficies* of Things; Such a Man truly wise, creams off Nature, leaving the Sower and the Dregs, for Philosophy and Reason to lap up' (*CWJS*, vol. I, p. 112; Davis, vol. I, p. 110).

36 *Moods, Tenses, and Declensions*: *mood*: a form or set of forms of a verb in an inflected language, serving to indicate whether the verb expresses fact, command, wish, conditionality, etc. (*OED*, 1 a); *tense*: any one of the different forms in the conjugation of a verb which indicate the different times (past, present or future) at which the action is viewed as happening or existing (*OED*, 2 a); *declension*: the variation of the form of a noun, adjective or pronoun, constituting its different cases (*OED*, II 4 a).

Sentence, they dictated to the four remaining Boys who were Scribes. This Work was repeated three or four Times, and at every Turn the Engine was so contrived, that the Words shifted into new Places, as the square Bits of Wood moved upside down.³⁷

Six Hours a-Day the young Students were employed in this Labour; and the Professor shewed me several Volumes in large Folio already collected, of broken Sentences, which he intended to piece together;³⁸ and out of those rich Materials to give the World a compleat Body of all Arts and Sciences;³⁹ which however might be still improved, and much expedited, if the Publick would raise a Fund for making and employing five Hundred such Frames in *Lagado*, and oblige the Managers⁴⁰ to contribute in common their several Collections.

He assured me, that this Invention had employed all his Thoughts from his Youth; that he had emptied the whole Vocabulary into his Frame, and made the strictest Computation of the general Proportion there is in Books between the Numbers of Particles, Nouns, and Verbs, and other Parts of Speech.

I made my humblest Acknowledgments to this illustrious Person for his great Communicativeness; and promised if ever I had the good Fortune to return to my native Country, that I would do him Justice, as the sole

37 *moved upside down*: for a more jovial representation of spontaneous composition, consider 'Dr. Sw—— to Mr. P——e, While he was writing the Dunciad': 'Each Atom by some other struck, / All Turns and Motion tries; / Till in a Lump together stuck, / Behold a Poem rise!' (Williams, *Poems*, p. 406, lines 13–16).

38 *broken Sentences, which he intended to piece together*: the phrase 'broken sentences' was a term of art in early eighteenth-century politics, used to denote the unfair textual freedoms taken by unscrupulous politicians. The anonymous *Considerations Upon the Secret History of the White Staff* (1714) accused Harley of attempting 'to rule the Nation by broken Sentences and broken Promises' (p. 15). Henry Sacheverell had accused the managers for the prosecution at his state trial of 'piecing broken Sentences, and conjoining distant and independent Passages, in order to make me speak, what I never thought of' (*Dr Sacheverell's Speech Upon His Impeachment* (1710), p. 8: much reprinted). Such shared language serves to link Swift's satire on corruptions in learning in this chapter to his satire on political corruptions in Chapter 6.

39 *compleat Body of all Arts and Sciences*: in *The Sentiments of a Church-of-England Man* (1708), Swift contended that 'Arts and Sciences took their Rise, and flourished only in those few small Territories where the People were free' (Davis, vol. II, p. 18). In *An Argument Against Abolishing Christianity* (1708), the author declares that the restoration of primitive Christianity would 'extinguish Arts and Sciences with the Professors of them' (Davis, vol. II, p. 27). In the *Key* this is said to refer to the poetry of Sir Richard Blackmore (Part III, p. 20).

40 *Managers*: the term used also for those charged with the prosecution in a state trial (*OED*, 2): see, e.g., *A Compleat History of the Whole Proceedings of the Parliament of Great Britain Against Dr Henry Sacheverell* (1710), p. 27.

Inventer of this wonderful Machine; the Form and Contrivance of which I desired Leave to delineate upon Paper as in the Figure here annexed. I told him, although it were the Custom of our Learned in *Europe* to steal Inventions from each other,⁴¹ who had thereby at least this Advantage, that it became a Controversy which was the right Owner; yet I would take such Caution, that he should have the Honour entire without a Rival.⁴²

We next went to the School of Languages,⁴³ where three Professors sat in Consultation upon improving that of their own Country.

The first Project was to shorten Discourse⁴⁴ by cutting Polysyllables into one, and leaving out Verbs and Participles; because in Reality all things imaginable are but Nouns.⁴⁵

The other, was a Scheme for entirely abolishing all Words whatsoever: And this was urged as a great Advantage in Point of Health as well as Brevity. For, it is plain, that every Word we speak is in some Degree a Diminution of our Lungs by Corrosion;⁴⁶ and consequently contributes

41 *from each other*: an allusion to the dispute between Newton and Leibniz concerning which of them had discovered calculus.

42 *without a Rival*: Cyrano de Bergerac makes a similar promise: 'I now entreated him to give me some Instructions with respect to the eternal Origin of the World, of which I had lately heard talk; and in Requital I promised to immortalize his Glory by publishing from whom I had received the Secrets wherewith he should entrust me' (*Voyage to the Moon*, pp. 121–2).

43 *School of Languages*: cf. Swift's own *A Proposal for Correcting, Improving and Ascertaining the English Tongue* (1712), which envisaged the creation of an academy 'to reform our Language' derived from 'the Example of the *French*. . . to imitate where these have proceeded right, and to avoid their Mistakes' (Davis, vol. IV, pp. 13–14).

44 *shorten Discourse*: Swift deplored this development in the spoken usage of his own day when he had his persona in *Polite Conversation* (1738), 'Simon Wagstaff, praise it extravagantly: 'THE only Invention of late Years, which hath any Way contributed to advance Politeness in Discourse, is that of abbreviating, or reducing Words of many Syllables into one, by lopping off the rest. This Refinement, having begun about the Time of the Revolution, I had some Share in the Honour of promoting it' (Davis, vol. IV, p. 106). Mandeville noted how 'by frequent use and the Laconick Spirit of the Nation' Geneva had 'from a Word of middling Length shrunk into a Monosyllable, Intoxicating Gin' (*Fable of the Bees*, vol. I, p. 89).

45 *all things imaginable are but Nouns*: cf. Hobbes, *Leviathan* (1651), I.iv. 'Of Speech', where language is said to consist of 'Names or Appellations' (*Leviathan*, p. 24).

46 *a Diminution of our Lungs by Corrosion*: possibly a reference to the hypothesis of Lucretius, that 'sounds and words are corporeal, because they are able to hurt [by making the throat sore]' ('haud igitur dubiumst quin voces verbaque constent / corporeis e principiis, ut laedere possint'; *De Rerum Natura*, IV.533–4). Robert Hooke had recently called for experiments to determine 'whether the Heat in Animals be not caus'd by the continual working of the Liquors and Juices of the Body one upon another, and more especially by the uniting of the Volatile Salt of the Air with the Blood in the Lungs, which is done by a kind of Corrosion or Fermentation' (*Posthumous Works*, p. 50).

to the shortning of our Lives. An Expedient was therefore offered, that since Words are only Names for *Things*,⁴⁷ it would be more convenient for all Men to carry about them, such *Things* as were necessary to express the particular Business they are to discourse on. And this Invention would certainly have taken Place, to the great Ease as well as Health of the Subject, if the Women in Conjunction with the Vulgar and Illiterate⁴⁸ had not threatned to raise a Rebellion, unless they might be allowed the Liberty to speak with their Tongues, after the Manner of their Forefathers: Such constant irreconcilable Enemies to Science are the common People.⁴⁹

47 *Words are only Names for Things*: In *De Corpore* (1655) Hobbes had defined words as names of things (Chapter 6, § 13). Thomas Sprat famously recorded the determination of the Royal Society 'to reject all the amplifications, digressions, and swellings of style: to return back to the primitive purity, and shortness, when men deliver'd so many *things*, almost in an equal number of *words*' (Sprat, *History*, p. 113); and in his 'To the Royal Society', the ode which prefaces Sprat's *History*, Cowley had praised Bacon for redirecting men's attention 'From Words, which are but Pictures of the Thought . . . To Things, the Minds right Object' (Sprat, *History*, sig. B2^r). A few years later, however, Locke would insist that words represent not things but ideas, and would criticize the opposite opinion as a common error: 'All Things, that exist, being Particulars, it may perhaps be thought reasonable, that Words, which ought to be conformed to Things, should be so too, I mean in their Signification: but yet we find the quite contrary'; 'Words become general, by being made the signs of general *Ideas*' (*Human Understanding*, III.iii.1 and 6). Cf. Defoe's description of '*Hiroglyphicks*', which has tantalizing affinities with this passage of *GT* (Defoe, *Literature*, pp. 6–7).

48 *the Vulgar and Illiterate*: in his *A Letter to a Young Gentleman, Lately Enter'd into Holy Orders* (1721), Swift said that, when choosing diction, 'I am apt to put my self in the Place of the Vulgar'; and he recommended the practice of Lord Falkland, 'that when he doubted whether a Word were perfectly intelligible or no, he used to consult one of his Lady's Chambermaids . . . and by her Judgment was guided, whether to receive or reject it' (Davis, vol. IX, 65). Faulkner reports that Swift adopted a similar practice when revising the texts of his works for publication: 'the Editor should attend him early every Morning, or when most convenient, to read to him, that the Sounds might strike the Ear, as well as the Sense the Understanding, and [he] had always two Men Servants present for this Purpose; and when he had any Doubt, he would ask them the Meaning of what they heard; which, if they did not comprehend, he would alter and amend until they understood it perfectly well, and then would say, *This will do; for I write to the Vulgar, more than to the Learned*' (Davis, vol. XIII, pp. 202–3). Note that in Part II, Chapter 7, Glumdalclitch's 'little old Treatise' of 'Morality and Devotion' which so diverts Gulliver is little esteemed except 'among Women and the Vulgar' (above, pp. 197–98). The 'impartial' speaker in 'Verses on the Death of Dr Swift' praises Swift's 'Works in Verse and Prose' by noting that, whatever critics may have thought of them, 'all People bought 'em' (Williams, *Poems*, p. 565, lines 306, 309 and 312).

49 *the common People*: not, however, in ancient Greece, where the spread of the Greek language through the ancient world was attributed to 'the love the People had to the Sciences, speculative Learning and Civility whereof the *Greeks* accounted themselves to be the grand Masters, accounting all other Nations *Barbarians* besides themselves' (James Howell, *Epistolae Ho-Eliaanae*, eighth edition (1713), p. 358). Like 'Richard Sympson', Swift 'was resolved to fit the Work as much as possible to the general Capacity of Readers' (above, p. 16). His

However, many of the most Learned and Wise adhere to the new Scheme of expressing themselves by *Things*; which hath only this Inconvenience attending it; that if a Man's Business be very great, and of various Kinds, he must be obliged in Proportion to carry a greater Bundle of *Things* upon his Back, unless he can afford one or two strong Servants to attend him.⁵⁰ I have often beheld two of those Sages almost sinking under the Weight of their Packs, like Pedlars among us; who when they met in the Streets would lay down their Loads, open their Sacks, and hold Conversation for an Hour together;⁵¹ then put up their Implements, help each other to resume their Burthens, and take their Leave.

But, for short Conversations a Man may carry Implements in his Pockets and under his Arms, enough to supply him, and in his House he cannot be at a Loss; therefore the Room where Company meet who practice this Art, is full of all *Things* ready at Hand, requisite to furnish Matter for this Kind of artificial Converse.

recognition of the common people ('my friends the Vulgar', as he put it in a letter to Pope of 8 July 1733: Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, p. 663) as the court of last appeal in matters of language and comprehensibility is reflected in his practice, reported by Faulkner, of testing his prose against ordinary understandings (noted above; cf. also Pilkington, pp. 60–1); cf. also 'Mary the Cook-Maid's Letter to Dr Sheridan' (Williams, *Poems*, pp. 985–7), for a comical (but not entirely satirical) dramatization of the linguistic correction of the learned by the lowly. In the *Argument Against Abolishing Christianity* (1708), the vulgar cling to Christianity while the more refined fractions of society abandon it (Davis, vol. II, p. 27). A mistrust of the vaunted capacities of the learned, and a concomitant willingness (where appropriate) to confide in common understandings, is an aspect of Hobbes's cast of mind which must have appealed to Swift: cf., e.g., 'Objection from the Incapacity of the Vulgar' (*Leviathan*, p. 233).

50 *one or two strong Servants to attend him*: cf. the Drapier's mocking illustration of the practical inconveniences of accepting Wood's halfpence: 'If a *Squire* has a mind to come to Town to buy Cloaths and Wine and Spices for himself and Family, or perhaps to pass the Winter here; he must bring with him five or six Horses loaded with *Sacks* as the *Farmers* bring their Corn; and when his Lady comes in her Coach to our Shops, it must be followed by a Car loaded with Mr. WOOD's Money . . . THEY say SQUIRE CONNOLLY has *Sixteen Thousand Pounds* a Year; now if he send for his *Rent* to Town, as it is likely he does, he must have *Two Hundred and Fifty Horses* to bring up his *Half Year's Rent*, and two or three great *Cellars* in his House for Stowage' (Davis, vol. X, pp. 6–7). Cf. also Plutarch's account of the inconvenient consequences of Lycurgus's abolition of gold and silver among the Spartans ('Lycurgus', IX.1). Defoe relates that early itinerant printers 'carried about their Letters in Bags at their Backs' (Defoe, *Literature*, p. 126).

51 *for an Hour together*: cf. Swift's comparison of Atlas to a porter: 'He bore the Skyes upon his Back / Just as a Porter does his Pack / But, as a Porter overpresst / Unloads upon a Stall to rest / Or when he can no longer stand / Desires some Friend to lend a Hand' (Williams, *Poems*, p. 160, lines 3–8).

Another great Advantage proposed by this Invention, was, that it would serve as an universal Language⁵² to be understood in all civilized Nations, whose Goods and Utensils are generally of the same Kind, or nearly resembling, so that their Uses might easily be comprehended. And thus, Embassadors would be qualified to treat with foreign Princes or Ministers of State, to whose Tongues they were utter Strangers.

I was at the Mathematical School, where the Master taught his Pupils after a Method scarce imaginable to us in *Europe*.⁵³ The Proposition and Demonstration were fairly written on a thin Wafer, with Ink composed of a Cephalick Tincture.⁵⁴ This the Student was to swallow upon a fasting Stomach, and for three Days following eat nothing but Bread and Water. As the Wafer digested, the Tincture mounted to his Brain,⁵⁵ bearing

52 *an universal Language*: the quest for a universal language was one of the great intellectual enterprises of the seventeenth century. In England, the dominant figure was John Wilkins, whose *Essay Towards a Real Character and a Philosophical Language* was published in 1668, and who according to the *Key* is being satirized here (p. 22). An interesting precursor was George Dalgarno, whose *Ars Signorum* had been published in 1661. The phrase 'universal language' might, however, refer not to an artificial language, but to a natural one such as Latin or French (Latin: Francis Bacon, 'Epistle Dedicatorie', *Essays*, ed. M. Kiernan (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), p. 5; Bentley, *Phalaris*, p. 406; French: Joseph Addison, 'Dedication', *Remarks on Several Parts of Italy*, second edition (The Hague, 1718), sig. * 4^r). In his *An Essay Towards a New Theory of Vision* (Dublin, 1709), Berkeley argued that 'the proper Objects of Vision constitute the Universal Language of Nature' (p. 172). Sir William Temple mocked the quest for a universal language as one of the intellectual chimeras typical of the moderns 'An Universal Language, which may serve all Men's Turn, when they have forgot their own' (Temple, vol. I, p. 303). Modern scholarship on the subject includes, most recently, Robert E. Stillman, *The New Philosophy and Universal Languages in Seventeenth-Century England: Bacon, Hobbes, and Wilkins* (London: Associated University Presses, 1995); David Cram and Jaap Maat (eds.), *George Dalgarno on Universal Language* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001); and Rhodri Lewis, *Language, Mind and Nature: Artificial Languages in England from Bacon to Locke* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

53 *to us in Europe*: cf. Swift's remark to Archbishop King in a letter of 29 March 1712: 'I understand nothing of the Mathematicks' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. I, p. 421); and above, p. 235, n. 37.

54 *Cephalick Tincture*: a medicine for the head. Cf. Arbuthnot's prescription of 5 November 1730 for tinctures to treat Swift's giddiness (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, pp. 330–1).

55 *mounted to his Brain*: images linking the material to the mental recur in Swift's early writings; e.g. in *A Tale of a Tub*, Section 9 the consequences of Henri IV's sexual frustration: 'the collected part of the *Semen*, raised and enflamed, became adust, converted to Choler, turned head upon the spinal Duct, and ascended to the Brain' (*CWJS*, vol. I, p. 106; Davis, vol. I, p. 104); cf. Swift to Ambrose Philips, 10 July 1708: 'what a wise man eats and drinks, rises upwards and is the Nourishment of his Head where all is digested' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. I, p. 199). Cf. also Peter's remedy 'for the *Worms*, especially those in the *Spleen*' when he has turned '*Projector* and *Virtuoso*' in *A Tale of a Tub*, Section 4: 'The Patient was to eat nothing after Supper for three Nights: as soon as he went to Bed, he was carefully to lye on

the Proposition along with it.⁵⁶ But the Success hath not hitherto been answerable, partly by some Error in the *Quantum* or Composition, and partly by the Perverseness of Lads; to whom this Bolus⁵⁷ is so nauseous, that they generally steal aside, and discharge it upwards before it can operate,⁵⁸ neither have they been yet persuaded to use so long an Abstinence as the Prescription requires.

one Side, and when he grew weary, to turn upon the other: He must also duly confine his two Eyes to the same Object; and by no means break Wind at both ends together, without manifest Occasion. These Prescriptions diligently observed, the *Worms* would void insensibly by Perspiration, ascending thro' the *Brain*' (*CWJS*, vol. I, pp. 68 and 69; Davis, vol. I, pp. 65 and 66; for other examples, see *CWJS*, vol. I, pp. 82, 105–6 and 147; Davis, vol. I, pp. 78–9, 102–3 and 146).

56 *along with it*: cf. Revelation 10:1–11, in which St John acquires the gift of prophesy by eating the 'little book' which is offered him by a 'mighty angel': 'Take it, and eat it up; and it shall make thy belly bitter, but it shall be in thy mouth sweet as honey' (10:9); cf. also Ezekiel 3:1–3. This detail of the text of *GT* caught the attention of its first readers. It perhaps influenced Pope's choice of metaphor when he wrote to Swift on 15 October 1725 concerning his motives in writing *GT*: 'I find you would rather be employ'd as an Avenging Angel of wrath, to break your Vial of Indignation over the heads of the wretched pitiful creatures of this World; nay would make them Eat your Book, which you have made as bitter a pill for them as possible' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. II, p. 612). In *A Trip to the Moon* (Dublin, 1728), the traveller learns a language by eating a cooked dictionary (p. 15).

57 *Bolus*: a medicine of round shape adapted for swallowing, and larger than an ordinary pill (*OED*, 1 a). On 11 December 1718 Arbuthnot wrote to Swift that he had 'done good lately to a patient & a freind in that Complaint of a Vertigo by Cinnabar of Antimony & Castor, made up into Bolus's with Confect of Alkermes' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. II, p. 282). The 'Beautiful Nymph' 'takes a *Bolus* e'er she sleeps' ('A Beautiful Young Nymph Going to Bed', line 37: Williams, *Poems*, p. 582). In *Three Hours After Marriage*, Plotwell proposes to 'bombard' his rival Underplot 'wid de Bolus' (II.365–6; Gay, *Dramatic Works*, vol. I, p. 240). In the anonymous anti-Whig pamphlet of 1714, *Advocates for Murther and Rebellion, the Pest of Government*, the publisher of the Whiggish writers who had defended the execution of Charles I and argued for the discontinuation of the commemoration of that execution on 30 January is charged with consenting 'entirely to what is therein contained; else, 'tis not to be imagined, he would have cram'd his Reader with such a fulsome Bolus of Poison without some sort of Antidote, some Apology to prepare him for the Draught' (p. 9).

58 *before it can operate*: cf. the young Swift's description of the 'proud Ign'rance' of modernity in his 'Ode to the Hon^{ble} Sir William Temple': 'They purchase Knowledge at the Expence / Of common Breeding, common Sense, / And at once grow Scholars and Fools; / Affect ill-manner'd Pedantry, / Rudeness, Ill-nature, Incivility, / And sick with Dregs of Knowledge grown, / Which greedily they swallow down, / Still cast it up and nauseate Company' (Williams, *Poems*, p. 27, lines 42–9). In the mock character of 'A Panegyric on Dean Swift', Swift ascribes to himself an ability to digest anything, no matter how nauseous: 'No Wonder you should think it little / To lick a Rascal Statesman's Spittle, / Who have, to shew your great Devotion, / Oft swallow'd down a stronger Potion, / A Composition more absurd, / Bob's Spittle mix'd with Harry's T— / Oh, could'st thou teach us how to zest / Such Draughts as this, and then digest' (Williams, *Poems*, p. 495, lines 58–65).

CHAPTER VI.

A further Account of the Academy. The Author proposeth some Improvements, which are honourably received.

In the School of political Projectors I was but ill entertained; the Professors appearing in my Judgment wholly out of their Senses; which is a Scene that never fails to make me melancholy.¹ These unhappy People were proposing Schemes for persuading Monarchs to chuse Favourites upon the Score of their Wisdom, Capacity and Virtue; of teaching Ministers to consult the publick Good; of rewarding Merit, great Abilities, and eminent Services; of instructing Princes to know their true Interest, by placing it on the same Foundation with that of their People:² Of chusing for Employments Persons qualified to exercise them; with many other wild impossible Chimæras, that never entered before into the Heart of Man to conceive; and confirmed in me the old Observation, that there is nothing so extravagant and irrational which some Philosophers have not maintained for Truth.

But, however I shall so far do Justice to this Part of the Academy, as to acknowledge that all of them were not so visionary. There was a most ingenious Doctor who seemed to be perfectly versed in the whole Nature and System of Government. This illustrious Person had very usefully employed his Studies in finding out effectual Remedies for all Diseases and Corruptions, to which the several Kinds of publick Administration are subject

1 *make me melancholy*: cf. the parallel visit to Bedlam in *A Tale of a Tub*, Section 9 (*CWJS*, vol. I, p. 113; Davis, vol. I, p. 111).

2 *that of their People*: a topos in the tradition of *serio ludere* of which *GT* is a part. Cf., e.g., Hythlodæus's description of his idea of the relation between a prince and his subjects in *Utopia*: 'Suppose I said his honour and his safety alike rest on the people's resources rather than his own? Suppose I said that people choose a king for their own sake, not his, so that by his efforts and troubles they may live in comfort and safety? That is why, I would say, it is the king's duty to take more care of his people's welfare than of his own, just as it is the duty of a shepherd who cares about his job to feed the sheep rather than himself' (*Utopia*, pp. 32–3).

by the Vices or Infirmities of those who govern, as well as by the Licensiveness of those who are to obey. For Instance: Whereas all Writers and Reasoners have agreed, that there is a strict universal Resemblance between the natural and the political Body;³ can there be any thing more evident, than that the Health of both must be preserved, and the Diseases cured by the same Prescriptions? It is allowed, that Senates and great Councils are often troubled with redundant, ebullient, and other peccant Humours;⁴ with many Diseases of the Head, and more of the Heart; with strong Convulsions, with grievous Contractions of the Nerves and Sinews in both Hands, but especially the Right;⁵ With Spleen, Flatus, Vertigoes and Deliriums; with scrophulous Tumours full of foetid purulent Matter; with sower frothy Ructations; with Canine Appetites and Crudeness of Digestion;⁶ besides many others needless to mention. This

3 *the natural and the political Body*: the most famous example of such an equivalence is Menenius's fable of the belly: Livy, II.xxii; Plutarch, 'Coriolanus', VI.ii-iv; Erasmus, *Praise of Folly*, p. 40; Philip Sidney, *Apologie for Poetry*, ed. G. Shepherd (London: Thomas Nelson, 1965), p. 115; Shakespeare, *Coriolanus*, I.i.95-153. A pamphlet of 1712 attacking Marlborough, of which Swift may have been aware (see above, p. 61, n. 16), denied the equivalence: 'the Condition of a Body Politic, is so different from that of Humane' (*Oliver's Pocket Looking-Glass*, the third edition (1712), p. 5).

4 *redundant, ebullient, and other peccant Humours*: in ancient Greek medical theory, and especially in that of Hippocrates, illness was caused by an imbalance of the four 'humours' of the body (blood, phlegm, choler and melancholy or black bile). *Redundant*: superfluous, excessive. *Ebullient*: agitated, hot, effervescent (*OED*, 2 a). *Peccant*: unhealthy, corrupt, diseased, causing disease (*OED*, 1 a).

5 *especially the Right*: i.e. the hand which both writes and accepts bribes.

6 *With Spleen . . . Crudeness of Digestion*: a brief anthology of medical language, comparable to the anthology of nautical language in Part II, Chapter 1 (above, pp. 119-21). *Spleen*: violent ill-nature or ill-humour; irritable or peevish temper (*OED*, 6). *Flatus*: wind, or a morbid inflation or swelling (*OED*, 2 and 3); cf. Swift's *Vindication of Lord Carteret* (1730) (Davis, vol. XII, pp. 157-8; quoted below, p. 540). *Scrophulous Tumours*: scrophula, or the 'king's evil', is a constitutional disease characterized mainly by chronic enlargement and degeneration of the lymphatic glands (*OED*); according to Sir Richard Blackmore, 'Scrophulous Tumours are formed like others by gradual Accretion, that is, the morbifick viscous Coagulations mingled with the Blood becoming incapable by Reason of their disproportionate Figure and Dimensions to insinuate themselves, and glide peaceably through the minute and winding Ambages of the Glands, are obstructed in their Passage and stick fast in the Pores of those fine Strainers, and by the perpetual Addition of new tenaceous Combinations peculiar to this Disease, the Tumour is much augmented, and grows more prominent' (*Discourses on the Gout* (1726), p. 138). *Ructations*: belching (*OED*, citing this passage); cf. *A Tale of a Tub*, Section 8 (1704), where enthusiastic preachers, or Aeolists, 'affirm the Gift of BELCHING, to be the noblest Act of a Rational Creature' (*CWJS*, vol. I, p. 100; Davis, vol. I, p. 96). *Canine Appetites*: voracious, greedy; a morbid hunger, chiefly occurring in idiots and maniacs (*OED*,

Doctor therefore proposed, that upon the meeting of a Senate, certain Physicians should attend at the three first Days of their sitting, and at the Close of each Day's Debate, feel the Pulses of every Senator; after which having maturely considered, and consulted upon the Nature of the several Maladies, and the Methods of Cure; they should on the fourth Day return to the Senate-House, attended by their Apothecaries stored with proper Medicines; and before the Members sat, administer to each of them Lenitives, Aperitives, Abstersives, Corrosives, Restringents, Palliatives, Laxatives, Cephalalgicks, Ictericks, Apophlegmatics, Acousticks,⁷ as their several Cases required; and according as these Medicines should operate, repeat, alter, or omit them at the next Meeting.

This Project could not be of any great Expence to the Publick; and might in my poor Opinion, be of much Use for the Dispatch of Business in those Countries where Senates have any Share in the legislative Power; beget Unanimity, shorten Debates, open a few Mouths which are now closed, and close many more which are now open; curb the Petulancy of the Young, and correct the Positiveness of the Old;⁸ rouze the Stupid, and damp the Pert.

Again; Because it is a general Complaint that the Favourites of Princes are troubled with short and weak Memories; the same Doctor proposed, that whoever attended a first Minister, after having told his Business with the utmost Brevity, and in the plainest Words; should at his Departure give the said Minister a Tweak by the Nose, or a Kick in the Belly, or tread on his Corns, or lug him thrice by both Ears, or run a Pin into his Breech,

'canine' 1 b and 'bulimy' 1); 'a canine Appetite . . . call'd *Pica*, a deprav'd longing Appetite or Desire to such Things as cannot be turn'd into Nutrition' (Herman Boerhaave, *Institutions in Physick*, tr. J. Browne, second edition (1715), sig. Q5^r; cf. Stephen Blacard, *The Physical Dictionary*, fourth edition (1702), p. 98). *Crudeness of Digestion*: indigestion.

7 *Lenitives* . . . *Acousticks*: again, all terms of medical art, and offered by Swift as another florilegium of the language of modern folly. *Lenitives*: painkillers. *Aperitives*: laxatives. *Abstersives*: purgatives. *Corrosives*: caustic medicines destructive of organic tissue. *Restringtons*: medicines that relieve diarrhoea by inhibiting the action of the bowels. *Palliatives*: medicines which relieve symptoms without addressing underlying causes. *Laxatives*: slightly purgative medicines which unload the bowels. *Cephalalgicks*: medicines for headache. *Ictericks*: medicines for the cure of jaundice. *Apophlegmatics*: expectorants, which act to remove phlegm. *Acousticks*: medicines to improve the hearing. Swift himself suffered from periodic and intermittent deafness.

8 *the Positiveness of the Old*: one of Swift's resolutions of 1699, collected under the heading 'When I come to be old', is 'Not to be positive or opiniatre' (Davis, vol. I, p. xxxvii).

or pinch his Arm black and blue; to prevent Forgetfulness:⁹ And at every Levee Day¹⁰ repeat the same Operation, till the Business were done or absolutely refused.

He likewise directed, that every Senator in the great Council of a Nation, after he had delivered his Opinion, and argued in the Defence of it, should be obliged to give his Vote directly contrary; because if that were done, the Result would infallibly terminate in the Good of the Publick.

When Parties in a State are violent, he offered a wonderful Contrivance to reconcile them.¹¹ The Method is this. You take an Hundred Leaders of each Party; you dispose them into Couples of such whose Heads are nearest of a Size; then let two nice Operators saw off the *Occiput*¹² of each Couple at the same Time, in such a Manner that the Brain may be equally divided. Let the *Occiputs* thus cut off be interchanged, applying each to the Head of his opposite Party-man. It seems indeed to be a Work that requireth some Exactness; but the Professor assured us, that if it were dextrously performed, the Cure would be infallible. For he argued thus; that the two half Brains being left to debate the Matter between themselves within the Space of one Scull, would soon come to a good Understanding, and produce that Moderation as well as Regularity of Thinking, so much to be wished for in the Heads of those, who imagine they came into the World

9 *to prevent Forgetfulness*: according to Deane Swift, Swift believed that he had on a number of occasions suffered from the forgetfulness of the great: examples include an unfulfilled promise from William III of a prebend at Canterbury or Westminster (*Essay*, pp. 106–7) and an unfulfilled expectation of £1,000 from either Anne or Oxford to defray the costs of Swift's assumption of the Deanship of St Patrick's (Williams, *JSt*, pp. 664 and 669). This passage was applied by Laetitia Pilkington to the behaviour she claimed to have had to endure at the hands of her mother (Pilkington, p. 14). In *A Trip to the Moon* (Dublin, 1728), the voyager to the moon gives a visitor 'two or three Kicks for a Token to put him in mind of me' (p. 29).

10 *Levee Day*: a day on which the ceremony of the levee, an assembly held (in the early afternoon) by the sovereign or his representative, occurs (*OED*, 2 b; citing this passage).

11 *Contrivance to reconcile them*: for a possible classical source (although one free of Swift's wild violence) cf. Solon's law prescribing ostracism for the ringleaders of political parties (Aristotle, *Athenian Constitution*, VIII.5; Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticae*, II.12). More recently, cf. George Savile, Marquis of Halifax, 'Of Parties': 'Party cutteth off one half of the World from the other, so that the mutual Improvement of Men's Understanding by conversing, &c. is lost, and Men are half undone, when they lose the advantage of knowing what their Enemies think of them' (Halifax, vol. II, p. 235). Cf. Swift to the Earl of Peterborough, [19] February 1711: 'this schism in politicks has cloven our understandings' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. I, p. 334). On the general subject of Swift and Party, see Long note 13.

12 *Occiput*: the back or posterior part of the head (*OED*, 1).

only to watch and govern its Motion:¹³ And as to the Difference of Brains in Quantity or Quality, among those who are Directors in Faction; the Doctor assured us from his own Knowledge, that it was a perfect Trifle.¹⁴

I heard a very warm Debate between two Professors, about the most commodious and effectual Ways and Means of raising Money without grieving the Subject. The first affirmed, the justest Method would be to lay a certain Tax upon Vices and Folly;¹⁵ and the Sum fixed upon every Man, to be rated after the fairest Manner by a Jury of his Neighbours. The second was of an Opinion directly contrary; to tax those Qualities of Body and Mind for which Men chiefly value themselves; the Rate to be more or less according to the Degrees of excelling; the Decision whereof should be left entirely to their own Breast. The highest Tax was upon Men, who are the greatest Favourites of the other Sex; and the Assessments according to the Number and Natures of the Favours they have received; for which they are allowed to be their own Vouchers. Wit, Valour, and Politeness were likewise proposed to be largely taxed, and collected in the same Manner, by every Person giving his own Word for the Quantum of what he possessed. But, as to Honour, Justice, Wisdom and Learning, they should not be taxed at all; because, they are Qualifications of so singular a Kind, that no Man will either allow them in his Neighbour, or value them in himself.

The Women were proposed to be taxed according to their Beauty and Skill in Dressing; wherein they had the same Privilege with the Men, to be determined by their own Judgment. But Constancy, Chastity, good Sense, and good Nature were not rated, because they would not bear the Charge of Collecting.

To keep Senators in the Interest of the Crown,¹⁶ it was proposed that the Members should raffle for Employments; every Man first taking an Oath, and giving Security that he would vote for the Court, whether he won or

13 *only to watch and govern its Motion*: possibly an allusion to the Aesopian fable of the fly on the axle tree, who imagined that he was responsible for his speed of movement. The fable had been applied to Henry Sacheverell by William Bisset in *The Modern Fanatick* (1710), p. 2.

14 *a perfect Trifle*: see Long note 17 on the confusions of Tory and Whig.

15 *a certain Tax upon Vices and Folly*: this is the corollary of what Swift proposed in his *Project for the Advancement of Religion and the Reformation of Manners* (1709), in which preferment was to be reserved for the religious and virtuous: i.e. there would be in effect a negative tax on virtue and religious observance.

16 *in the Interest of the Crown*: a glance at Walpole's notorious management of the House of Commons by means of a system of secret payments.

no; after which the Losers had in their Turn the Liberty of raffling upon the next Vacancy. Thus, Hope and Expectation would be kept alive; none would complain of broken Promises, but impute their Disappointments wholly to Fortune, whose Shoulders are broader and stronger than those of a Ministry.

Another Professor shewed me a large Paper of Instructions for discovering Plots and Conspiracies against the Government.¹⁷ He advised great Statesmen to examine into the Dyet of all suspected Persons; their Times of eating; upon which Side they lay in Bed; with which Hand they wiped their Posteriors; to take a strict View of their Excrements,¹⁸ and from the Colour, the Odour, the Taste, the Consistence, the Crudeness, or Maturity of Digestion, form a Judgment of their Thoughts and Designs: Because Men are never so serious, thoughtful, and intent, as when they are at Stool;¹⁹ which he found by frequent Experiment: For in such Conjunctions, when he used merely as a Trial to consider which was the best Way of murdering the King,²⁰ his Ordure would have a Tincture of Green; but quite different when he thought only of raising an Insurrection, or burning the Metropolis.²¹

17 *against the Government*: after 1714, Swift himself was accused of being a fomentor of plots: see Anon., *Essays Divine, Moral and Political* (1714), Essay VIII, 'Of Plots', pp. 76–82. It was a characteristic he bitterly and mockingly ascribed to himself in 'A Panegyric on Dean Swift': 'Your *Horace* not content to quote, / You at a Pinch could *forge* a Plot; / The fatal *Box* it self display'd, / Where *Whigs* their cursed *Trains* had laid; / Nor ceas'd the *Faction* to pursue, / Till you had got them in a *Screw*' (Williams, *Poems*, p. 494, lines 39–44). The 'fatal *Box*' was the booby-trapped handbox sent to Harley containing two loaded pistols, which had been opened and disarmed by Swift (Williams, *JSt*, pp. 572–3). In *A Letter to Mr Pope* (1721) Swift called his own times 'a plot-discovering age' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. II, p. 361).

18 *a strict View of their Excrements*: Swift's Jacobite friend Atterbury was prosecuted on the basis of documents found in his close-stool; see below, p. 282, n. 31. Cf. what can be inferred from the shape and smell of excrement in *An Examination of Certain Abuses* (1732) (Davis, vol. XII, pp. 220–1). In *A Trip to the Moon* (Dublin, 1728), the inspection of stools is recommended in order to judge 'Intention, as well as Habit of Body' (p. 19).

19 *as when they are at Stool*: possibly a recollection of Suetonius, 'Vespasian', XX.

20 *merely as a Trial... murdering the King*: even to imagine the death of the king was an act of treason. 25 Edw. III. c. 2 divides high treason into seven branches, of which the first is 'When a man doth compass or imagine the death of our lord the king, of our lady his queen, or of their eldest son and heir' (Blackstone, *Commentaries*, vol. IV, pp. 76–9). For the consequences of this definition of treason later in the eighteenth century, see John Barrell, *Imagining the King's Death: Figurative Treason, Fantasies of Regicide 1793–1796* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000). Note that the discarded 'Lindalino' passage concludes by imagining an act of king-killing (below, p. 743).

21 *burning the Metropolis*: cf. the long passage in *An Examination of Certain Abuses* (1732), comparing Hibernian and British excrement (Davis, vol. XII, pp. 220–1). This is another pastiche

The whole Discourse was written with great Acuteness, containing many Observations both curious and useful for Politicians, but as I conceived not altogether compleat. This I ventured to tell the Author, and offered if he pleased to supply him with some Additions. He received my Proposition with more Compliance than is usual among Writers, especially those of the Projecting Species; professing he would be glad to receive farther Information.

I told him,²² that in the Kingdom of *Tribnia*, by the Natives called *Langden*,²³ where I had long sojourned, the Bulk of the People consisted wholly of Discoverers, Witnesses, Informers,²⁴ Accusers, Prosecutors, Evidences,²⁵ Swearers; together with their several subservient and subaltern Instruments; all under the Colours, the Conduct, and pay of Ministers and their Deputies. The Plots in that Kingdom are usually the

of contemporary scientific idiom. Compare Robert Boyle's account of the consequences of dissection: 'I have often observ'd in my self, that when I had assisted in the dissection of a dog, whose blood or body was rankly scented, I, for several hours after, plainly perceiv'd that odour in the excrements I voided by siege' (*Philosophical Works*, vol. I, p. 448).

- 22 *I told him*: cf. Ehrenpreis, vol. III, pp. 140–2 on the complex biographical and historical roots of the following passage.
- 23 *Langden*: the anagram of 'England' is deliberately transparent. Unravelling it, however, has the disconcerting consequence of implicating the reader in the kind of hermeneutic activity soon to be associated with the 'Set of Artists very dextrous in finding out the mysterious Meanings of Words, Syllables and Letters' (below, p. 282; and cf. 'Introduction', above, pp. lxxxviii–lxxxix). This passage drew the censure of David Hume in his essay 'Of the Populousness of Ancient Nations' (*EMPL*, p. 414, n. 100).
- 24 *Informers*: cf. above, p. 84 and below, pp. 298 and 417. Swift's correspondence often expresses his hatred of informers: 'Informers are a detestable Race of People, though they may be sometimes necessary' (to Archbishop King, 22 December 1716, Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. II, p. 204); 'the whole Tribe of Informers, the most accursed, and prostitute and abandoned race, that God ever permitted to plague mankind' (to Pope, 10 January 1721, Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. II, p. 361; and cf. p. 624). The opening of Swift's sermon 'On False Witness' captures the complexity of his feelings: 'Governors do well, when they encourage any good Subject to discover (as his Duty obligeth him) whatever Plots or Conspiracies may be any Way dangerous to the State: Neither are they to be blamed, even when they receive Informations from bad Men, in order to find out the Truth, when it concerns the public Welfare. Every one indeed is naturally inclined to have an ill Opinion of an Informer; although it is not impossible, but an honest Man may be called by that Name' (Davis, vol. IX, p. 180); and he indicts party as the reason why 'this Trade of Informing' is 'now in a flourishing Condition' (Davis, vol. IX, p. 183). For a classical account of a society plagued by informers in an author Swift greatly admired, see Tacitus, *Annals*, VI.vii.
- 25 *Evidences*: those who furnish testimony or proof, witnesses (*OED*, 7). Cf. Swift to Robert Cope, 9 October 1722: 'It is reckoned that the best trade in London this winter will be that of an evidence' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. II, p. 432); an allusion to the arrest on 28 July of Dennis Kelly and Lady Bellew on suspicion of involvement in a Jacobite plot.

Workmanship of those Persons who desire to raise their own Characters of profound Politicians;²⁶ to restore new Vigour to a crazy Administration; to stifle or divert general Discontents; to fill their Coffers with Forfeitures; and raise or sink the Opinion of publick Credit, as either shall best answer their private Advantage.²⁷ It is first agreed and settled among them, what suspected Persons shall be accused of a Plot:²⁸ Then, effectual Care is taken to secure all their Letters²⁹ and other Papers, and put the Owners in Chains. These Papers are delivered to a Set of Artists³⁰ very dextrous in finding out the mysterious Meanings of Words, Syllables and Letters. For Instance, they can decypher a Close-stool³¹ to signify a Privy-Council; a

26 *profound Politicians*: for another example of Swift's mockery of such 'profound Politicians', see *An Examination of Certain Abuses* (1732) and its ludicrous account of the detection of anti-government plots (Davis, vol. XII, pp. 222–6).

27 *private Advantage*: cf. Raphael Hythloday's catalogue of the misdemeanours of princes, which includes the following example of economic manipulation: 'Suppose that a king and his councillors are deliberating about various schemes for filling his treasury. One man recommends increasing the value of money when the king pays his debts and devaluing it when he collects his revenues. Thus he can discharge a huge debt with a small payment, and collect a large sum when only a small one is due him' (*Utopia*, p. 31). Swift's suggestion here that public credit is a tool of government is an implicit riposte to Addison's famous *Spectator* paper recounting a Whiggish allegory of public credit (no. 3, 3 March 1711; *Spectator*, vol. I, pp. 14–17).

28 *accused of a Plot*: cf. again the letter to Pope of 10 January 1721 (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. II, p. 361), and also Swift's discussion of plots in his letter to Robert Cope of 9 October 1722 (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. II, p. 432).

29 *secure all their Letters*: the opening of letters by the Post Office is a theme throughout Swift's correspondence. On 12 June 1708 Archbishop King wrote to Swift that 'we have been terrified with interception of Letters at the post office. I am sure I can write nothing that I am solicitous to conceale and yet am desirous not to give soe much interruption to any as the reading of a letter of no consequence in an ill hand may create: the good nature of mankind besides is such that they seldom search for nothing and therefore either find or make something of that nature in what they read' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. I, p. 196); for other examples, see Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. II, pp. 271–2, 355–6, 470, 531; vol. III, pp. 83, 316, 319, 332, 505, 543; vol. IV, p. 233. For an illustration of the lengths to which Walpole was prepared to go, consider his letter to Lord Townshend of October 1723, in which he reveals that Macky, a spy he had set to watch over Atterbury (then in exile in Brussels), 'has sett on foot a correspondence betwixt me and Mons. Jaupain, the post master generall at Brussels, who has engaged to open and send me copies of all letters, that come and go, to the bishop [i.e. Atterbury], from all parts of Europe, and whatever else, he may apprehend to be of consequence, and has already sent me over two letters, suppos'd to be to and from the bishop; they are very long, and ev'ry tittle in cypher; I gave them to Mr. Wills on Tuesday, and he has not been yett able to decypher them' (Coxe, *Memoirs*, vol. II, p. 284).

30 *a Set of Artists*: see Long note 28.

31 *Close-stool*: a chamber-pot enclosed in a stool or box. For its role in the prosecution of Atterbury, see above, p. 280, n. 18.

Flock of Geese, a Senate; a lame Dog, an Invader;³² the Plague, a standing Army;³³ a Buzard,³⁴ a Minister; the Gout, a High Priest;³⁵ a Gibbet, a Secretary of State; a Chamber pot, a Committee of Grandees; a Sieve a Court Lady;³⁶ a Broom, a Revolution; a Mouse-trap, an Employment;³⁷ a bottomless Pit, the Treasury; a Sink, a C——t;³⁸ a Cap and Bells, a Favourite; a broken Reed, a Court of Justice; an empty Tun, a General; a running Sore, the Administration.³⁹

- 32 *an Invader*: a dog which suffered a broken leg when being transported from France had furnished the detail in Atterbury's correspondence that allowed Walpole to identify him as the ringleader in the conspiracy. Swift's scorn for the prosecution of Atterbury is expressed in his poem of 1722, 'Upon the horrid Plot discovered by Harlequin the B—of R—'s French Dog' (Williams, *Poems*, pp. 297–301). See below p. 747 for the insertion at this point in Ford's interleaved copy, in which the blank should be filled in with the word 'king'.
- 33 *a standing Army*: see Long note 12. For the King of Brobdingnag's disbelief in the need for standing armies in Part II, Chapter 6, see above, p. 186. For associations between standing armies and the plague, see *Utopia*, p. 17, where foreign mercenaries are likened to a 'pestiferous plague', and George Granville's *A Letter from a Noble-Man Abroad* (1722), in which plague is given as a reason for maintaining a standing army: 'because in Times of Tranquillity, standing Armies might be thought a Grievance, a new kind of War was contrived, a Plague was denounced, Forces were decreed to be kept on Foot to defend us from the Almighty, and to resist the very Hand of God' (p. 5). See Long note 9.
- 34 *Buzard*: a word which unites connotations of depraved appetite, predatoriness and stupidity. A buzzard is a carrion bird of prey, or an inferior sort of hawk, useless for purposes of falconry; accordingly the word possesses the subsidiary figurative meaning of 'a worthless, stupid, or ignorant person' (*OED*, 2; cf. *Richard III*, l.i.132–3). For a similar association between a bird of prey and a minister, cf. Swift's letter to Pope of 26 November 1725: 'I am no more angry with [Walpole] th[a]n I was with the Kite that last week flew away with one of my Chickins and yet I was pleas'd when one of my Servants shot him two days after' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. II, p. 623). In *The Hind and the Panther* (1687) Dryden used the Buzzard, who is invited by the Pigeons to rule over them but turns out to be an oppressive king, to glance critically at William of Orange (later William III) (Part III, lines 906–1288).
- 35 *a High Priest*: bishops afflicted by gout included Swift's friends Atterbury and Archbishop King.
- 36 *a Court Lady*: the image of the sieve suggests indiscretion, as in Dryden's 'The Wife of Bath her Tale': 'for our Sex is frail, / Inventing rather than not tell a Tale. / Like leaky Sives no Secrets we can hold: / Witness the famous Tale that *Ovid* told' (lines 153–6). Mrs Howard, the Countess of Suffolk and mistress of the Prince of Wales, later George II, signed herself 'Sieve Yahoo' in a letter to Swift of 10 November 1726 (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, pp. 50).
- 37 *an Employment*: a position in the public service; cf. *Hamlet*, III.ii.235, where 'The Mousetrap' is 'a knavish piece of work'.
- 38 *a Sink, a C——t*: a pool or pit formed in the ground for the receipt of waste water, sewage, etc.; a cesspool; a receptacle for filth or ordure (*OED*, 1 a). The word left incomplete is 'court'.
- 39 *a running Sore, the Administration*: a satiric thrust at Walpole's administration of the early 1720s. But note also Swift's figuring of his own involvement with the administration of Harley and St John as a time of moral infection and exploitation: 'And the ministry all use me perfectly well, and all that know them, say they love me. Yet I can count upon nothing, nor will. . . . They think me useful; they pretended they were afraid of none but me. – Pox of

When this Method fails, they have two others more effectual; which the Learned among them call Acrosticks, and Anagrams. *First*, they can decypher all initial Letters into political Meanings: Thus, *N*, shall signify a Plot; *B*, a Regiment of Horse; *L*, a Fleet at Sea. Or, *secondly*, by transposing the Letters of the Alphabet, in any suspected Paper, they can lay open the deepest Designs of a discontented Party. So for Example, if I should say in a Letter to a Friend, *Our Brother Tom hath just got the Piles*;⁴⁰ a Man of Skill in this Art would discover how the same Letters which compose that Sentence, may be analysed into the following Words; *Resist*, — *a Plot is brought home* — *The Tour*.⁴¹ And this is the Anagrammatick Method.⁴²

The Professor made me great Acknowledgments for communicating these Observations, and promised to make honourable mention of me in his Treatise.

I saw nothing in this Country that could invite me to a longer Continuance; and began to think of returning home to *England*.⁴³

these speculations! They give me the spleen; and that is a disease I was not born to' (Williams, *JSt*, p. 303).

40 *got the Piles*: this is a perfect anagram, if 'j' is taken as equivalent to 'i', and if 'hath' (as printed in Faulkner's 1735 edition and here) reverts to 'has', as in Motte's first edition of 1726. Since the imperfection may be a deliberate irregularity, the reading of 1735 has been preserved in this edition (see Williams, *Text*, pp. 55–6).

41 *The Tour*: the cipher, or disguised identity, of the author of the message. While in exile in France Bolingbroke employed the cipher of 'M. de la Tour' (*Four Essays*, p. 91; Ford, p. 236).

42 *Anagrammatick Method*: Swift amusingly employs such methods when interpreting the significance of Mary Tofts, the woman who claimed to give birth to rabbits, in a letter to Mrs Howard of 27 November 1726 (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, p. 55). See also his mock-deciphering of 'G.R. II.' in *An Examination of Certain Abuses* (1732), quoted in Long note 5 (Davis, vol. XII, p. 232 and below, pp. 455–56).

43 *home to England*: an apparently bland turn of phrase which serves to underline the point that the follies and corruptions of Balnibarbi are identical with those of Europe.

CHAPTER VII.

The Author leaves Lagado, arrives at Maldonada. No Ship ready. He takes a short Voyage to Glubbdubdrib.¹ His Reception by the Governor.

The Continent of which this Kingdom is a part, extends itself, as I have Reason to believe, Eastward to that unknown Tract of *America*, Westward of *California*, and North to the Pacifick Ocean, which is not above an hundred and fifty Miles from *Lagado*; where there is a good Port and much Commerce with the great Island of *Luggnagg*; situated to the North-West² about 29 Degrees North Latitude, and 140 Longitude. This Island of *Luggnagg* stands South Eastwards of *Japan*, about an hundred Leagues distant. There is a strict Alliance between the *Japanese* Emperor and the King of *Luggnagg*, which affords frequent Opportunities of sailing from one Island to the other. I determined therefore to direct my Course this Way, in order to my Return to *Europe*. I hired two Mules with a Guide to shew me the Way, and carry my small Baggage. I took leave of my noble Protector, who had shewn me so much Favour, and made me a generous Present at my Departure.

My Journey was without any Accident or Adventure worth relating. When I arrived at the Port of *Maldonada*, (for so it is called) there was no Ship in the Harbour bound for *Luggnagg*, nor like to be in some Time. The

1 *Glubbdubdrib*: literary antecedents for the idea of conversations with the dead include the *Odyssey*, XI (a poem linked to *GT* by the shared theme of disastrous seafaring); *Aeneid*, VI; Lucian, *The True History*; and Traiano Boccalini, *Irragguagli di Parnaso* (1612–13). Cf. also perhaps Machiavelli's famous letter of 10 December 1513 to Francesco Vettori, in which conversing with the dead is a metaphor for literary study. *The Tatler* 81 (13 October 1709) supplies an early eighteenth century analogue (*Tatler*, vol. II, pp. 13–21). The popular eighteenth-century genre of 'Dialogues of the Dead' is also relevant: exponents included Fénelon, Bernard le Bovier de Fontenelle, Tom Brown, James Anderson, Oliver Goldsmith, George Lyttelton, Philip Parsons, Samuel Pye and William Weston. 'The Legion Club' shows Swift revisiting the form in a spirit of bitter exuberance (Williams, *Poems*, pp. 832 ff., lines 75 ff.).

2 *North-West*: according to the map, south-west: another possible deliberate irregularity. See Frederick Bracher, 'The Maps in *Gulliver's Travels*', *HLQ*, 8 (1944–5), 59–74.

Town is about as large as *Portsmouth*.³ I soon fell into some Acquaintance, and was very hospitably received. A Gentleman of Distinction said to me, that since the Ships bound for *Luggnagg* could not be ready in less than a Month, it might be no disagreeable Amusement for me to take a Trip to the little Island of *Glubbdubdrib*, about five Leagues off to the South-West. He offered himself and a Friend to accompany me, and that I should be provided with a small convenient Barque⁴ for the Voyage.

GLUBBDUBDRIB, as nearly as I can interpret the Word, signifies the Island of *Sorcerers* or *Magicians*.⁵ It is about one third as large as the Isle of *Wight*,⁶ and extremely fruitful: It is governed by the Head of a certain Tribe, who are all Magicians. This Tribe marries only among each other; and the eldest in Succession is Prince or Governor. He hath a noble Palace, and a Park of about three thousand Acres, surrounded by a Wall of hewn Stone twenty Foot high.⁷ In this Park are several small Inclosures for Cattle, Corn and Gardening.

3 *as large as Portsmouth*: praised by Pepys in 1661 as 'a very pleasant and strong place' (Pepys, *Diary*, vol. II, p. 92 and n. 2), by the early eighteenth century Portsmouth had grown to be a significant and imposing sight: '*Portsmouth* is the most regular fortification of the modern manner, which we have in *England*. a curious sight to those that have not been out of it. the government has bought more ground lately for additional works, and no doubt 'tis capabl of being made impregnable' (William Stukeley, *Itinerarium Curiosum* (1724), p. 186). Defoe extolled the prosperity of the town: 'The Town of *Portsmouth*, besides its being a Fortification, is a well inhabited, thriving, prosperous Corporation; and hath been greatly enrich'd of late by the Fleet's having so often and so long lain there, as well as large Fleets of Merchant-Men, as the whole Navy during the late War; besides the constant fitting out of Men here, and the often paying them at *Portsmouth*, has made a great Confluence of People thither on their private business, with other things, which the attendance on those Fleets hath requir'd: These things have not only been a great advantage to the Town, but has really made the whole Place Rich, and the Inhabitants of *Portsmouth* are quite another sort of people than they were a few Years before the *Revolution*' (Defoe, *Tour*, vol. I, 'Letter II', p. 75, sig. E6'). Cf. also Herman Moll, *A New Description of England and Wales* (1724), p. 54; and John Macky, *A Journey Through England*, 2 vols., second edition (1724), vol. II, pp. (29–31).

4 *Barque*: either simply a small sailing vessel (*OED*, 1), or possibly a sailing vessel of particular rig, typically a three-masted vessel with fore- and main-masts square-rigged, and mizenmast 'fore-and-aft' rigged (*OED*, 3).

5 *the Island of Sorcerers or Magicians*: cf. 'To Doctor D——L——Y': 'For, as of old, Mathematicians / Were by the Vulgar thought Magicians' (Williams, *Poems*, p. 503, lines 95–6).

6 *one third as large as the Isle of Wight*: an island off the south coast of England, opposite Portsmouth, shaped like a diamond and extending 22 miles (35 kilometres) from east to west and 13 miles (21 kilometres) from north to south.

7 *a Wall of hewn Stone twenty Foot high*: Swift surrounded Naboth's Vineyard, a detached field some two hundred yards (182 metres) south of the Deanery which he bought around 1722, with a stone wall eight feet (2.4 metres) high at a cost of £600 (Ehrenpreis, vol. III, pp. 331–2; Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, p. 638).

The Governor and his Family⁸ are served and attended by Domesticks of a Kind somewhat unusual. By his Skill in Necromancy, he hath Power of calling whom he pleaseth from the Dead, and commanding their Service for twenty four Hours, but no longer; nor can he call the same Persons up again in less than three Months, except upon very extraordinary Occasions.

When we arrived at the Island, which was about Eleven in the Morning, one of the Gentlemen who accompanied me, went to the Governor, and desired Admittance for a Stranger, who came on purpose to have the Honour of attending on his Highness. This was immediately granted, and we all three entered the Gate of the Palace between two Rows of Guards, armed and dressed after a very antick⁹ Manner, and something in their Countenances that made my Flesh creep with a Horror I cannot express.¹⁰ We passed through several Apartments between Servants of the same Sort, ranked on each Side as before, till we came to the Chamber of Presence, where after three profound Obeysances, and a few general Questions, we were permitted to sit on three Stools near the lowest Step of his Highness's Throne. He understood the Language of *Balnibarbi*, although it were different from that of his Island. He desired me to give him some Account of my Travels; and to let me see that I should be treated without Ceremony, he dismissed all his Attendants with a Turn of his Finger, at which to my great Astonishment they vanished in an Instant, like Visions in a Dream, when we awake on a sudden. I could not recover myself in some Time, till the Governor assured me that I should receive no Hurt; and observing my two Companions to be under no Concern, who had been often entertained in the same Manner, I began to take Courage; and related to his Highness a short History of my several Adventures, yet not without some Hesitation, and frequently looking behind me to the Place where I had seen those domestick Spectres. I had

8 *his Family*: here used in its familiar modern sense of close blood relations (*OED*, 3a), rather than the now archaic sense, still current in Swift's day and derived from the Latin *familia*, of the members of a household (*OED*, 1a and 2a).

9 *antick*: ancient or antiquated (*OED*, 3 a); probably not 'absurd from fantastic incongruity; grotesque, bizarre, uncouthly ludicrous' (*OED*, 2); although cf. 'The Legion Club' (Williams, *Poems*, p. 832, line 88).

10 *a Horror I cannot express*: Mrs Whiteway referred to this passage in a letter to Swift of 15 November 1735 (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. IV, p. 226).

the Honour to dine with the Governor, where a new Set of Ghosts served up the Meat, and waited at Table. I now observed myself to be less terrified than I had been in the Morning. I stayed till Sun-set, but humbly desired his Highness to excuse me for not accepting his Invitation of lodging in the Palace. My two Friends and I lay at a private House in the Town adjoining, which is the Capital of this little Island; and the next Morning we returned to pay our Duty to the Governor, as he was pleased to command us.

After this Manner we continued in the Island for ten Days, most Part of every Day with the Governor, and at Night in our Lodging. I soon grew so familiarized to the Sight of Spirits, that after the third or fourth Time they gave me no Emotion at all; or if I had any Apprehensions left, my Curiosity prevailed over them. For his Highness the Governor ordered me to call up¹¹ whatever Persons I would chuse to name, and in whatever Numbers among all the Dead from the Beginning of the World to the present Time, and command them to answer any Questions I should think fit to ask;¹² with this Condition, that my Questions must be confined within the Compass of the Times they lived in. And one Thing I might

11 *ordered me to call up*: cf. 'The Beasts Confession': 'I own, the Moral not exact; / Besides, the Tale is false in Fact; / And so absurd, that could I raise up / From Fields *Elyzian*, fabling *Esop*; / I would accuse him to his Face / For libelling the *Four-foot Race*' (Williams, *Poems*, p. 607, lines 197–202). This episode was referred to by the Earl of Peterborough in a letter to Swift of 29 November 1726 (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, p. 61). For Pope, in a letter to Swift of February 1727, it represented a kind of ideal state: 'I stay at Twitnam, without so much as reading news-papers, votes, or any other paltry pamphlets . . . For my own part, methinks, I am at Glubdubdrib with none but Ancients and Spirits about me' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, p. 76).

12 *any Questions I should think fit to ask*: cf. Swift to John Kendall, 11 February 1692: 'a person of great Honour in Ireland who was pleas'd to stoop so low as to look into my mind us'd to tell me, that my mind was like a conjur'd spirit, that would doe mischief, if I would not give it employment' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. I, p. 104). Woolley speculates that the 'person of great Honour' is Henry Viscount Sydney. Literary antecedents here include Lucian's putting questions to the dead on the Isle of the Blest (Lucian, vol. II, pp. 161 ff.). In Francis Gentleman's *A Trip to the Moon* (1764), Sir Humphrey Lunatic meets with many illustrious dead who have been translated to the moon (pp. 52–78). Orrery explains the consequences of his love of retirement in terms which recall this passage of *GT*: 'by holding as little connection as possible with the living, I have employed myself in conversing, and forming an acquaintance with the dead: and have from thence received more real satisfaction and improvement, than probably might have attended me, had I been directed in the pursuit of fame, fortune, or ambition' (*Remarks*, p. 2).

depend upon, that they would certainly tell me Truth,¹³ for Lying was a Talent of no Use in the lower World.¹⁴

I made my humble Acknowledgments to his Highness for so great a Favour. We were in a Chamber, from whence there was a fair Prospect into the Park. And because my first Inclination was to be entertained with Scenes of Pomp and Magnificence, I desired to see *Alexander* the Great,¹⁵ at the Head of his Army just after the Battle of *Arbela*;¹⁶ which upon a

13 *certainly tell me Truth*: cf. Bolingbroke to Swift, 9 April 1730, on the particular pleasure of Cicero's correspondence: 'Pliny writ his letters for the Publick, so did Seneca, so did Bal[zac], Voiture &c. Tully did not, and therefore these give us more pleasure than any which have come down to us from Antiquity[;] when we read them, we pry into a Secret which was intended to be kept from us, that is a pleasure. We see Cato, and Brutus, and Pompey and others, such as they really were, and not such as the gaping Multitude of their own Age took them to be, or as Historians and Poets have represented them to ours, that is another pleasure' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, p. 300). The Balzac to whom Bolingbroke refers here is Jean-Louis Guez, seigneur de Balzac, whose political discourses had been translated in 1709 by Basil Kennett as *Politics in Select Discourses of Monsieur Balzac. Which he call'd his Aristippus, or Wise Scholar*.

14 *Lying was a Talent of no Use in the lower World*: this ascription of veracity to the dead foreshadows the similar veracity of the Houyhnhnms. The fact that Part III of *GT* was composed (at least in part) after Part IV is also relevant to the significance of the shared truthfulness of the Houyhnhnms and the dead (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. II, p. 487).

15 *Alexander the Great*: Alexander the Great (356–323 BC); King of Macedon, leader of the Greek federation; conqueror of Persia, Syria, Egypt and India; the greatest military genius of antiquity. Not, however, a hero of Swift's, as 'Directions for a Birth-day Song' suggests: 'Should some obscure inferior fellow / As Julius, or the Youth of Pella [i.e. Alexander], / When all your list of Gods is out, / Presume to show his mortal snout, / And as a Deity intrude, / Because he had the world subdu'd: / Oh! let him not debase your Thoughts, / Or name him, but to tell his Faults' (Williams, *Poems*, pp. 464–5, lines 141–8). For other references to Alexander in Swift's writings, see *CWJS*, vol. I, p. 109; Davis, vol. I, pp. 107, 205, 208–10; vol. IV, p. 46; vol. V, p. 83; vol. IX, pp. 244–5; vol. IX, p. 195. Note also the outrageous spoof etymology of 'Alexander the Great' ('*All eggs under the Grate*') in *A Discourse to Prove the Antiquity of the English Tongue* (Davis, vol. IV, p. 236). Disparagement of 'Macedonia's madman' (Pope, *An Essay on Man*, epistle IV, line 220; *TE*, vol. III, p. 148) is not rare at this time: cf. John Hughes, *The House of Nassau* (1702), p. 9, where Alexander is a 'Madman' crying for 'new Worlds'. For classical precedents, cf., e.g., Seneca, *De Beneficiis*, I.xiii and *Epistulae Morales*, CXIII.xxix–xxxi and CXIX.vii–ix.

16 *Battle of Arbela*: the crucial engagement in 331 BC (also known as the battle of Gaugamela), in which Alexander defeated the Persian King Darius, and thereby achieved the conquest of Persia. When Swift wrote to the Earl of Oxford on 27 November 1724 concerning Wood's halfpence, his posture of graceful self-deprecation was expressed by means of a reference to Alexander: 'This [Wood's halfpence] is just of as much Consequence to your Lordship, as the news of a Skirmish between two petty States in Greece was to Alexander while he was conquering Persia, But even a Knot of Beggars, are of Importance among themselves' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. II, p. 530). The reference and the gesture recurred, with slight variation, in a letter of 22 June 1736 to Charles Ford: 'But, this is talking to you, as Alexand' said

Motion of the Governor's Finger immediately appeared in a large Field under the Window, where we stood. *Alexander* was called up into the Room: It was with great Difficulty that I understood his *Greek*, and had but little of my own. He assured me upon his Honour that he was not poisoned, but dyed of a Fever by excessive Drinking.¹⁷

Next I saw *Hannibal* passing the *Alps*, who told me he had not a Drop of Vinegar in his Camp.¹⁸

I saw *Cæsar* and *Pompey*¹⁹ at the Head of their Troops just ready to engage.²⁰ I saw the former in his last great Triumph.²¹ I desired that the Senate of *Rome* might appear before me in one large Chamber, and a

when he was conquering Darius, that one of his Governer[s] writing to him of petty wars in Greece; to which he answered it was like telling him of a War between the Pigmyes and the Cranes' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. IV, p. 317): cf. Plutarch, 'Agesilaus', XV and Strabo, II.9.

17 *excessive Drinking*: Alexander died of fever in Babylon in the summer of 323 BC. Plutarch linked the fever to the drunkenness for which Alexander was renowned, but left it open as to whether the fever gave rise to the immoderate drinking or *vice versa* ('Alexander', LXXV). On 29 February 1712 Swift wrote to Stella that 'I came home early, and have read 200 Pages of Arrian, Alexdr the great is just dead; I do not think he was poisoned. Betwixt you and me all those are but idle Storyes, tis certain that neither Ptolomy nor Aristobulus thought so, and they were both with him when they [sic: a slip for 'he'] died. Tis a Pity we have not their Historyes' (Williams, *JSt*, p. 501).

18 *in his Camp*: Livy reports that Hannibal used fire and vinegar to split large rocks blocking his way over the Alps in 218 BC (XXI.xxxvii.2–3). Deane Swift interpreted these references to Hannibal and Alexander as implicit satires on military glory: 'How ridiculous, how contemptible, are these plagues of the world; these destroyers of the human race; when stripped of their royalty and command, as well as their ability to perpetrate any further mischief' (*Essay*, p. 215).

19 *Cæsar and Pompey*: Gaius Julius Caesar (?102–44 BC); soldier, writer and statesman; conqueror of Gaul, 58–49 BC; provoker of and victor in the first Roman Civil War; assassinated by those offended by his anti-republican reforms. For Swift's tart view of Caesar in particular, see above, p. 289, n. 15. For Swift's disenchanted view of the military heroes of antiquity in general, cf. 'The Description of a Salamander': 'As Mastive Dogs in Modern Phrase are / Call'd *Pompey*, *Scipio* and *Cæsar*; / As *Pies* and *Daws* are often stil'd / With Christian Nick-names like a Child' (Williams, *Poems*, p. 82, lines 1–4). Orrery, however, wrote that 'SWIFT was to the Tories, what CÆSAR was to the Romans, at once a leader of their armies, and an historiographer of their triumphs' (*Remarks*, p. 26). Gnaeus Pompeius (106–48 BC), called 'the Great'; soldier and statesman; leader of the republican armies against Caesar; murdered in Egypt after his defeat by Caesar.

20 *just ready to engage*: at the battle of Pharsalus in 48 BC. Pompey's decisive defeat at the hands of Caesar sealed the fate of the Roman Republic, and set Rome on the path of its transformation into a principate under Augustus. For Swift's earlier use of this phrase in the *Contests and Dissensions*, also in the context of the clash between Caesar and Pompey, see Davis, vol. I, p. 221.

21 *last great Triumph*: the Roman state granted Caesar a triumph (a victory parade incorporating religious ceremonies) to celebrate his defeat of the sons of Pompey and the remnants of the republican party at Munda in 45 BC.

modern Representative, in Counterview, in another. The first seemed to be an Assembly of Heroes and Demy-Gods; the other a Knot of Pedlars, Pick-pockets, Highwaymen and Bullies.

The Governor at my Request gave the Sign for *Cæsar* and *Brutus* to advance towards us. I was struck with a profound Veneration at the Sight of *Brutus*; and could easily discover the most consummate Virtue, the greatest Intrepidity, and Firmness of Mind, the truest Love of his Country, and general Benevolence for Mankind in every Lineament of his Countenance.²² I observed with much Pleasure, that these two Persons were in good Intelligence with each other; and *Cæsar* freely confessed to me, that the greatest Actions of his own Life were not equal by many Degrees to the Glory of taking it away.²³ I had the Honour to have much Conversation with *Brutus*; and was told that his Ancestor *Junius*,²⁴ *Socrates*,²⁵ *Epaminondas*,²⁶ *Cato*

22 *Lineament of his Countenance*: Marcus Junius Brutus (?78–42 BC); soldier, politician and republican idealist; one of those who conspired against Caesar in 44 BC. Brutus was a touchstone of virtue for Swift. In *A Discourse of the Contests and Dissensions* (1701), Swift praised Brutus as ‘that Great Roman’ whose death marked the end of ‘all Shew, or Shadow, of Liberty in Rome’ (Davis, vol. I, p. 222). In *A Letter to a Whig Lord* (1712), Swift wrote: ‘*Cato* and *Brutus* were the two most virtuous Men in Rome . . . those two excellent Men, who thought it base to stand Neuter where the Liberties of their Country was at stake, joined heartily on that side which undertook to preserve the Laws and Constitution, against the Usurpations of a victorious General, whose Ambition was bent to overthrow them’ (*CWJS*, vol. VIII, p. 176; Davis, vol. VI, p. 134). The initials of Swift’s persona in *The Drapier’s Letters* are ‘M.B.’, presumably to be understood as standing for ‘Marcus Brutus’ (Ehrenpreis, vol. III, pp. 207–8 and n. 4). In the early eighteenth century Brutus’s character could be invoked to support a range of political positions, from republican Whiggism to Jacobitism (on the strength of his assassination of the usurper Caesar): see Higgins, pp. 64–6. Brutus was also a hero of Molesworth (Molesworth, *Denmark*, sig. b3^v).

23 *taking it away*: Swift was not always unsympathetic towards Caesar’s desire for pre-eminence: ‘Cesar was perhaps in the right, when he said he would rath’ be the first man in some scurvy Village, than the second in Rome’ (to Charles Ford, 19 January 1724: Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. II, p. 486). It was a maxim he applied to himself in a letter to Arbuthnot of 12–15 November 1734: ‘Therefore, like Cesar I will be one of the first here rather than the last among you’ (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. IV, p. 16; cf. also vol. III, pp. 543 and 663).

24 *Junius*: Lucius Junius Brutus (fl. c. 509 BC); following the rape of Lucretia, leader of the Roman resistance to the Tarquins, which resulted in the expulsion of kings from Rome and the foundation of the Republic. He was the embodiment of unflinching republican integrity, as illustrated by his ordering the execution of his sons for attempting the restoration of the Tarquins. Nathaniel Lee’s *Lucius Junius Brutus* (1680) had dramatized his life as a foreshadowing of the principles of Whiggism.

25 *Socrates*: Socrates (469–399 BC); Athenian philosopher; judicially murdered for the independence of his views. Swift owned a seal, or a seal-ring, showing ‘the Head of *Socrates*’ (Swift to Michael Clancy, 25 December 1737; Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. IV, p. 485).

26 *Epaminondas*: Epaminondas (?420–362 BC); influential and innovative military tactician; commander of the Theban forces which defeated the Spartans at the battle of Leuctra

the Younger,²⁷ Sir *Thomas More*²⁸ and himself, were perpetually together: A *Sextumvirate* to which all the Ages of the World cannot add a Seventh.²⁹

It would be tedious to trouble the Reader with relating what vast Numbers of illustrious Persons were called up, to gratify that insatiable Desire I had to see the World in every Period of Antiquity placed before me.

(371 BC). Included by Temple in his own list of those worthies of antiquity pre-eminent for 'Nobel and Transcendent Virtues and Heroick Qualities' (Temple, vol. I, p. 302); the only instance in which Temple's list coincides with Swift's sextumvirate.

- 27 *Cato the Younger*: Marcus Porcius Cato (95–46 BC); Roman politician and statesman, of idealistic republican principles; committed suicide rather than surrender to Caesar. He was the subject of Addison's popular tragedy *Cato* (1713), of which Swift attended at least one of the rehearsals (Williams, *JSt*, pp. 651, 654 and 660). The final line of Swift's 'Ode to Dr William Sancroft' includes a panegyric reference to Cato (Williams, *Poems*, p. 42, line 264). In *The Sentiments of a Church-of-England Man* (1708) Swift praises 'the latter *Cato*, whom I esteem to have been the wisest and best of all the *Romans*' (Davis, vol. II, p. 2); cf. also Swift's praise of Cato in *A Letter to a Whig Lord* (1712) (*CWJS*, vol. VIII, p. 176; Davis, vol. VI, p. 134; quoted above, p. 291, n. 22), where he is an embodiment of 'sublime abstracted *Roman* Virtue' (*CWJS*, vol. VIII, p. 176; Davis, vol. VI, p. 133). On 16 September 1738 Mrs Whiteway wrote of Swift that 'as he hath Lived the Patriot of Ireland, like the second Cato, he will resign Life, when it can be no Longer serviceable to his Country' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. IV, p. 538). Again, a hero of Molesworth (Molesworth, *Denmark*, sig. b3^v). For Bolingbroke's refusal to subscribe to the orthodox eulogies of Cato, however, see his letter to Swift of 28 July 1721 (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. II, pp. (388–9).
- 28 *Sir Thomas More*: Sir Thomas More (?1477–1535); author, lawyer and statesman; Lord Chancellor, 1529; convicted of high treason and executed for refusing to endorse Henry VIII's divorce from Catherine of Aragon and to acknowledge Henry as head of the Church of England. His *Utopia* (1516) exerted a powerful influence on *GT*. In 1736 Swift praised More as 'a person of the greatest virtue this kingdom ever produced' (Davis, vol. XIII, p. 123); and he wrote in the margin of his copy of Edward Herbert, Lord Cherbury's *Life and Raigne of Henry VIII* (1649) that More was the 'only Man of true Virtue tha[t] ever Engld produced' (Davis, vol. V, p. 247). In 'Of Popular Discontents', Temple included More in his list of those 'esteemed the most extraordinary Persons of their Time, [who] fell all bloody Sacrifices to the Factions of their Courts or their Countries' (Temple, vol. I, p. 257).
- 29 *cannot add a Seventh*: for similar lists of great characters made by Swift, see Davis, vol. I, p. 14 and vol. V, pp. 83–4; Williams, *Poems*, p. 724, lines 39–42. In his sermon on 'Doing Good' Swift extolled ancient virtue above modern (Davis, vol. IX, p. 233). Note William King's graceful allusion to this passage when trying to tempt Swift to Oxford on 24 June 1737: 'I promise to meet you at Chester, and to conduct you to King Edward's lodgings: and then St. Mary-Hall may boast of a triumvirate, that is not to be matched in any part of the learned world, Sir Thomas More, Erasmus, and the Drapier' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. IV, p. 452). There is a substantial overlap between Swift's list and the list of those who over time shared the same daemon in Cyrano de Bergerac (*Voyage to the Moon*, p. 45). According to F. P. Lock, what unites this sextumvirate is the quality of inner rectitude sealed by political failure (Lock, *Politics*, p. 15). For speculation on the possible psychological appeal of these figures for Swift in the early 1720s, see Ehrenpreis, vol. III, p. 187. For a possible negative antecedent, see *The Tatler* 67, 13 September 1709, where Swift had imagined and described a mock 'Chamber of Fame' in which he proposed to 'put the whole Race of Mankind in their proper Distinctions' (Davis, vol. II, pp. 238–40; *Tatler*, vol. I, pp. 462–8).

I chiefly fed mine Eyes with beholding the Destroyers of Tyrants and Usurpers, and the Restorers of Liberty to oppressed and injured Nations.³⁰ But it is impossible to express the Satisfaction I received in my own Mind, after such a Manner as to make it a suitable Entertainment to the Reader.

30 *oppressed and injured Nations*: on 7 March 1737 Swift praised William Pulteney for ‘defending the Libertyes of your Country with more than an old Roman Spirit’ (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. IV, p. 391). Sheridan thought Swift’s own role in defending the liberties of Ireland was cast in this mould of ancient virtue: ‘He assumed the office of Censor General, which he rendered as formidable as that of ancient Rome’ (Sheridan, p. 235).

CHAPTER VIII.

*A further Account of Glubbubdrib. Antient and Modern History*¹ corrected.

Having a Desire to see those Antients, who were most renowned for Wit and Learning, I set apart one Day on purpose. I proposed that *Homer* and *Aristotle*² might appear at the Head of all their Commentators; but these were so numerous, that some Hundreds were forced to attend in the Court and outward Rooms of the Palace. I knew and could distinguish those two Heroes at first Sight, not only from the Croud, but from each other. *Homer* was the taller and comelier Person of the two, walked very erect for one of his Age, and his Eyes were the most quick and piercing I ever beheld.³ *Aristotle* stooped much, and made use of a Staff. His Visage was meager, his Hair lank and thin, and his Voice hollow. I soon discovered, that both of them were perfect Strangers to the rest of the Company, and had never seen or heard of them before. And I had a Whisper from a Ghost, who shall be nameless, that these Commentators always kept in the most distant Quarters from their Principals in the lower World, through a Consciousness of Shame and Guilt, because they had so horribly

1 *Antient and Modern History*: in a letter to Swift of 9 September 1730, Lord Bathurst teasingly attributed the effectiveness of Swift's writings in part to 'a little knowledge of Ancient & Modern History' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, p. 324). Swift valued historiography greatly: two of his favourite authors were Tacitus and Clarendon. He sought the appointment of Historiographer Royal (Davis, vol. VIII, p. 200), and composed *The History of the Four Last Years of the Queen* (Davis, vol. VII, pp. 1–167). Swift here indulges in a fantasy of the moralized historiography he so prized: truth is established, falsehood exposed, virtue recognized and vice chastised.

2 *Homer and Aristotle*: Homer (fl. 9th century BC?); the Greek epic poet regarded as the author of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. Aristotle (384–322 BC); ancient Greek philosopher; the tutor of Alexander the Great.

3 *I ever beheld*: Homer is said to have been blind. In Lucian's *True History* Homer's blindness is denied, and he discomfits his editors and critics as he does in *GT* (Lucian, vol. II, p. 161).

misrepresented the Meaning of those Authors to Posterity.⁴ I introduced *Didymus* and *Eustathius*⁵ to *Homer*, and prevailed on him to treat them better than perhaps they deserved; for he soon found they wanted a Genius to enter into the Spirit of a Poet.⁶ But *Aristotle* was out of all Patience with the Account I gave him of *Scotus* and *Ramus*,⁷ as I presented them to him; and he asked them whether the rest of the Tribe were as great Dunces as themselves.

I then desired the Governor to call up *Descartes* and *Gassendi*,⁸ with whom I prevailed to explain their Systems to *Aristotle*. This great Philosopher freely acknowledged his own Mistakes in Natural Philosophy, because he proceeded in many things upon Conjecture, as all Men must do; and he found, that *Gassendi*, who had made the Doctrine of *Epicurus*⁹ as palatable

4 *Authors to Posterity*: cf. 'On Poetry: A Rapsody': 'Or else perhaps he ['the dullest Reader'] may invent | A better than the Poet meant, | As learned Commentators view | In *Homer* more than *Homer* knew' (Williams, *Poems*, p. 643, lines 101–4).

5 *Didymus and Eustathius*: Didymus (c. 65 BC–AD 10); author of a commentary on Homer which incorporated the material of earlier commentators, including Aristarchus. Eustathius (fl. 1175–92), Archbishop of Thessalonica; author of an important commentary on Homer.

6 *the Spirit of a Poet*: cf., however, the 'general Maxim' of the hack author in 'The Preface' of *A Tale of a Tub*: 'Whatever Reader desires to have a thorow Comprehension of an Author's Thoughts, cannot take a better Method, than by putting himself into the Circumstances and Postures of Life, that the Writer was in, upon every important Passage as it flow'd from his Pen; For this will introduce a Parity and strict Correspondence of Idea's between the Reader and the Author' (*CWJS*, vol. I, p. 27; Davis, vol. I, pp. 26–7).

7 *Scotus and Ramus*: on Aristotle's exasperation, cf. Swift's *obiter dictum* on this subject in his remarks on Matthew Tindal's *The Rights of the Christian Church Asserted*: '*Aristotle*, who is doubtless the greatest Master of Arguing in the World: But it hath been a Fashion of late Years to explode *Aristotle*, and therefore this Man [Tindal] hath fallen into it like others, for that Reason, without understanding him. *Aristotle's* Poetry, Rhetorick, and Politicks are admirable, and therefore it is likely, so are his Logicks' (Davis, vol. II, p. 97). Duns Scotus (c. 1265–c. 1308); Scottish philosopher and theologian; commentator on Aristotle; the word 'dunce' derives from his name (hence the pertinence of Aristotle's comment). Pierre de la Ramée, latinized as Petrus Ramus (1515–72); Professor of Philosophy at the Collège de France; French 'exploder' of Aristotelian philosophy.

8 *Descartes and Gassendi*: René Descartes (1596–1650); French philosopher and mathematician, whose work marked a departure from scholastic Aristotelianism; he advanced a theory of 'vortices' in his *Principia Philosophiae* (1644), on the fate of which see Smith, *TMS*, VII.ii.4, p. 313; shot in the eye and killed by Aristotle in Swift's *Battel of the Books*: 'The Torture of the Pain, whirled the valiant *Bow-man* round, till Death, like a Star of superior Influence, drew him into his own *Vortex*' (*CWJS*, vol. I, pp. 156–7; Davis, vol. I, p. 156). Pierre Gassendi (1592–1655); French scientist, mathematician and philosopher who revived Epicureanism as a substitute for Aristotelianism, attempting in the process to reconcile mechanistic Atomism with Christian belief in immortality, free will, an infinite God, and creation.

9 *the Doctrine of Epicurus*: Epicurus (341–270 BC); founder of the Epicurean school of philosophy, which sought happiness in the pursuit of virtue and of harmony between mind and body.

as he could, and the *Vortices* of *Descartes*, were equally exploded. He predicted the same Fate to *Attraction*, whereof the present Learned are such zealous Asserters.¹⁰ He said, that new Systems of Nature were but new Fashions, which would vary in every Age; and even those who pretend to demonstrate them from Mathematical Principles, would flourish but a short Period of Time, and be out of Vogue when that was determined.

I spent five Days in conversing with many others of the antient Learned. I saw most of the first *Roman* Emperors. I prevailed on the Governor to call up *Eliogabalu's* Cooks¹¹ to dress us a Dinner; but they could not shew us much of their Skill, for want of Materials. A *Helot*¹² of *Agesilaus*¹³ made us a Dish of *Spartan* Broth, but I was not able to get down a second Spoonful.¹⁴

His teachings were subsequently expounded by the Roman poet Lucretius (c. 99–c. 55 BC), whom Swift quotes on the title page of *GT* (above, p. 1; and note Swift's reservations about cardinal elements of Epicurean philosophy above, p. 266, n. 33). In the seventeenth century Epicureanism could be misrepresented as an apology for materialistic hedonism.

- 10 *such zealous Asserters*: a reference to the Newtonian theory of gravitation, or attraction. Other anti-Newtonian touches in Part III include the Laputan corroboration of the magnetic philosophy of William Gilbert, which is implicitly anti-gravitational (above, p. 241, n. 7), and the account of the revolt of Lindalino, recalling the affair of Wood's halfpence, in which Newton had been involved as Master of the Mint (above, pp. lvi–lvii). In that context of anti-Newtonian animus, the corrections of history in this chapter may be a satiric jab at Newton's corrections of ancient history in his *The Chronology of Ancient Kingdoms Amended* (1728), which had been partially published in 1725, and had circulated in MS before publication. On Swift and Newton, see also Colin Kiernan, 'Swift and Science', *HJ*, 14 (1971), 709–22 and Gregory Lynall, 'Swift's Caricatures of Newton: "Taylor", "Conjurer" and "Workman in the Mint"', *BJECS*, 28 (2005), 19–32.
- 11 *Eliogabalu's Cooks*: Eliogabalus (d. 222); Roman emperor, 218–22; notorious for his effeminacy, luxury and superstition; the first Roman emperor to introduce the trappings of oriental monarchy to Rome.
- 12 *Helot*: one of a class of serfs in ancient Sparta, intermediate in status between the ordinary slaves and the free Spartan citizens (*OED*).
- 13 *Agesilaus*: Agesilaus (c. 444–361 BC); king of Sparta from c. 398 BC; leader of successful campaigns against the Persians and the Thebans.
- 14 *Dish of Spartan Broth . . . second Spoonful*: a legendary dish of the ancient Spartans, probably consisting of pork cooked in blood: 'Of their dishes, the black broth is held in the highest esteem, so that the elderly men do not even ask for a bit of meat, but leave it for the young men, while they themselves have the broth poured out for their meals' (Plutarch, 'Lycurgus', XII.6). It was said to be an acquired taste: 'one of their chief Dishes being the famous *Spartan* Broth, which was black, and not very palatable to those who were not us'd to it' (Temple Stanyan, *The Grecian History. Volume the First* (1707), p. 67). Cornelius Scriblerus fed the baby Martinus a bowl of 'Lacedæmonian black broth' as prescribed by 'the Divine Lycurgus'; although according to the nurse this 'Dæmonial black broth' almost killed the child (Scriblerus, p. 106). Stage references include Dryden, *The Spartan-Hero*, III.i and Thomas Southerne, *The Spartan Dame*, 'Prologue'.

The two Gentlemen who conducted me to the Island were pressed by their private Affairs to return in three Days, which I employed in seeing some of the modern Dead, who had made the greatest Figure for two or three Hundred Years past in our own and other Countries of *Europe*; and having been always a great Admirer of old illustrious Families, I desired the Governor would call up a Dozen or two of Kings with their Ancestors in order, for eight or nine Generations. But my Disappointment was grievous and unexpected. For, instead of a long Train with Royal Diadems,¹⁵ I saw in one Family two Fidlers, three spruce Courtiers, and an *Italian* Prelate. In another, a Barber, an Abbot, and two Cardinals. I have too great a Veneration for crowned Heads to dwell any longer on so nice a Subject: But as to Counts, Marquesses, Dukes, Earls, and the like, I was not so scrupulous. And I confess it was not without some Pleasure that I found my self able to trace the particular Features, by which certain Families are distinguished up to their Originals. I could plainly discover from whence one Family derives a long Chin;¹⁶ why a second hath abounded with Knaves for two Generations, and Fools for two more;¹⁷ why a third happened to be crack-brained, and a fourth to be Sharpers. Whence it came, what *Polydore Virgil*¹⁸ says of a certain great House, *Nec Vir fortis, nec Fœmina Casta*.¹⁹

15 *a long Train with Royal Diadems*: cf. *Macbeth*, IV.i.107–24.

16 *whence one Family derives a long Chin*: cf. Swift's allusion to the Hapsburg lip in Part I, Chapter 2 (above, p. 45, n. 17).

17 *Knives for two Generations, and Fools for two more*: the pairing of fools and knaves is a commonplace which possessed a particular importance for Swift: see Rawson, *Gulliver*, pp. 38–42. It recurs often in his correspondence (e.g. Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. II, pp. 65, 78, 462; vol. III, pp. 75, 517, 731, 753; vol. IV, p. 58); in the 'Holyhead Journal' he says of Ireland that it is a land 'Where all are fools, and all are knaves / Where every knave & fool is bought' (Williams, *Poems*, p. 421, lines 2–3); and it supplied one of the most memorable phrases in *A Tale of A Tub*, Section 9: 'the sublime and refined Point of Felicity, called, *the Possession of being well deceived*; The Serene Peaceful State of being a Fool among Knaves' (*CWJS*, vol. I, p. 112; Davis, vol. I, p. 110). Alongside a passage in Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion* recording the issuing of writs for Parliament on 3 April, Swift wrote in the margin: 'April 3d for Knaves the 1st for Fools' (Davis, vol. V, p. 297). On 24 July 1711 in his essay on the rage of party in *The Spectator*, no. 125, Addison recalled the 'Famous *Spanish* Proverb, *If there were neither Fools, nor Knaves in the World, all People would be of one Mind*' (*Spectator*, vol. I, p. 512).

18 *Polydore Virgil*: Polydore Virgil (1470–1555); an Italian historian resident in England, and the author of a history of his adopted country which took issue with the legendary historiography which had preceded it.

19 *Fœmina Casta*: 'no man was brave, no woman chaste'; untraced. Arthur Case notes that the sentence reverses a portion of the epitaph of Margaret Cavendish: 'All the brothers were valiant, and all the sisters virtuous' (*Four Essays*, p. 92). Addison had quoted the epitaph in *The Spectator* 99, 23 June 1711, in illustration of the maxim that 'The great Point of Honour

How Cruelty, Falshood, and Cowardice grew to be Characteristicks by which certain Families are distinguished as much as by their Coat of Arms. Who first brought the Pox²⁰ into a noble House, which hath lineally descended in scrophulous Tumours²¹ to their Posterity. Neither could I wonder at all this, when I saw such an Interruption of Lineages by Pages, Lacqueys, Valets,²² Coachmen, Gamesters, Fidlers, Players, Captains, and Pick-pockets.

I was chiefly disgusted with modern History.²³ For having strictly examined all the Persons of greatest Name in the Courts of Princes for an Hundred Years past, I found how the World had been misled by prostitute Writers, to ascribe the greatest Exploits in War to Cowards, the wisest Counsel to Fools, Sincerity to Flatterers, *Roman* Virtue to Betrayers of their Country, Piety to Atheists, Chastity to Sodomites, Truth to Informers.²⁴ How many innocent and excellent Persons had been condemned to Death

in Men is Courage, and in Women Chastity' (*Spectator*, vol. I, pp. 416–19; quotation on p. 416).

20 *Pox*: syphilis.

21 *scrophulous Tumours*: cf. Sir Richard Blackmore, *Discourses on the Gout* (1726), p. 138: quoted above, p. 276, n. 6.

22 *Valets*: cf. *Hudibras*, III.iii, 'The Ladies Answer to the Knight': 'Tis wee, that can Dispose alone, / Whether your *Heirs* shall be your *own*. / To whose Integrity, you must, / In spight of all your Caution, trust. / And 'less you *Fly beyond the Seas*: / Can fit you with what *Heirs* we Please. / And force you t'own 'em; Though Begotten / By *French Valets*, or *Irish Footmen*' (lines 325–32). Cf. also Williams, *Poems*, p. 659, lines 9–18.

23 *disgusted with modern History*: cf. Swift's attack on the Whig apologist Gilbert Burnet, *A Preface to the B—p of S—r—m's Introduction* (1713), in which he says: 'Neither hath any Thing disgusted me more in reading the Histories of those Times, than to see one of the worst Princes of any Age or Country, celebrated as an Instrument in that glorious Work of the Reformation' (Davis, vol. IV, pp. 51–84; quotation on p. 73). In *The Battel of the Books* the modern historians are '*heavy-armed Foot, all Mercenaries*' (*CWJS*, vol. I, p. 153; Davis, vol. I, p. 152).

24 *Truth to Informers*: the indignation of this passage flows from Swift's conviction that the historian's task involved not just the preservation of truth but the dispensing of justice. It was a conviction exemplified in Swift's own *History of the Four Last Years of the Queen*, concerning which he wrote to the Earl of Oxford on 14 June 1737 in terms which recall *GT*: 'I have kept it [the manuscript of the *History*] to this Time, when I determine to publish it in London; to the Confusion of all those Rascals who have accused the Queen and that Ministry of making a bad Peace; to which that Party entirely owes the Protestant Succession. I was for almost four years in the greatest Trust and Confidence with your Father the Lord Treasurer, as well as with my Lord Bolingbroke, and all others who had part in the Administration. I had all the Letters from the Secretaries Office during the Treaty of Peace; out of those, and what I learned from the Ministry, I formed that History which I am now going to publish for the Information of Posterity, and to controull the most impudent Falshoods which been published Since. I wanted no kind of Materialls' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. IV, pp. 439–40;

or Banishment, by the practising²⁵ of great Ministers upon the Corruption of Judges, and the Malice of Factions. How many Villains had been exalted to the highest Places of Trust, Power, Dignity, and Profit: How great a Share in the Motions and Events of Courts, Councils, and Senates might be challenged by Bawds, Whores, Pimps, Parasites, and Buffoons: How low an Opinion I had of human Wisdom and Integrity, when I was truly informed of the Springs and Motives of great Enterprizes and Revolutions in the World,²⁶ and of the contemptible Accidents²⁷ to which they owed their Success.

Here I discovered the Roguery and Ignorance of those who pretend to write *Anecdotes*, or secret History;²⁸ who send so many Kings to their

cf. also pp. 461–2, and Erasmus Lewis's reply to Swift concerning the kind of editing which, in his opinion, the manuscript requires, pp. 512–14).

25 *practising*: to scheme, to make plans, to employ stratagem or trickery, usually for an evil purpose; to plot or conspire; to plan an attempt on a person's life. (*OED*, 9 b).

26 *Revolutions in the World*: cf. the opening to Temple's 'Memoirs of What Pass'd in Christendom from 1672 to 1679', in which he proposes to 'run through the most important foreign Negotiations of the Crown, with great Connexion of Affairs at home during this Period, and the Revolutions it produc'd. The Confidence of the King my Master, and of his chief Ministers, as well as that of others abroad, gave me the Advantage to discern and observe the true Springs and Motions of both; which were often mistaken in Court and Parliament, and thereby fasten'd many Suspicions, Confidences, Applauses, Reproaches, upon Persons, and at Times, where they were very undeserv'd' (Temple, vol. I, p. 373).

27 *contemptible Accidents*: in *A Tale of A Tub*, Section 9 Swift had also commented on the disproportions in historical causality, albeit in a more gleeful spirit than he does here (*CWJS*, vol. I, pp. 105–6; Davis, vol. I, pp. 103–4).

28 *Anecdotes, or secret History*: the term 'Anecdotes' derives from the *Anecdota* (or 'Things Unpublished') composed by the Byzantine historian Procopius of Caesarea, a scandalous insider's account of the court of the emperor Justinian which defamed the emperor, his empress, Theodora, and their chief military commander, Belisarius. The manuscript of the *Anecdota* had been discovered in the Vatican before 1623, when the first bowdlerized Latin translation of it as *Arcana Historia* ('The Secret History') was published at Lyon by Nicolaus Alemannus. Hence 'Anecdotes' came to be synonymous with 'Secret History'. Modern imitations began with Antoine Varillas, *Anekdota Heterouiaka* (1685), a secret history of the Medicis translated into English by Ferrand Spence in 1686. In England 'secret history' flourished as originally a Whig literary form in which the misdemeanours of the Stuarts were luridly portrayed: see *The Secret History of the Four Last Monarchs of Great Britain* (1691) and John Somers's *True Secret History of the Reigns of All the Kings and Queens of England* (1702). The genre received a Tory twist when Swift's associate, Delarivier Manley, published *The New Atalantis* (1709). Swift was contemptuous of the genre: 'His [Burnet's] Secret History is generally made up of coffee-house scandals, or at best from reports at the third, fourth, or fifth hand. The account of the Pretender's birth, would only become an old woman in a chimney corner' (Davis, vol. V, p. 183; cf. also p. 228). On applications of secret history in England at this time, see Rebecca Bullard, *The Politics of Disclosure 1674–1725: Secret History Narratives* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2009).

Graves with a Cup of Poison; will repeat the Discourse between a Prince and chief Minister, where no Witness was by; unlock the Thoughts and Cabinets of Embassadors and Secretaries of State; and have the perpetual Misfortune to be mistaken. Here I discovered the true Causes of many great Events that have surprized the World: How a Whore can govern the Back-stairs, the Back-stairs a Council, and the Council a Senate.²⁹ A General confessed in my Presence, that he got a Victory purely by the Force of Cowardice and ill Conduct: And an Admiral, that for want of proper Intelligence, he beat the Enemy to whom he intended to betray the Fleet.³⁰ Three Kings protested to me, that in their whole Reigns they did never once prefer any Person of Merit, unless by Mistake or Treachery of some Minister in whom they confided: Neither would they do it if they were to live again; and they shewed with great Strength of Reason, that the Royal Throne could not be supported without Corruption;³¹ because, that positive, confident, restive Temper, which Virtue infused into Man, was a perpetual Clog to publick Business.

I had the Curiosity to enquire in a particular Manner, by what Method great Numbers had procured to themselves high Titles of Honour, and prodigious Estates; and I confined my Enquiry to a very modern Period.³² However, without grating³³ upon present Times, because I would be sure

29 *the Council a Senate*: possibly glancing at the influence which the Duchess of Marlborough exercised for a while over Queen Anne.

30 *betray the Fleet*: in May 1692 the Whig Admiral Edward Russell (later Lord Orford, and one of the seven signatories of the letter of invitation to William of Orange on 30 June 1688) had engaged with and defeated a French fleet in the five-day battle of La Hogue, but had abstained from following up his advantage, and was at the same time in negotiation with the exiled James II (to whom when Duke of York he had been a groom of the bedchamber): see Lock, p. 121.

31 *could not be supported without Corruption*: the opposition of liberty and virtue to corruption was a nostrum of civic humanism, and had been incorporated into strands of Whig political doctrine. For instance, in *An Essay Upon Publick Spirit* (1711), the Whig man of letters John Dennis deplored the fact that the 'Southern Nations . . . have already lost their Liberty by their Corruption; ours is yet entire' (p. 25: cf. also Anon., *The Conspirators or, The Case of Catiline*, second edition (1711), p. 13). Later in the century, more subtle minds found the equation less straightforward. In 1781 Gibbon could even align corruption with 'constitutional liberty', on the premise that in a despotism compliance does not need to be purchased (*Decline and Fall*, vol. I, p. 805).

32 *a very modern Period*: a teasing encouragement to the reader to look for topical allusions.

33 *grating*: abrading, rasping; affecting painfully, as if by abrasion; irritating, fretting, 'wearing' (*OED*, 1).

to give no Offence even to Foreigners (for I hope the Reader need not be told that I do not in the least intend my own Country in what I say upon this Occasion).³⁴ A great Number of Persons concerned were called up, and upon a very slight Examination, discovered such a Scene of Infamy, that I cannot reflect upon it without some Seriousness. Perjury, Oppression, Subornation, Fraud, Pandarism, and the like *Infirmities* were amongst the most excusable Arts they had to mention; and for these I gave, as it was reasonable, due Allowance. But when some confessed, they owed their Greatness and Wealth to Sodomy or Incest; others to the prostituting of their own Wives and Daughters; others to the betraying their Country or their Prince; some to poisoning, more to the perverting of Justice in order to destroy the Innocent: I hope I may be pardoned if these Discoveries inclined me a little to abate of that profound Veneration which I am naturally apt to pay to Persons of high Rank, who ought to be treated with the utmost Respect due to their sublime Dignity, by us their Inferiors.

I had often read of some great Services done to Princes and States, and desired to see the Persons by whom those Services were performed. Upon Enquiry I was told, that their Names were to be found on no Record, except a few of them whom History hath represented as the vilest Rogues and Traitors. As to the rest, I had never once heard of them. They all appeared with dejected Looks, and in the meanest Habit; most of them telling me they died in Poverty and Disgrace, and the rest on a Scaffold or a Gibbet.

Among others there was one Person whose Case appeared a little singular.³⁵ He had a Youth about Eighteen Years old standing by his Side. He told me, he had for many Years been Commander of a Ship; and in the Sea Fight at *Actium*,³⁶ had the good Fortune to break through

34 *what I say upon this Occasion*: Swift's *Discourse of the Contests and Dissensions* (1701) had applied ancient history to the circumstances of early eighteenth-century British politics.

35 *one Person whose Case appeared a little singular*: supposed by Arthur Case to allude to Charles Mordaunt, third Earl of Peterborough (?1658–1735), whose important services in the War of the Spanish Succession were not properly rewarded, and whom Swift had defended in *The Conduct of the Allies* (1711) (*Four Essays*, pp. 93–4; *CWJS*, vol. VIII, pp. 62–3; Davis, vol. VI, p. 21); for a different reading, see the 'Introduction' (above, pp. lxi–lxiii). For a general parallel, cf. Livy's account of the brave Roman veteran reduced to destitution by his patrician creditors (II.xxiii.1–9).

36 *Actium*: a promontory at the mouth of the Ambracian Gulf where in 31 BC Octavian (later Augustus) defeated the fleets of Antony and Cleopatra, thus marking the end of the Roman

the Enemy's great Line of Battle, sink three of their Capital Ships, and take a fourth, which was the sole Cause of *Antony's* Flight, and of the Victory that ensued: That the Youth standing by him, his only Son, was killed in the Action. He added, that upon the Confidence of some Merit, the War being at an End, he went to *Rome*, and solicited at the Court of *Augustus* to be preferred to a greater Ship, whose Commander had been killed; but without any regard to his Pretensions, it was given to a Boy who had never seen the Sea, the Son of a *Libertina*,³⁷ who waited on one of the Emperor's Mistresses. Returning back to his own Vessel, he was charged with Neglect of Duty, and the Ship given to a favourite Page of *Publicola*³⁸ the Vice-Admiral; whereupon he retired to a poor Farm, at a great Distance from *Rome*, and there ended his Life. I was so curious to know the Truth of this Story, that I desired *Agrippa*³⁹ might be called, who was Admiral in that Fight. He appeared, and confirmed the whole Account, but with much more Advantage to the Captain, whose Modesty had extenuated or concealed a great Part of his Merit.

I was surprized to find Corruption grown so high and so quick in that Empire, by the Force of Luxury so lately introduced; which made me less wonder at many parallel Cases in other Countries, where Vices of all Kinds have reigned so much longer, and where the whole Praise as well as Pillage

republic and inaugurating the Roman empire. 'Antony at Actium when he fled after Cleopatra' heads the negative side of the account in Swift's list 'Of Mean and Great Figures' (Davis, vol. V, p. 85).

37 *Libertina*: a freed female slave.

38 *Publicola*: Lucius Gellius Publicola; deserted Brutus and Cassius for Octavian and Antony; consul, 36 BC; probably perished at Actium. According to Plutarch (*Antony*, LXV–LXVI) and Velleius Paterculus (LXXXV), Publicola commanded the right wing of Antony's fleet, and served as Antony's Vice-Admiral. 'Publicola' (meaning *people-cherisher*: Livy, II.viii.1, Plutarch, 'Publicola', X.6) had been mocked by the Scriblerians as one of the pseudonyms employed by Martinus Scriblerus when writing 'in praise of *Corruption*' (Scriblerus, p. 169). It was also the pseudonym under which Delarivier Manley had lampooned Daniel Finch, Earl of Nottingham (1647–1730), in her *Memoirs of Europe, towards the close of the eighth century, written by Eginardus, secretary and favourite to Charlemagne* (1710) (see *A Key to the Third Volume of the Atalantis, call'd, Memoirs of Europe* [?1712], p. 3). On the detail and significance of Nottingham's relations with Swift, see the 'Introduction' (above, pp. lxii–lxiii). Case finds in this episode a reference to the fate of General Webb, a friend of Swift's whose conduct during the War of the Spanish Succession had been slighted by Marlborough (*Four Essays*, pp. 92–3).

39 *Agrippa*: Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa (62–12 BC); friend of the young Augustus, holder of important military commands under him during the Civil Wars which terminated the Roman Republic, and one of Augustus's closest advisers when he assumed sole and supreme power. The Pantheon in Rome was first constructed by Agrippa.

hath been engrossed by the chief Commander,⁴⁰ who perhaps had the least Title to either.

As every Person called up made exactly the same Appearance he had done in the World, it gave me melancholy Reflections to observe how much the Race of human Kind was degenerate among us, within these Hundred Years past. How the Pox under all its Consequences and Denominations had altered every Lineament of an *English* Countenance; shortened the Size of Bodies, unbraced the Nerves, relaxed the Sinews and Muscles, introduced a sallow Complexion, and rendered the Flesh loose and *rancid*.

I descended so low as to desire that some *English* Yeomen of the old Stamp,⁴¹ might be summoned to appear; once so famous for the Simplicity of their Manners,⁴² Dyet and Dress; for Justice in their Dealings; for their

40 *engrossed by the chief Commander*: a glance at the notorious rapacity of the Duke of Marlborough in the War of the Spanish Succession. For other similar accusations from Swift, see *The Examiner* 16 (Davis, vol. III, pp. 21–4) and the *History of the Four Last Years of the Queen* (Davis, vol. VII, pp. 7 and 65–6).

41 *English Yeomen of the old Stamp*: Temple was fond of praising the English yeomen in terms which brought together diet, courage and politics: ‘the great Bulk of Land in *England* lies in the Hands of the Yeomanry or lower Gentry, and their Hearts are high by Ease and Plenty, as those of the *French* Peasantry are wholly dispirited by Labour and Want’; ‘the Yeomanry and Commonalty of *England* are generally braver than in other Countries, because by the Plenty and Constitutions of the Kingdom they are so much easier in their Rents and their Taxes, and fare so much better and fuller than those of their Rank in any other Nation. Their chief, and, indeed, constant Food, being of Flesh’ (Temple, vol. I, pp. 383 and 53). Praise of the yeomanry of old England could sound a Whiggish, ‘Ancient Constitution’, note, as it had in *Eikonoklastes* (1649), when Milton praised ‘the old English fortitude and love of freedom’ (Milton, *Prose*, vol. III, p. 344); or when Robert Molesworth praised the ‘Yeomanry’ as ‘the Strength of England’ in his *An Account of Denmark* (1694), p. 79. However, Tories or even Jacobites might also be extolled in this language; cf. Swift’s praise of the Jacobite John Creighton as ‘a very honest and worthy Man; but of the old Stamp’ (Davis, vol. V, p. 121). Cf. also the anonymous Tory pamphlet *The Character of a Whig* (1709), which describes a ‘true English Country Gentleman’ in language similar to Swift’s praise of the English yeomanry, and as a contrast with corrupt modern Whigs (pp. 132–4). For the military aspects of admiration for the English yeoman, see Manning, *Apprenticeship*, p. 7.

42 *Simplicity of their Manners*: according to Temple, the English lost their native simplicity at the Conquest: ‘Lastly, *England* by the Conquest lost, in a great measure, the old Plainness and Simplicity of the *Saxon* Times, and Customs of Life, who were generally a People of good Meaning, plain Dealing, contented with their own, little coveting or imitating their Neighbours, and living frugally upon the product of their own fruitful Soil: For the Profusion of Meats at our *English* Tables, came in with the *Danes*, and the Luxury of them was introduc’d first by the *Normans*, and after increased by the more frequent Use of Wines, upon the Accession of *Guienne* to this Crown’ (‘Introduction to the History of England’: Temple, vol. II, p. 584; cf. also the contrast between Norman chicane and ‘the old English Simplicity’ on p. 571).

true Spirit of Liberty; for their Valour and Love of their Country.⁴³ Neither could I be wholly unmoved after comparing the Living with the Dead, when I considered how all these pure native Virtues were prostituted for a Piece of Money by their Grand-children; who in selling their Votes, and managing at Elections⁴⁴ have acquired every Vice and Corruption that can possibly be learned in a Court.

43 *Valour and Love of their Country*: for instances of the prior use of this topos, see Keith Thomas, *The Perception of the Past in Early Modern England: The Creighton Trust Lecture 1983* (1983), pp. 12 and 14–15.

44 *managing at Elections*: that is, by the use of bribery and corruption.

CHAPTER IX.

The Author's Return to Maldonada. Sails to the Kingdom of Luggnagg. The Author confined. He is sent for to Court. The Manner of his Admittance. The King's great Lenity to his Subjects.

The Day of our Departure being come, I took leave of his Highness the Governor of *Glubbudribb*, and returned with my two Companions to *Maldonada*, where after a Fortnight's waiting, a Ship was ready to sail for *Luggnagg*. The two Gentlemen and some others were so generous and kind as to furnish me with Provisions, and see me on Board. I was a Month in this Voyage. We had one violent Storm, and were under a Necessity of steering Westward to get into the Trade-Wind, which holds for above sixty Leagues. On the 21st of *April*, 1708,¹ we sailed in the River of *Clumegnig*, which is a Sea-port Town, at the South-East Point of *Luggnagg*. We cast Anchor within a League of the Town, and made a Signal for a Pilot.² Two of them came on Board in less than half an Hour, by whom we were guided between certain Shoals and Rocks, which are very dangerous in the Passage, to a large Basin,³ where a Fleet may ride in Safety within a Cable's Length of the Town-Wall.

Some of our Sailors, whether out of Treachery or Inadvertence, had informed the Pilots that I was a Stranger and a great Traveller, whereof these gave Notice to a Custom-House Officer, by whom I was examined very strictly upon my landing. This Officer spoke to me in the Language of *Balnibarbi*, which by the Force of much Commerce is generally understood in that Town, especially by Seamen, and those employed in the Customs. I gave him a short Account of some Particulars, and made my Story as

1 1708: an error for 1709.

2 *Signal for a Pilot*: a qualified coastal navigator taken on board temporarily to steer a ship into or out of a port, through a channel (*OED*, 1 a).

3 *a large Basin*: a dock constructed in a tidal river or harbour, in which by means of flood-gates the water is kept at a constant level; used for ships discharging or lading cargo, or when laid up (*OED*, 10 a).

plausible and consistent as I could; but I thought it necessary to disguise my Country, and call my self a *Hollander*; because my Intentions were for *Japan*, and I knew the *Dutch* were the only *Europeans* permitted to enter into that Kingdom.⁴ I therefore told the Officer, that having been shipwrecked on the Coast of *Balnibarbi*, and cast on a Rock, I was received up into *Laputa*, or the flying Island (of which he had often heard) and was now endeavouring to get to *Japan*, from whence I might find a Convenience⁵ of returning to my own Country. The Officer said, I must be confined till he could receive Orders from Court, for which he would write immediately, and hoped to receive an Answer in a Fortnight. I was carried to a convenient Lodging, with a Centry placed at the Door; however I had the Liberty of a large Garden, and was treated with Humanity enough, being maintained all the Time at the King's Charge.⁶ I was visited by several Persons, chiefly out of Curiosity, because it was reported I came from Countries very remote, of which they had never heard.

I hired a young Man who came in the same Ship to be an Interpreter; he was a Native of *Luggnagg*, but had lived some Years at *Maldonada*, and was a perfect Master of both Languages. By his Assistance I was able to hold a Conversation with those that came to visit me; but this consisted only of their Questions and my Answers.

The Dispatch came from Court about the Time we expected. It contained a Warrant for conducting me and my Retinue to *Traldragdubh* or *Trildrogdrib*, (for it is pronounced both Ways as near as I can remember) by a Party of Ten Horse. All my Retinue was that poor Lad for an Interpreter, whom I persuaded into my Service. At my humble Request we had each of us a Mule to ride on. A Messenger was dispatched half a Day's Journey before us, to give the King Notice of my Approach, and to desire that his Majesty would please to appoint a Day and Hour, when it would be his gracious Pleasure that I might have the Honour to *lick the Dust before his Footstool*.⁷ This is the Court Style, and I found it to be more than Matter

4 *enter into that Kingdom*: in 1638 the Japanese had closed their ports to all Europeans except the Dutch in gratitude for Dutch assistance in the suppression of a rebellion by Japanese Christians the previous year.

5 *a Convenience*: a conveyance (*OED*, 7 d).

6 *at the King's Charge*: circumstances reminiscent of Bacon's *New Atlantis* (Bacon, *Advancement*, pp. 215–20).

7 *before his Footstool*: Biblical parallels for this ceremony of political subjection include Psalms 72:9 and Isaiah 49:23; for the broader sense of licking dust as a sign of degradation, see

of Form: For upon my Admittance two Days after my Arrival, I was commanded to crawl upon my Belly, and lick the Floor as I advanced; but on account of my being a Stranger, Care was taken to have it so clean that the Dust was not offensive. However, this was a peculiar Grace, not allowed to any but Persons of the highest Rank, when they desire an Admittance: Nay, sometimes the Floor is strewed with Dust on purpose, when the Person to be admitted happens to have powerful Enemies at Court: And I have seen a great Lord with his Mouth so crammed, that when he had crept to the proper Distance from the Throne, he was not able to speak a Word. Neither is there any Remedy, because it is capital for those who receive an Audience to spit or wipe their Mouths in his Majesty's Presence. There is indeed another Custom, which I cannot altogether approve of. When the King hath a Mind to put any of his Nobles to Death in a gentle indulgent Manner; he commands to have the Floor strowed with a certain brown Powder, of a deadly Composition, which being licked up infallibly kills him in twenty-four Hours. But in Justice to this Prince's great Clemency, and the Care he hath of his Subjects Lives, (wherein it were much to be wished that the Monarchs of *Europe* would imitate him) it must be mentioned for his Honour, that strict Orders are given to have the infected Parts of the Floor well washed after every such Execution; which if his Domesticks neglect, they are in Danger of incurring his Royal Displeasure. I my self heard him give Directions, that one of his Pages should be whipt, whose Turn it was to give Notice about washing the Floor after an Execution, but maliciously had omitted it; by which Neglect

Genesis 3:14 and Micah 7:17. For a more recent parallel, cf. Algernon Sidney's description of the 'monstrous Tyranny of *Ceylon*': 'the King knows no other Law than his own will . . . His Subjects approach him . . . on their knees, licking the dust' (*Discourses Concerning Government* (1698), p. 448). As used by Swift it may entail a reflection on William III's high-handedness in Ireland following his defeat of James II: see Anne Barbeau Gardiner, 'Licking the Dust in Luggnagg: Swift's Reflections on the Legacy of King William's Conquest of Ireland', *SSStud*, 8 (1993), 35-44. However, Thomas Rymer's poem celebrating 1688 specifies dust-licking as an activity that William's success has banished from England: 'Truth now no more in dismal Dungeon thrust, / Nor humane face press'd down to lick the dust. / The God-like Power, that now begins to reign, / New-casts the Slave, and stamps him Man agen' (Thomas Rymer, *A Poem on the Prince of Orange his Expedition and Success in England* (1688), p. 3; cf. also the insulting expressions of Father Petre concerning the Second Declaration of Indulgence; below, p. 394, n. 18). In 'The Fourth Dialogue' to *The Fable of the Bees*, Mandeville has Cleomenes account for 'the Adulation that was paid to Conquerors and Tyrants . . . such as lying prostrate on our Faces, touching the Ground with our Heads' as demonstrations 'that we neither indulge our Ease, nor stand upon our Guard' (*Fable of the Bees*, vol. II, p. 151).

a young Lord of great Hopes coming to an Audience, was unfortunately poisoned, although the King at that Time had no Design against his Life. But this good Prince was so gracious, as to forgive the Page his Whipping, upon Promise that he would do so no more, without special Orders.⁸

To return from this Digression; when I had crept within four Yards of the Throne, I raised my self gently upon my Knees, and then striking my Forehead seven Times against the Ground, I pronounced the following Words, as they had been taught me the Night before, *Ickpling Gloffthrobbs Squutserumm blhiop Mlashnalt Zwin tnodbalkguffh Slhiophad Gurdlubh Asht*. This is the Compliment established by the Laws of the Land for all Persons admitted to the King's Presence. It may be rendered into *English* thus: *May your cælestial Majesty out-live the Sun, eleven Moons and an half*. To this the King returned some Answer, which although I could not understand, yet I replied as I had been directed; *Fluft drin Yalerick Dwuldum prastrad mirplush*, which properly signifies, *My Tongue is in the Mouth of my Friend*; and by this Expression was meant that I desired leave to bring my Interpreter; whereupon the young Man already mentioned was accordingly introduced; by whose Intervention I answered as many Questions as his Majesty could put in above an Hour. I spoke in the *Balnibarbian* Tongue, and my Interpreter delivered my Meaning in that of *Luggnagg*.

The King was much delighted with my Company, and ordered his *Bliffmarklub* or High Chamberlain to appoint a Lodging in the Court for me and my Interpreter, with a daily Allowance for my Table, and a large Purse of Gold for my common Expences.

I stayed three Months in this Country out of perfect Obedience to his Majesty, who was pleased highly to favour me, and made me very honourable Offers. But I thought it more consistent with Prudence and Justice to pass the Remainder of my Days with my Wife and Family.

8 *without special Orders*: cf. the episode in Part II, Chapter 1 when Gulliver extricates the farmer's son out of his beating (above, p. 128).

CHAPTER X.

The Luggnuggians commended. A particular Description of the Struldrugs, with many Conversations between the Author and some eminent Persons upon that Subject.

The *Luggnuggians* are a polite and generous People, and although they are not without some Share of that Pride which is peculiar to all *Eastern Countries*,¹ yet they shew themselves courteous to Strangers, especially such who are countenanced by the Court. I had many Acquaintance among Persons of the best Fashion, and being always attended by my Interpreter, the Conversation we had was not disagreeable.

One Day in much good Company, I was asked by a Person of Quality, whether I had seen any of their *Struldrugs* or *Immortals*.² I said I had not;

1 *peculiar to all Eastern Countries*: such ascriptions of pride are a feature of the Western tradition of writing about the Orient, although perhaps not so dominant and ubiquitous a feature as was once believed: cf. Edward Said, *Orientalism* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978) and Robert Irwin, *For Lust of Knowing: The Orientalists and their Enemies* (London: Allen Lane, 2006). For examples before and immediately after *GT*, see: Aeschylus, *The Persians*; Xenophon, *Cyropaedia*, III.4; Juvenal, X.179–87; Montaigne, *Essays*, p. 74; *Paradise Lost*, II.1–5; John Dennis, *Britannia Triumphans* (1704), p. 16; Sir Richard Blackmore, *Alfred* (1723), p. 254; Boulainvilliers, *The Life of Mahomet* (1731), p. 169; William Somervile, *The Chace* (1735), p. 81 ('eastern Kings, in all their tinsel Pride'); Samuel Boyse, *Translations and Poems* (1738), p. 270. In his *History of Japan* (1727), Engelbert Kaempfer remarked on 'that pride and vanity, which is natural to Eastern Nations' (p. 100).

2 *Struldrugs or Immortals*: this section of *GT* was praised by Deane Swift as the 'finest lecture that ever was conceived by any mortal man' on the subject of mortality (*Essay*, p. 216 ['180']). The view that unending life would be a curse seems to be perennial in the human imagination: cf., e.g., the myths of Tithonus, and of the Cumaean Sibyl, whose only wish was to die (Petronius, *Satyricon*, XLVIII). Cf. also the Epicurean maxim that 'If it were possible for Man to live for ever, the Pleasure he would receive therefrom would not be greater than what he might experience during the limited space of his Life, if he could sufficiently refine his Reason to know the true Scope and End thereof' (*Epicurus's Morals* (1712), p. 135). For earlier poetic treatments of the miseries of extreme old age, see Juvenal, X.188–288 and *Paradise Lost*, X.808–18 and XI.538–46. Swift wrote in 'Thoughts on Various Subjects' that 'EVERY Man desires to live long: but no Man would be old' (Davis, vol. IV, p. 246). In his sermon 'On the Poor Man's Contentment', he remarked that 'Nothing is more frequent, than a Man to wish himself in another's Condition; yet he seldom doth it without some Reserve: He would not

and desired he would explain to me what he meant by such an Appellation, applied to a mortal Creature. He told me, that sometimes, although very rarely, a Child happened to be born in a Family with a red circular Spot in the Forehead, directly over the left Eye-brow, which was an infallible Mark that it should never dye. The Spot, as he described it, was about the Compass of a Silver Threepence,³ but in the Course of Time grew larger, and changed its Colour; for at Twelve Years old it became green, so continued till Five and Twenty, then turned to a deep blue; at Five and Forty it grew coal black, and as large as an *English Shilling*;⁴ but never admitted any farther Alteration. He said these Births were so rare, that he did not believe there could be above Eleven Hundred *Struldbruggs* of both Sexes in the whole Kingdom, of which he computed about Fifty in the Metropolis, and among the rest a young Girl born about three Years ago. That, these Productions were not peculiar to any Family, but a meer Effect of Chance; and the Children of the *Struldbruggs* themselves, were equally mortal with the rest of the People.

I freely own myself to have been struck with inexpressible Delight upon hearing this Account: And the Person who gave it me happening to understand the *Balnibarbian* Language, which I spoke very well, I could not forbear breaking out into Expressions perhaps a little too extravagant. I cried out as in a Rapture; Happy Nation,⁵ where every Child hath at least

be so old; he would not be so sickly' (Davis, vol. IX, p. 196). In his 'Thoughts on Religion' Swift identified as an instance of providential supremacy of passion over reason 'the love of life, which, from the dictates of reason, every man would despise, and wish it at an end, or that it never had a beginning' (Davis, vol. IX, p. 263). Sheridan's portrait of Swift at the end of his life was perhaps influenced by the *Struldbruggs* (Sheridan, p. 337); cf. Jorge Luis Borges, 'A History of the Echoes of a Name' (Borges, pp. 405–8, especially p. 407). For a general parallel, cf. Rabelais's *Island of the Macreons* (Rabelais, IV.xxv–xxvii, pp. 78–85).

3 *Silver Threepence*: a pre-decimal English coin, first struck in 1561, of which the value was one-eightieth of a pound: see Madox, *Account*, pp. 12–13. Threepenny bits circulating in Swift's day measured half an inch (1.25 centimetres) in diameter (Brook, plate XLII, item 7 and plate XLIX, item 6).

4 *Shilling*: a pre-decimal English silver coin, first struck in 1504, of which the value was one-twentieth of a pound: see Madox, *Account*, pp. 11–12. Shillings struck in the reign of George I (1714–27) measured an inch (2.5 centimetres) in diameter (Brook, plate LXIX, item 5).

5 *Happy Nation*: the repetition of 'happy' evokes the poetic style of ancient epic: cf. *Odyssey*, V.394 and *Aeneid*, I.94–6. Cf. also Horace, *Odes*, III.29, lines 41 ff, translated by Dryden as: 'Happy the man, and happy he alone, / He who can call today his own: / He who secure within can say, / "Tomorrow do thy worst, for I have lived today."' It had been revived in *Paradise Lost*, III.570–1, IV.370, V.74–5; Dryden, *Alexander's Feast*, lines 12 and 16; Pope,

a Chance for being immortal! Happy People who enjoy so many living Examples of antient Virtue, and have Masters ready to instruct them in the Wisdom of all former Ages! But, happiest beyond all Comparison are those excellent *Struldbruggs*, who being born exempt from that universal Calamity of human Nature, have their Minds free and disingaged, without the Weight and Depression of Spirits caused by the continual Apprehension of Death. I discovered my Admiration that I had not observed any of these illustrious Persons at Court; the black Spot on the Fore-head, being so remarkable a Distinction, that I could not have easily overlooked it: And it was impossible that his Majesty, a most judicious Prince, should not provide himself with a good Number of such wise and able Counselors. Yet perhaps the Virtue of those Reverend Sages was too strict for the corrupt and libertine⁶ Manners of a Court. And we often find by Experience, that young Men are too opinionative and volatile to be guided by the sober Dictates of their Seniors.⁷ However, since the King was pleased to allow me Access to his Royal Person, I was resolved upon the very first Occasion to deliver my Opinion to him on this Matter freely, and at large by the Help of my Interpreter; and whether he would please to take my Advice or no, yet in one Thing I was determined, that his Majesty having frequently offered me an Establishment⁸ in this Country, I would with great Thankfulness accept the Favour, and pass my Life here in the Conversation of those superiour Beings the *Struldbruggs*, if they would please to admit me.

The Gentleman to whom I addressed my Discourse, because (as I have already observed) he spoke the Language of *Balnibarbi*, said to me with a Sort of a Smile, which usually ariseth from Pity to the Ignorant, that he was glad of any Occasion to keep me among them, and desired my

Rape of the Lock, IV.149. In Chapter 11 of *Peri Bathous* (1728), Pope would quote Ambrose Philips ('Happy thrice, and thrice agen, / Happiest he of happy men, &c') as an example of 'The INFANTINE' (*Prose Works*, vol. II, p. 214). Examples of the trope also occur in a work of importance to Swift at the outset of his literary career; see *The Epistles of Phalaris* (1699), pp. 41 and 223.

6 *libertine*: characterized by habitual disregard of moral law, especially with regard to the relation of the sexes; licentious, dissolute (*OED*, 4).

7 *Dictates of their Seniors*: Swift's list of resolutions 'When I come to be old 1699' includes 'Not to be too free of advise nor trouble any but those that desire it' and 'Not to be positive or opiniatre' (Davis, vol. I, p. xxxvii).

8 *Establishment*: settled income, provision for a livelihood (*OED*, 5 b).

Permission to explain to the Company what I had spoke. He did so; and they talked together for some time in their own Language, whereof I understood not a Syllable, neither could I observe by their Countenances what Impression my Discourse had made on them. After a short Silence, the same Person told me, that his Friends and mine (so he thought fit to express himself) were very much pleased with the judicious Remarks I had made on the great Happiness and Advantages of immortal Life; and they were desirous to know in a particular Manner, what Scheme of Living I should have formed to myself, if it had fallen to my Lot to have been born a *Struldbrugg*.

I answered, it was easy to be eloquent on so copious and delightful a Subject,⁹ especially to me who have been often apt to amuse myself with Visions of what I should do if I were a King, a General, or a great Lord: And upon this very Case I had frequently run over the whole System how I should employ myself, and pass the Time if I were sure to live for ever.¹⁰

That, if it had been my good Fortune to come into the World a *Struldbrugg*; as soon as I could discover my own Happiness by understanding the Difference between Life and Death, I would first resolve by all Arts and Methods whatsoever to procure myself Riches: In the Pursuit of which, by Thrift and Management, I might reasonably expect in about two Hundred Years, to be the wealthiest Man in the Kingdom. In the second Place, I would from my earliest Youth apply myself to the Study of Arts and Sciences, by which I should arrive in time to excel all others in Learning. Lastly, I would carefully record every Action and Event of Consequence that happened in the Publick, impartially draw the Characters of the several Successions of Princes, and great Ministers of State; with my own Observations on every Point. I would exactly set down the several Changes in Customs, Languages, Fashions, Dress, Dyet and Diversions. By all which

9 *eloquent on so copious and delightful a Subject*: *copious*: capable of being treated at length. Cf. Gulliver's similar rhetorical rhapsody before the King of Brobdingnag in Part II, Chapter 6, which is also the prelude to correction (above, p. 179).

10 *sure to live for ever*: Swift had been obsessively preoccupied with the thought of his own mortality since 1714, as he wrote to Bolingbroke on 31 October 1729: 'I was 47 Years old when I began to think of death; and the reflections upon it now begin when I wake in the Morning, and end when I am going to Sleep' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, p. 261; cf. pp. 294 and 615).

Acquirements, I should be a living Treasury of Knowledge and Wisdom, and certainly become the Oracle of the Nation.

I would never marry after Threescore,¹¹ but live in an hospitable Manner, yet still on the saving Side. I would entertain myself in forming and directing the Minds of hopeful young Men, by convincing them from my own Remembrance, Experience and Observation, fortified by numerous Examples, of the Usefulness of Virtue in publick and private Life. But, my choise and constant Companions should be a Sett of my own immortal Brotherhood, among whom I would elect a Dozen from the most ancient down to my own Contemporaries. Where any of these wanted Fortunes, I would provide them with convenient Lodges round my own Estate, and have some of them always at my Table, only mingling a few of the most valuable among you Mortals, whom Length of Time would harden me to lose with little or no Reluctance, and treat your Posterity after the same Manner; just as a Man diverts himself with the annual Succession of Pinks and Tulips in his Garden, without regretting the Loss of those which withered the preceding Year.

These *Struldbruggs* and I would mutually communicate our Observations and Memorials through the Course of Time; remark the several Gradations by which Corruption steals into the World, and oppose it in every Step, by giving perpetual Warning and Instruction to Mankind;¹² which, added to the strong Influence of our own Example, would probably prevent that continual Degeneracy of human Nature, so justly complained of in all Ages.

Add to all this, the Pleasure of seeing the various Revolutions of States and Empires; the Changes in the lower and upper World;¹³ antient Cities in Ruins, and obscure Villages become the Seats of Kings. Famous Rivers lessening into shallow Brooks; the Ocean leaving one Coast dry, and overwhelming another: The Discovery of many Countries yet unknown. Barbarity over-running the politest Nations, and the most barbarous becoming

11 *never marry after Threescore*: the first of Swift's list of resolutions 'When I come to be old 1699' is: 'Not to marry a young Woman' (Davis, vol. I, p. xxxvii).

12 *perpetual Warning and Instruction to Mankind*: again, contrary to Swift's own resolution in old age (above, p. 311, n. 7; Davis, vol. I, p. xxxvii).

13 *lower and upper World*: a distinction drawn sometimes between the surface of the earth and Hades below it; here more probably a distinction between the surface of the earth and the sky.

civilized. I should then see the Discovery of the *Longitude*,¹⁴ the *perpetual Motion*,¹⁵ the *universal Medicine*,¹⁶ and many other great Inventions brought to the utmost Perfection.

- 14 *Discovery of the Longitude*: in 1714 Parliament had offered a reward of £20,000 for the discovery of a reliable method of determining longitude at sea, which is essential for accurate navigation. The problem was eventually solved in 1759 when John Harrison (1693–1776) invented the marine chronometer: see Dava Sobel, *Longitude* (London: Fourth Estate, 1995); for the Dutch contribution, see Lisa Jardine, *Going Dutch: How England Plundered Holland's Glory* (London: HarperCollins, 2008), pp. 275–7 and 281–90; cf. also Pat Rogers, 'The Longitude Impostor', *TLS*, 14 November 2008, 15–17. On 29 March 1712 Swift reported to Archbishop King that 'A Projector [possibly William Whiston] has lately applied to me to recommend him to the Ministry, about an Invention for finding out the Longitude' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. I, p. 421; cf. Williams, *JSt*, p. 527). In September 1727 John Wheldon claimed to have discovered a means of determining longitude 'by two known Stars', to whom Swift replied: 'I understand not Mathematicks, but have been formerly troubled too much with Projectors of the Longitude to my great Mortification and some Charges by encouraging them. . . One of my Projectors cut his Throat, and the other was found an Imposter' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, pp. 128–9; see also Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. IV, p. 7 and Williams, *Poems*, p. 1154). The longitude was a recurrent target of Scriblerian ridicule. Martinus Scriblerus's solution involved building 'Two Poles to the Meridian, with immense Light-houses on the top of them' (Scriblerus, p. 168). In *Three Hours After Marriage*, Plotwell tries to lure Fossile out of the way with talk of 'Longitudes' (II.262; Gay, *Dramatic Works*, vol. I, p. 237). The last volume of the Pope–Swift *Miscellanies* (1728) contains an 'Ode, for Musick, On the Longitude' (pp. (172–3).
- 15 *the perpetual Motion*: the House of Salomon in Bacon's *New Atlantis* contained 'divers curious clocks, and other like motions of return, and some perpetual motions' (Bacon, *Advancement*, p. 245). The creation of perpetual motion was recognized to be a formidable problem: see David Russen, *Iter Lunare* (1703), pp. 43–4. In general, however, it was regarded as an impossibility: see John Wilkins, *Mathematical and Philosophical Works* (1708), pp. 129 ff., and William Wollaston, *The Religion of Nature Delineated* (1722), p. 56. Robert Hooke contrasted the quest for perpetual motion with the methodical activities of the Royal Society: 'Such Observations will be worthy the Care of this Society, and will be better than accidental and casual Trials, which, tho' surprising and pleasant, are at best but like those of the seekers of the Philosophers Stone and perpetual Motion, who generally make trials at a venture' (*Posthumous Works*, p. 357). In *A Trritical Essay* Swift mockingly advised 'the Virtuosi, who have been so long in Search for the perpetual Motion' to look for it in the human tongue (Davis, vol. I, p. 250).
- 16 *the universal Medicine*: the so-called elixir of life, which could cure all diseases; a notion derived from Paracelsian medical theory. It was repeatedly mocked by Temple: see 'Of Health and Long Life' (Temple, vol. I, p. 281); 'Of Popular Discontents' (Temple, vol. I, p. 258); 'Some Thoughts Upon Reviewing the Essay of Antient and Modern Learning' (Temple, vol. I, p. 303); 'Of Heroick Virtue' (Temple, vol. I, p. 200). In *A Tale of A Tub*, Section 11 Jack brandished his father's will, and claimed that 'I will prove this very Skin of Parchment to be Meat, Drink, and Cloth, to be the Philosopher's Stone, and the Universal Medicine' (*CWJS*, vol. I, p. 123; Davis, vol. I, p. 122; cf. *John Bull*, p. 78). In *A Discourse Concerning the Mechanical Operation of the Spirit* (1710), Section 1 Swift (or his persona) notes that 'it is hard to assign one Art or Science, which has not annexed to it some Fanatick Branch: Such are the *Philosopher's Stone*; *The Grand Elixir*; *The Planetary Worlds*; *The Squaring of the Circle*; *The Summum bonum*; *Utopian Commonwealths*; with some others of less or subordinate Note; which all serve for

What wonderful Discoveries should we make in Astronomy, by outliving and confirming our own Predictions; by observing the Progress and Returns of Comets, with the Changes of Motion in the Sun, Moon and Stars.

I enlarged upon many other Topicks, which the natural Desire of endless Life and sublunary Happiness could easily furnish me with. When I had ended, and the Sum of my Discourse had been interpreted as before, to the rest of the Company, there was a good Deal of Talk among them in the Language of the Country, not without some Laughter at my Expence. At last the same Gentleman who had been my Interpreter, said, he was desired by the rest to set me right in a few Mistakes, which I had fallen into through the common Imbecility of human Nature, and upon that Allowance was less answerable for them. That, this Breed of *Struldbruggs* was peculiar to their Country, for there were no such People either in *Balnibarbi* or *Japan*, where he had the Honour to be Ambassador from his Majesty, and found the Natives in both those Kingdoms very hard to believe¹⁷ that the Fact was possible; and it appeared from my Astonishment when he first mentioned the Matter to me, that I received it as a Thing wholly new, and scarcely to be credited. That in the two Kingdoms above-mentioned, where during his Residence he had conversed very much, he observed long Life to be the universal Desire and Wish of Mankind. That, whoever had one Foot in the Grave, was sure to hold back the other as strongly as he could. That the oldest had still Hopes of living one Day longer, and looked on Death as the greatest Evil, from which Nature always prompted him to retreat;¹⁸ only in this Island of *Luggnagg*, the Appetite for living was not so eager, from the continual Example of the *Struldbruggs* before their Eyes.

nothing else, but to employ or amuse this Grain of *Enthusiasm*, dealt into every Composition' (*CWJS*, vol. I, p. 172; Davis, vol. I, p. 174). In *Three Hours After Marriage*, the impotent virtuoso Fossile is in quest of the 'grand Elixir' (II.265; Gay, *Dramatic Works*, vol. I, p. 237). Others, however, took it seriously. For instance, Sprat had included the quest for the 'great Elixir' in the province of chemistry, although with reservations (Sprat, *History*, p. 37); cf. also Spence, vol. I, p. 283; Aitken, vol. I, pp. 141–5; *The Tatler*, 89 (3 November 1709; *Tatler*, vol. II, p. 61).

17 *hard to believe*: reluctant to believe (*OED*, *sv* 'hard', 8 a).

18 *always prompted him to retreat*: cf. Lucian, 'Descent to the Underworld' (Lucian, vol. I, pp. 230–46, esp. pp. 231–2). David Hume would make playful reference to this work of Lucian's, and to this foible of human nature, when on the verge of death (to William Strahan, 9 November 1776; Smith, *Correspondence*, p. 219).

That the System of Living contrived by me was unreasonable and unjust, because it supposed a Perpetuity of Youth, Health, and Vigour, which no Man could be so foolish to hope, however extravagant he might be in his Wishes.¹⁹ That, the Question therefore was not whether a Man would chuse to be always in the Prime of Youth, attended with Prosperity and Health; but how he would pass a perpetual Life under all the usual Disadvantages which old Age brings along with it. For although few Men will avow their Desires of being immortal upon such hard Conditions, yet in the two Kingdoms beforementioned of *Balni-barbi* and *Japan*, he observed that every Man desired to put off Death for sometime longer, let it approach ever so late; and he rarely heard of any Man who died willingly, except he were incited by the Extremity of Grief or Torture. And he appealed to me whether in those Countries I had travelled as well as my own, I had not observed the same general Disposition.

After this Preface, he gave me a particular Account of the *Struldbruggs* among them. He said they commonly acted like Mortals, till about Thirty Years old, after which by Degrees they grew melancholy and dejected, increasing in both till they came to Fourscore. This he learned from their own Confession; for otherwise there not being above two or three of that Species born in an Age, they were too few to form a general Observation by. When they came to Fourscore Years, which is reckoned the Extremity of living in this Country, they had not only all the Follies and Infirmities of other old Men, but many more which arose from the dreadful Prospect of never dying. They were not only opinionative, peevish, covetous, morose,

19 *extravagant he might be in his Wishes*: a number of passages in Temple's 'Of Health and Long Life' are relevant: 'Whether long Life be a Blessing or no, God Almighty only can determine, who alone knows what length it is like to run, and how 'tis like to be attended. Socrates used to say, that 'twas pleasant to grow old with good Health and a good Friend; and he might have Reason. A Man may be content to live, while he is no Trouble to himself or his Friends, but after that, 'tis hard if he be not content to Die. I knew and esteemed a Person Abroad, who used to say, a Man must be a mean Wretch, that desired to live after threescore Years old' (Temple, vol. I, p. 288; cf. pp. 292 and 275). Swift's own attitude towards health and prolongation of life seems to have been shaped by Temple, who praised de Witt for 'the great care he had of his Health, and the little of his Life' ('Upon the Cure of the Gout', Temple, vol. I, p. 137). On 18 December 1711 Swift wrote to Anne Long that 'Health is worth preserving, tho Life is not' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. I, p. 401; cf. Ehrenpreis, vol. II, p. 519). It was a sentiment which, with minor variations, would recur throughout his correspondence: cf. Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. II, pp. 411, 421, 429, 555; vol. IV, p. 316.

vain, talkative;²⁰ but incapable of Friendship,²¹ and dead to all natural Affection,²² which never descended below their Grand-children. Envy and impotent Desires, are their prevailing Passions. But those Objects against which their Envy seems principally directed, are the Vices of the younger Sort,²³ and the Deaths of the old. By reflecting on the former, they find themselves cut off from all Possibility of Pleasure; and whenever they see a Funeral, they lament and repine that others are gone to an Harbour of Rest, to which they themselves never can hope to arrive. They have no Remembrance of any thing but what they learned and observed in their Youth and middle Age, and even that is very imperfect: And for the Truth or Particulars of any Fact, it is safer to depend on common Traditions than upon their best Recollections. The least miserable among them, appear to be those who turn to Dotage, and entirely lose their Memories; these meet with more Pity and Assistance, because they want many bad Qualities which abound in others.

20 *vain, talkative*: cf. Laetitia Pilkington's comment on the bitter fitness of Swift's declining years: 'And here I must observe, that as the Dean was very justly satirical on the Vices of human Kind, yet when he fell on Infirmities, he seem'd to have done a displeasing Act to Heaven, inasmuch as he was punished with them all in a remarkable manner; he lived to be a *Struldbrugg*, helpless as a Child, and unable to assist himself' (Pilkington, pp. 160–1). Sheridan concurred: 'It grieved me much to see such a change in him. His person was quite emaciated, and bore the marks of many more years than had passed over his head. His memory greatly impaired, and his other faculties much on the decline. His temper peevish, fretful, morose, and prone to sudden fits of passion . . . it appeared that avarice had then taken possession of him to a great degree' (Sheridan, pp. 332–3). Orrery, too, finally saw Swift as 'the exact image of one of his own *Struldbruggs*, a miserable spectacle, devoid of every appearance of human nature, except the outward form' (*Remarks*, p. 12; cf. p. 116). Note Marmaduke Phillips's maladroit wish of 2 November 1734 that Swift should be a *Struldbrug* (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. IV, p. 12).

21 *incapable of Friendship*: cf. Swift to John Barber, 30 March 1737: 'I have lost so many old Friends without getting any new' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. IV, p. 414).

22 *dead to all natural Affection*: a characteristic which Swift noted in himself towards the end of his life, in a letter of 7 March 1737 to William Pulteney: 'Mankind, which however I do not value a Rush, nor the animal it self as it now acts, neither will I ever value my self as a Philanthropus, because it is now a Creature (taking a vast Majority) that I hate more than a Toad, a Viper, a Wasp, a Stoat a Fox, or any other that you will please to add' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. IV, p. 391). There is thus a bite to the badinage when on 28 April 1739 Swift wrote to Pope a letter of introduction for Deane Swift which began: 'The Gentleman who will have the Honour to deliver you this, although he be one related to me, which is by no Means any Sort of Recommendation; for, I am utterly void of what the World calls natural Affection, and with good Reason' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. IV, p. 575). Sheridan said that at the end of his life Swift was 'dead . . . to the feelings of friendship' (Sheridan, p. 337).

23 *Vices of the younger Sort*: note another of Swift's resolutions 'When I come to be old 1699': 'Not to be over severe with young People' (Davis, vol. I, p. xxxvii).

If a *Struldrugg* happen to marry one of his own Kind, the Marriage is dissolved of Course by the Courtesy of the Kingdom,²⁴ as soon as the younger of the two comes to be Fourscore. For the Law thinks it a reasonable Indulgence, that those who are condemned without any Fault of their own to a perpetual Continuance in the World, should not have their Misery doubled by the Load of a Wife.²⁵

As soon as they have completed the Term of Eighty Years, they are looked on as dead in Law; their Heirs immediately succeed to their Estates, only a small Pittance is reserved for their Support; and the poor ones are maintained at the publick Charge. After that Period they are held incapable of any Employment of Trust or Profit; they cannot purchase Lands, or take Leases, neither are they allowed to be Witnesses in any Cause, either Civil or Criminal, not even for the Decision of Meers²⁶ and Bounds.

At Ninety they lose their Teeth and Hair; they have at that Age no Distinction of Taste, but eat and drink whatever they can get, without Relish or Appetite. The Diseases they were subject to, still continue without encreasing or diminishing. In talking they forget the common Appellation of Things, and the Names of Persons, even of those who are their nearest Friends and Relations.²⁷ For the same Reason they never can amuse

24 *Courtesy of the Kingdom*: a customary legal right.

25 *doubled by the Load of a Wife*: for Swift's own, at best tepid, views about the pleasures of the married state, see his letters to John Kendall and Jane Waring of 11 February 1692 and 4 May 1700 (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. I, pp. 104–5 and 142–3). Cf. Mark 12:25 and Luke 20:35; it is hard not to see here a blasphemous re-writing of the Biblical precept that in heaven there is neither marrying nor giving in marriage – texts which Orrery applied to Swift himself (*Remarks*, p. 17). In general, the immortality of the *Struldrugs* means that, for Swift, they display all the inconveniences of old age without its single great consolation, as he explained to Mrs Moore on 7 December 1727: 'God, in his Wisdom, hath been pleased to load our declining Years with many Sufferings, with Diseases, and Decays of Nature, with the Death of many Friends, and the Ingratitude of more: Sometimes with the Loss or Diminution of our Fortunes, when our Infirmities most need them; often with Contempt from the World, and always with Neglect from it; with the Death of our most hopeful or useful Children; with a want of Relish for all worldly Enjoyments, with a general Dislike of Persons and Things: And tho' all these are very natural Effects of encreasing Years, yet they were intended by the Author of our Being, to wean us gradually from our Fondness of Life, the nearer we approach towards the End of it' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, pp. 145–6).

26 *Meers*: boundaries.

27 *nearest Friends and Relations*: cf. Swift to W. Richardson, 13 May 1740: 'But my Age and perpetuall disorders, and chiefly my vexatious Deafness, with other Infirmities, have compleated the utter loss of my Memory, so that I cannot recollect the Names of those friends who come to see me twice or oftner every Week' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. IV, p. 621).

themselves with reading,²⁸ because their Memory will not serve to carry them from the Beginning of a Sentence to the End; and by this Defect they are deprived of the only Entertainment whereof they might otherwise be capable.²⁹

The Language of this Country being always upon the Flux,³⁰ the *Struld-bruggs* of one Age do not understand those of another; neither are they able after two Hundred Years to hold any Conversation (farther than by a few general Words) with their Neighbours the Mortals;³¹ and thus they lye under the Disadvantage of living like Foreigners in their own Country.³²

28 *they never can amuse themselves with reading*: writing to Bolingbroke on 21 March 1730, Swift connected his preoccupation with death and his failing interest in reading: 'When I was of your age I often thought of death, but now after a dozen years more, it is never out of my mind, and terrifies me less. I conclude that providence hath order'd our fears to decrease with our spirits; and yet I love *la bagatelle* better than ever: for finding it troublesome to read at night, and the company here growing tasteless' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, p. 294).

29 *otherwise be capable*: cf. Mrs Whiteway's description on 22 November 1742 of the final phase of Swift's life (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. IV, pp. 663–4).

30 *upon the Flux*: in a state of change. Swift's general position was that languages need not change: 'I see no absolute Necessity why any Language should be perpetually changing' (Davis, vol. IV, p. 9); and his own heart was set upon a means of '*Ascertaining and Fixing* our Language for ever' (Davis, vol. IV, p. 15). However, since the Restoration, Swift saw that English had been also a language 'always upon the Flux': 'Many of these Refinements [introduced since 1660] have already been long antiquated, and are now hardly intelligible; which is no Wonder, when they were the Product only of Ignorance and Caprice' (Davis, vol. IV, p. 10). The result was that 'The Fame of our Writers is usually confined to these two Islands; and it is hard it should be limited in *Time* as much as *Place*, by the perpetual Variations of our Speech. It is your Lordship's [Harley's] Observation, that if it were not for the *Bible* and *Common-Prayer-Book* in the vulgar Tongue, we should hardly be able to understand any thing that was written among us an Hundred Years ago' (Davis, vol. IV, pp. 14–15). Cf. the ironical treatment of the same perception of the temporal volatility of modernity in 'The Preface' to *A Tale of A Tub* (*CWJS*, vol. I, p. 27; Davis, vol. I, p. 26). The temporal variations of ancient Greek supplied the tools with which Bentley had demonstrated the inauthenticity of the *Epistles of Phalaris*.

31 *Neighbours the Mortals*: cf. Deane Swift's account on 4 April 1744 of Swift's final struggles with language: 'Soon after, he again endeavoured, with a good deal of pain, to find words to speak to me: at last, not being able, after many efforts, he gave a heavy sigh, and, I think, was afterwards silent. This puts me in mind of what he said about five days ago. He endeavoured several times to speak to his servant (now and then he calls him by his name) at last, not finding words to express what he would be at, after some uneasiness, he said "I am a fool". Not long ago, the servant took up his watch that lay upon the table to see what o'clock it was, he said, "Bring it here:" and when it was brought, he looked very attentively at it: some time ago, the servant was breaking a large stubborn coal, he said, "That's a stone, you blockhead"' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. IV, p. 670).

32 *Foreigners in their own Country*: cf. Swift to Pope, 11 August 1729: 'I may call my self a stranger in a strange land' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, p. 245); cf. Exodus 2:22.

This was the Account given me of the *Struldbruggs*, as near as I can remember. I afterwards saw five or six of different Ages, the youngest not above two Hundred Years old, who were brought to me at several Times by some of my Friends; but although they were told that I was a great Traveller, and had seen all the World, they had not the least Curiosity to ask me a Question; only desired I would give them *Slumskudask*, or a Token of Remembrance; which is a modest Way of begging, to avoid the Law that strictly forbids it, because they are provided for by the Publick, although indeed with a very scanty Allowance.

They are despised and hated by all Sorts of People: When one of them is born, it is reckoned ominous, and their Birth is recorded very particularly; so that you may know their Age by consulting the Registry, which however hath not been kept above a Thousand Years past, or at least hath been destroyed by Time or publick Disturbances. But the usual Way of computing how old they are, is by asking them what Kings or great Persons they can remember, and then consulting History; for infallibly the last Prince in their Mind did not begin his Reign after they were Fourscore Years old.

They were the most mortifying³³ Sight I ever beheld; and the Women more horrible than the Men. Besides the usual Deformities in extreme old Age, they acquired an additional Ghastliness in Proportion to their Number of Years, which is not to be described; and among half a Dozen I soon distinguished which was the eldest, although there were not above a Century or two between them.

The Reader will easily believe, that from what I had heard and seen, my keen Appetite for Perpetuity of Life was much abated. I grew heartily ashamed of the pleasing Visions I had formed; and thought no Tyrant could invent a Death into which I would not run with Pleasure from such a Life. The King heard of all that had passed between me and my Friends upon this Occasion, and raillied³⁴ me very pleasantly; wishing I would send a Couple of *Struldbruggs* to my own Country, to arm our People against the Fear of Death; but this it seems is forbidden by the fundamental Laws

33 *mortifying*: here used primarily in its metaphorical sense of rendering a person insensible or impervious to the attractions and pleasures of the world and the flesh (*OED*, 4b). However, the word's literal meaning (to deprive of life; to kill, put to death: *OED*, 1a) is not wholly archaic in 1726, and hovers here in a state of ghastly survival.

34 *raillied*: ridiculed, teased (*OED*, 1 b).

of the Kingdom; or else I should have been well content with the Trouble and Expence of transporting them.

I could not but agree, that the Laws of this Kingdom relating to the *Struldbruggs*, were founded upon the strongest Reasons, and such as any other Country would be under the Necessity of enacting in the like Circumstances. Otherwise, as Avarice is the necessary Consequent of old Age, those Immortals would in time become Proprietors of the whole Nation, and engross the Civil Power;³⁵ which, for want of Abilities to manage, must end in the Ruin of the Publick.

35 *engross the Civil Power*: seize all political authority. See Long note 29.

CHAPTER XI.

The Author leaves Luggnagg and sails to Japan. From thence he returns in a Dutch Ship to Amsterdam, and from Amsterdam to England.

I thought this Account of the *Struldbruggs* might be some Entertainment to the Reader, because it seems to be a little out of the common Way; at least, I do not remember to have met the like in any Book of Travels that hath come to my Hands:¹ And if I am deceived, my Excuse must be, that it is necessary for Travellers, who describe the same Country, very often to agree in dwelling on the same Particulars, without deserving the Censure of having borrowed or transcribed from those who wrote before them.

There is indeed a perpetual Commerce between this Kingdom and the great Empire of *Japan*; and it is very probable that the *Japanese* Authors may have given some Account of the *Struldbruggs*; but my Stay in *Japan* was so short, and I was so entirely a Stranger to the Language, that I was not qualified to make any Enquiries. But I hope the *Dutch* upon this Notice will be curious and able enough to supply my Defects.²

His Majesty having often pressed me to accept some Employment in his Court, and finding me absolutely determined to return to my Native Country; was pleased to give me his Licence to depart; and honoured me with a Letter of Recommendation under his own Hand to the Emperor of *Japan*. He likewise presented me with four Hundred forty-four large Pieces

1 *come to my Hands*: in fact such accounts were commonplaces of travel literature, to the point where they had been parodied in Lucian's *The True History* (Lucian, vol. II, pp. 136–73).

2 *supply my Defects*: for a contemporary account of Japanese interest in prolonging life, see Engelbertus Kämpfer, *The History of Japan*, 2 vols. (1727), vol. II, p. 534: 'the following questions were put to me . . . Whether our European Physicians did not search after some Medicine to render people immortal, as the Chinese Physicians had done for many hundred years? Whether we had made any considerable progress in this search, and which was the last remedy conducive to long life, that had been found out in Europe?'

of Gold (this Nation delighting in even Numbers) and a red Diamond³ which I sold in *England* for Eleven Hundred Pounds.

On the 6th Day of *May*, 1709, I took a solemn Leave of his Majesty, and all my Friends. This Prince was so gracious as to order a Guard to conduct me to *Glanguenstald*, which is a Royal Port to the *South-West* Part of the Island. In six Days I found a Vessel ready to carry me to *Japan*; and spent fifteen Days in the Voyage. We landed at a small Port-Town called *Xamoschi*,⁴ situated on the *South-East* Part of *Japan*. The Town lies on the *Western* Part, where there is a narrow Streight, leading *Northward* into a long Arm of the Sea, upon the *North-West* Part of which *Yedo*⁵ the Metropolis stands. At landing I shewed the Custom-House Officers my Letter from the King of *Luggnagg* to his Imperial Majesty: They knew the Seal perfectly well; it was as broad as the Palm of my Hand. The Impression was, *A King lifting up a lame Beggar from the Earth*.⁶ The Magistrates of the Town hearing of my Letter, received me as a publick Minister; they provided me with Carriages and Servants, and bore my Charges to *Yedo*, where I was admitted to an Audience, and delivered my Letter; which was opened with great Ceremony, and explained to the Emperor by an Interpreter, who gave me Notice of his Majesty's Order, that I should signify my Request; and whatever it were, it should be granted for the sake of his Royal Brother of *Luggnagg*. This Interpreter was a Person employed to transact Affairs with the *Hollanders*: He soon conjectured by my Countenance that I was an *European*, and therefore repeated his Majesty's Commands in *Low-Dutch*,⁷ which he spoke perfectly well. I answered, (as I had before determined) that I was a *Dutch* Merchant, shipwrecked in a very remote Country, from whence I travelled by Sea and Land to *Luggnagg*, and then took Shipping for *Japan*, where I knew my Countrymen often traded, and with some of these I hoped to get an Opportunity of returning into *Europe*: I therefore most humbly entreated his Royal Favour to give Order, that I should be conducted in Safety

3 *red Diamond*: a rare form of the stone.

4 *Xamoschi*: Shimosa. See Takau Shimada, 'Xamoschi Where Gulliver Landed', *N&Q*, 30 (1983), 33.

5 *Yedo*: Tokyo.

6 *A King lifting up a lame Beggar from the Earth*: cf. Acts 3:1–8.

7 *Low-Dutch*: that is to say, Dutch (High-Dutch being what is now called German).

to *Nangasac*.⁸ To this I added another Petition, that for the sake of my Patron the King of *Luggnagg*, his Majesty would condescend to excuse my performing the Ceremony imposed on my Countrymen, of *trampling upon the Crucifix*;⁹ because I had been thrown into his Kingdom by my Misfortunes, without any Intention of trading. When this latter Petition was interpreted to the Emperor, he seemed a little surprised; and said, he believed I was the first of my Countrymen who ever made any Scruple in this Point;¹⁰ and that he began to doubt whether I were a real *Hollander* or no; but rather suspected I must be a CHRISTIAN.¹¹ However, for the Reasons I had offered, but chiefly to gratify the King of *Luggnagg*, by an uncommon Mark of his Favour, he would comply with the *singularity* of my Humour; but the Affair must be managed with Dexterity, and his Officers should be commanded to let me pass as it were by Forgetfulness. For he assured me, that if the Secret should be discovered by my Countrymen, the *Dutch*, they would cut my Throat in the Voyage. I returned my Thanks

8 *Nangasac*: Nagasaki.

9 *trampling upon the Crucifix*: this is the ceremony of *Yefumi*, employed by the Japanese to detect Christians, who were forbidden in Japan. The origin of the practice is described by George Psalmanazaar, *An Historical and Geographical Description of Formosa* (1704): 'the *Dutch* advised the Emperor to distinguish *Christians* from all other *Foreigners* by this Test viz. by making an Image of Christ Crucified . . . and requiring all *Foreigners* to trample upon this Image: For, said they, If these *Foreigners* be *Christians* they will not trample upon it; and all others who do trample upon it, are certainly no *Christians* . . . the *Hollanders* make no scruple to trample upon the Crucifix when-ever they are required to do it' (pp. 316–17). Cf. also Charles Leslie, *Cassandra. Numb. II.* (1704), p. 91: 'The Test in Japan for a *Christian*, is the Trampling upon the Cross. This is thought a Sufficient Indication, that he who do's it is no *Christian*. By this the *Dutch* Secure that Trade to Themselves.' The Japanese persecution of Christians had also attracted the attention of John Locke (Locke, *Toleration*, pp. 130–1); cf. also Brown, *Estimate*, p. 164. See Takau Shimada, 'Possible Sources for Psalmanazar's Description of Formosa', *N&Q*, 30 (1983), 515–16 and Hermann J. Real and Heinz J. Vienken, 'Swift's "Trampling upon the Crucifix" Once More', *N&Q*, 30 (1983), 513–14. The irreligion of, and atrocities perpetrated by, the Dutch in the East Indies are described and deplored in, e.g., Giovanni Battista Stoppa, *The Religion of the Dutch Represented in Several Letters* (1680), esp. pp. 45–52; and *A Choice Collection of Papers Relating to State Affairs* (1703), p. 238. Cf. also *Fable of the Bees*, p. 213.

10 *ever made any Scruple in this Point*: cf. Robert Millar, *The History of the Propagation of Christianity*, second edition, 2 vols. (1726), vol. II, p. 387, on the loose and irreligious way of life of Europeans in the East Indies: 'But as Things stand at present, 'tis very improbable, that Christianity should Fructify there: For as the English and Dutch in these Parts of the World, are too loose Livers, to gain Reputation to Religion, so the other Europeans, I mean their Missionary Priests, are but very blind Teachers.'

11 *rather suspected I must be a CHRISTIAN*: for an early, ironic, treatment by Swift of the invidiousness of being thought to be Christian, see his *Argument Against Abolishing Christianity* (1708) (Davis, vol. II, pp. 26–39).

by the Interpreter for so unusual a Favour; and some Troops being at that Time on their March to *Nangasac*, the Commanding Officer had Orders to convey me safe thither, with particular Instructions about the Business of the *Crucifix*.

On the 9th Day of *June*, 1709, I arrived at *Nangasac*, after a very long and troublesome Journey. I soon fell into the Company of some *Dutch* Sailors belonging to the *Amboyna*¹² of *Amsterdam*, a stout Ship of 450 Tuns. I had lived long in *Holland*, pursuing my Studies at *Leyden*,¹³ and I spoke *Dutch* well: The Seamen soon knew from whence I came last; they were curious to enquire into my Voyages and Course of Life. I made up a Story as short and probable as I could, but concealed the greatest Part. I knew many Persons in *Holland*; I was able to invent Names for my Parents, whom I pretended to be obscure People in the Province of *Guelderland*.¹⁴ I would have given the Captain (one *Theodorus Vangrult*)¹⁵ what he pleased to ask for my Voyage to *Holland*; but, understanding I was a Surgeon, he was contented to take half the usual Rate, on Condition that I would serve him in the Way of my Calling. Before we took Shipping, I was often asked by some of the Crew, whether I had performed the Ceremony abovementioned? I evaded the Question by general Answers, that I had satisfied the Emperor and Court in all Particulars. However, a malicious Rogue of a Skipper¹⁶ went to an Officer, and pointing to me, told him, I had not yet *trampled on the Crucifix*: But the other, who had received Instructions to let me pass,

12 *Amboyna*: Ambon, in Indonesia; a trading post under Dutch control, where an infamous massacre of the English had occurred in 1623: see William J. Brown, 'Gulliver's Passage on the Dutch Amboyna', *ELN*, 1 (1964), 262–4. Dryden's *Amboyna* (1673) dramatizes the episode, which was the occasion of furious resentment, as for instance when Charles Leslie deplored 'the Murder of the *English* at *Amboyna* . . . and other Depredations in the *East Indies* . . . their Breach of Treaties, and most *Barbarous* and *Perfidious* Cruelties upon the *English*' (*Delenda Carthago* (1695), p. 3).

13 *Leyden*: Gulliver had studied at Leyden for two years and seven months: see above, p. 30.

14 *Guelderland*: one of the seven United Provinces, which saw much fighting in the War of the Spanish Succession, and which was important in relation to the Barrier Treaty (cf. *CWJS*, vol. VIII, pp. 137, 144, 149, 151; Davis, vol. VI, pp. 99, 107, 113 and 115). William III's favourite palace, Het Loo, was located in this province. In 1675 the then William of Orange had made an attempt to suppress the liberties of Guelderland, and this high-handed act was remembered in England during the 1690s in the context of the 'standing army' debates.

15 *Theodorus Vangrult*: an invented, and deliberately grotesque, name. J. B. Tavernier describes the conduct of a Dutch 'General Vander-Broug' (Tavernier, *Recueil*, pp. 236–46).

16 *Skipper*: a contemptuous term for a youth (*OED*, 1 b); not, in this context, a naval captain.

gave the Rascal twenty Strokes on the Shoulders with a Bamboo; after which I was no more troubled with such Questions.

Nothing happened worth mentioning in this Voyage. We sailed with a fair Wind to the *Cape of Good Hope*,¹⁷ where we staid only to take in fresh Water. On the 6th¹⁸ of *April* we arrived safe at *Amsterdam*, having lost only three Men by Sickness in the Voyage, and a fourth who fell from the Fore-mast into the Sea, not far from the Coast of *Guinea*. From *Amsterdam* I soon after set sail for *England* in a small Vessel belonging to that City.

On the 10th of *April*, 1710,¹⁹ we put in at the *Downs*.²⁰ I landed the next Morning, and saw once more my Native Country after an Absence of five Years and six Months compleat.²¹ I went strait to *Redriff*,²² whither I arrived the same Day at two in the Afternoon, and found my Wife and Family in good Health.

The End of the Third Part.

17 *Cape of Good Hope*: the southern tip of Africa.

18 *6th*: in all editions up to and including 1735 this date reads '16th'; clearly an error, since a few lines below Gulliver says he put in at the Downs on the 10th. 'Gulliver' accuses the printer of mistaking the dates of 'my several Voyages and Returns; neither assigning the true Year, or the true Month, or Day of the Month:' (above, p. 12), but given the persistence of this error into 1735, here we are confronted with Swift's own carelessness in not picking up what was either his own error in the manuscript or a compositor's error in the first edition (*Four Essays*, p. 67).

19 *10th of April, 1710*: Swift's mother died on 24 April 1710 (Davis, vol. V, p. 196).

20 *the Downs*: see above, p. 112, n. 14.

21 *five Years and six Months compleat*: Gulliver left England on 5 August 1706 (above, p. 219), so in fact he has been absent for a little over three years and eight months.

22 *Redriff*: see above, p. 15, n. 51.

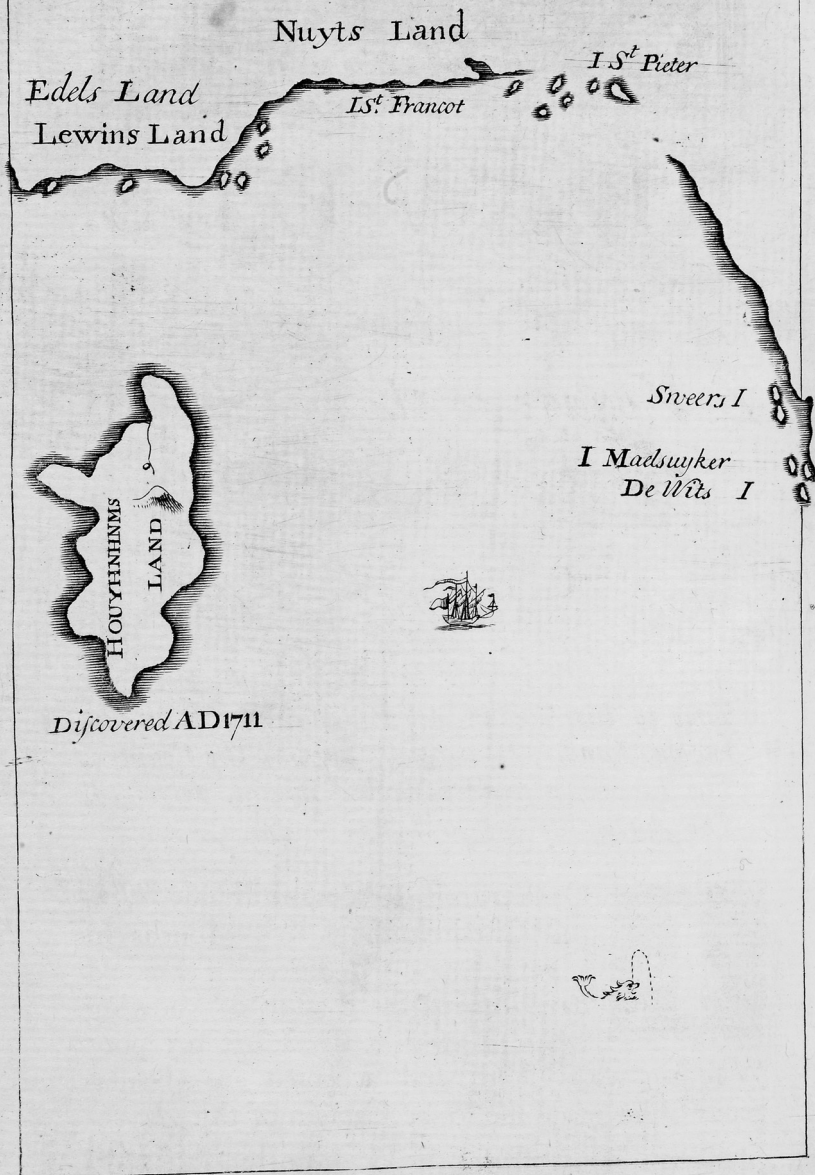


Figure 8. Map of the Land of the Houyhnhnms

PART IV.

A Voyage to the Country of the HOUYHNHNMS.¹

CHAPTER I.

The Author sets out as Captain of a Ship. His Men conspire² against him, confine him a long Time to his Cabbin, set him on Shore in an unknown Land. He travels up into the Country. The Yahoos,³ a strange Sort of Animal, described. The Author meets two Houyhnhnms.

I continued at home with my Wife and Children about five Months in a very happy Condition, if I could have learned the Lesson of

1 *Houyhnhnms*: probably to be pronounced ‘whinnims’, thus evoking the whinnying of horses. The metre of Alexander Pope’s commendatory verses establishes that the word is disyllabic. But since it is never a rhyme-word in that poem, it offers no guidance as to pronunciation, beyond Mary Gulliver’s comment that she would try to ‘hymn harmonious *Houyhnhnm* thro’ the Nose’, where the alliteration may be broadly mimetic (see below, p. 586). See Long note 30. The *Key* compares Swift’s talking horses with the (possibly spurious) poem by Andrew Marvell, ‘A Dialogue Between the Two Horses’ (*Key*, Pt IV, pp. 4–5; Marvell, *Poems & Letters*, vol. I, pp. 191–6).

2 *conspire*: Gulliver moves up an escalating scale of misfortune and inhumanity in his voyages, culminating in this act of mutiny.

3 *Yahoos*: Swift’s Yahoos (which are humanoid, but not human) reflect a contemporary sense of the difficulty of firmly distinguishing the human species from its near relations. Cf. Sir William Temple’s ‘Of Popular Discontents’: ‘Among several Differences or Distinctions which curious and busie, or rather idle Men, have observed between the Races of Mankind and those of their Fellow-Creatures, most have been by some disputed, and few by all allowed . . . but the Comptrollers of vulgar Opinion have pretended to find out such a Similitude of Shape in some kind of Baboons, or at least such as they call Drills, that leaves little Difference besides those of Feature in Face, and of Hair on their Bodies, in both which Men themselves are very different’ (Temple, vol. I, p. 255). The name ‘Yahoo’ derives from that of a tribe in Guinea: see John Robert Moore, ‘The Yahoos of the African Travellers’, *N&Q*, 195 (1950), 182–5; cf. also Frank Kermode, ‘Yahoos and Houyhnhnms’, *N&Q*, 195 (1950), 317–18. The characteristics of Swift’s Yahoos suggest a range of sources: accounts of savages in travel literature (R. W. Frantz, ‘Swift’s Yahoos and the Voyagers’, *MP*, 29 (1931), 49–57); contemporary accounts of the immiserated condition of the native Irish (Donald T. Torchiana, Jonathan Swift, the

knowing when I was well.⁴ I left my poor Wife big with Child, and accepted an advantageous Offer made me to be Captain of the *Adventure*,⁵ a stout Merchant-man of 350 Tuns: For I understood Navigation well, and being grown weary of a Surgeon's Employment at Sea, which however I could exercise upon Occasion,⁶ I took a skilful young Man of that Calling, one *Robert Purefoy*,⁷ into my Ship. We set sail from *Portsmouth* upon the 7th Day of *September*, 1710;⁸ on the 14th we met with Captain *Pocock* of *Bristol*, at *Tenariff*, who was going to the Bay of *Campeachy*, to cut *Logwood*.⁹ On the 16th he was parted from us by a Storm: I heard since

Irish, and the Yahoos: The Case Reconsidered', *PQ*, 54 (1975), 195–212); and accounts of the helots of ancient Sparta (William H. Halewood, 'Plutarch in Houyhnhnmland: A Neglected Source for Gulliver's Fourth Voyage', *PQ*, 44 (1965), 185–94). For the view that 'Yahoo' echoes the biblical name of God, *Yahu*, see Herbert Zirker, 'Horse Sense and Sensibility: Some Issues Concerning Utopian Understanding in Gulliver's Travels', *SSStud*, 12 (1997), 85–98 and Anne Barbeau Gardiner, "Be ye as the horse!" – Swift, Spinoza, and the Society of Virtuous Atheists', *SP*, 97 (2000), 234–5.

4 *when I was well*: cf. the advice of Robinson Crusoe's father when his son reveals his intention to go to sea: 'that if I did take this foolish Step, God would not bless me, and I would have Leisure hereafter to reflect upon having neglected his Counsel when there might be none to assist in my Recovery' (Defoe, *Crusoe*, p. 6). Bolingbroke may be recalling passages such as this (as well as the frontispiece to *A Tale of a Tub*) when, in a letter to Swift of 2 August 1731, he figured his political misfortunes as rash seamanship: 'I launched into the Deep before I had loaded Ballast enough. if the ship did not sink, the Cargo was thrown overboard. the storm it self threw me into Port. my own opinion my own Desires would have kept me there. the opinion the desires of others sent me to sea again. I did, and blamed myself for doing, what others, & you among the Rest, would have blamed me if I had not done' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, p. 421).

5 *Adventure*: a common name for ships at this time, and one favoured by pirates such as Captain Kidd.

6 *upon Occasion*: as required (*OED*, 9 a).

7 *Purefoy*: an inappropriate name (literally, 'pure faith'), given the mutiny. It possessed emphatic negative connotations for Swift. Colonel William Purefoy, an *alumnus* of Emmanuel College, Cambridge (see above, p. 29, n. 3), had served as one of the commissioners who sat in judgement on Charles I, and his energetic role on the parliamentary side in the Civil War is noted in the *Memoirs of Edmund Ludlow*, a book which was in Swift's library and to which he refers on several occasions (Davis, vol. III, pp. 44, 143; vol. V, p. 121; vol. XII, pp. 265 and 270). In his 'A Sermon upon the Martyrdom of King Charles I' Swift disparaged the 'Puritans as pretending to a purer faith than those of the church established' (Davis, vol. IX, p. 221). See Long note 8 for a discussion of the impact on *GT* of Swift's attitude towards the regicide.

8 *7th Day of September, 1710*: the day Swift arrived in London from Ireland (Williams, *JSt*, p. 5).

9 *Campeachy, to cut Logwood*: the Bay of Campeachy forms the southern part of the Gulf of Mexico, where Dampier had spent three years. 'Logwood' is the heartwood of an American tree (*Hæmatoxylon Campechianum*) used in dyeing; so called from being imported in the form of logs (*OED*, 2 a). The trade in logwood in the Bay of Campeachy had associations with piracy:

my Return, that his Ship foundered, and none escaped, but one Cabbin-Boy. He was an honest Man, and a good Sailor, but a little too positive in his own Opinions, which was the Cause of his Destruction, as it hath been of several others. For if he had followed my Advice, he might at this Time have been safe at home with his Family as well as my self.¹⁰

I had several Men died in my Ship of Calentures,¹¹ so that I was forced to get Recruits out of *Barbadoes*,¹² and the *Leeward Islands*,¹³ where I touched by the Direction of the Merchants who employed me; which I had soon too much Cause to repent; for I found afterwards that most of them had been Buccaneers. I had fifty Hands on Board; and my Orders were, that I should trade with the *Indians* in the *South-Sea*, and make what Discoveries I could. These Rogues whom I had picked up, debauched my other Men,

'This Trade to *Campeachy*, had its Rise from the decay of Privateering; for after the Peace with *Spain* in 1667. the Privateers, who liv'd upon the Plunder and Booty they acquired by the War, were put to their shifts, having prodigally spent what they got . . . but the more industrious Sort of them went and settled in the Bay of *Campeachy*; for having often cruised near *Champeton* River, where the *Spaniards* cut Logwood, and by that means becoming acquainted with the Value of it, and the Knowledge of the Trees, it put them on searching other parts of the Continent, till they found out the Lagune of *Trist*, which was some time before the Peace in 1667. After that, whenever they were disappointed of a Prize, or other Booty, some of them would lade their Ships with Logwood, which was then very valuable, and carry it to *Jamaica*' (Anon., *The State of the Island of Jamaica* (1726), pp. 14–15).

10 *with his Family as well as my self*: a curious statement, given Gulliver's eventual estrangement from his wife and children.

11 *Calentures*: a disease which befalls sailors in the tropics, characterized by a burning fever and delirium in which the patient fancies the sea to be green fields, and desires to leap into it (*OED*, 1). Cf. Swift's poem of 1720 on the South Sea Bubble, 'The Bubble', in which the mania for the company's stock is likened to the effect of a calenture: 'Thus the deluded Bankrupt raves, / Puts all upon a desp'rate Bett, / Then plunges in the *Southern Waves*, / Dipt over head and Ears – in Debt. / So, by a Calenture misled, / The Mariner with Rapture sees / On the smooth Ocean's azure Bed / Enamell'd Fields, and verdant Trees; / With eager Hast he longs to rove / In that fantastick Scene, and thinks / It must be some enchanted Grove, / And in he leaps, and down he sinks' (Williams, *Poems*, pp. 251–2, lines 21–32). Writing to Ambrose Philips on 8 March 1709 Swift once more associated a calenture with delusion: 'Your versifying in a Sledge seems somewhat parallell to singing a Psalm upon a Ladder, and when you tell me it was upon the Sea, I suppose it might be a Pastorall, and that you had gott a Calenture, which makes men think they behold green Feelds, and Groves on the Ocean' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. I, p. 238). Gulliver's exposure to calentures creates the possibility that his narrative in Part IV is also from the outset delusional. Robinson Crusoe suffers from a 'violent Calenture', and one of his shipmates later dies of the disease (Defoe, *Crusoe*, pp. 17 and 41).

12 *Barbadoes*: an English colony in the West Indies.

13 *Leeward Islands*: an arc of West Indian islands forming the most westerly and northerly of the Lesser Antilles at the north-eastern end of the Caribbean Sea.

and they all formed a Conspiracy¹⁴ to seize the Ship and secure me; which they did one Morning, rushing into my Cabbin, and binding me Hand and Foot, threatening to throw me overboard, if I offered to stir. I told them, I was their Prisoner, and would submit. This they made me swear to do, and then unbound me, only fastening one of my Legs with a Chain near my Bed; and placed a Centry at my Door with his Piece¹⁵ charged, who was commanded to shoot me dead if I attempted my Liberty. They sent me down Victuals and Drink, and took the Government of the Ship to themselves. Their Design was to turn Pirates, and plunder the *Spaniards*, which they could not do, till they got more Men. But first they resolved to sell the Goods in the Ship, and then go to *Madagascar*¹⁶ for Recruits, several among them having died since my Confinement. They sailed many Weeks, and traded with the *Indians*; but I knew not what Course they took, being kept close Prisoner in my Cabbin, and expecting nothing less than to be murdered, as they often threatened me.

Upon the 9th Day of *May*, 1711,¹⁷ one *James Welch* came down to my Cabbin; and said he had Orders from the Captain to set me ashore. I expostulated with him, but in vain; neither would he so much as tell me who their new Captain was. They forced me into the Long-boat, letting me put on my best Suit of Cloaths, which were as good as new, and a small Bundle of Linnen, but no Arms except my Hanger;¹⁸ and they were so civil as not to search my Pockets,¹⁹ into which I conveyed what Money I had, with some other little Necessaries. They rowed about a League; and then set me down on a Strand.²⁰ I desired them to tell me what Country it was: They all swore, they knew no more than my self, but said, that the Captain

14 *they all formed a Conspiracy*: Nathaniel Uring, in his *A History of the Voyages and Travels of Capt Nathaniel Uring* (1726), has very similar experiences to Gulliver: he goes 'to the Bay of Campeachy to load Logwood' (p. 243), a 'Malignant Fever' rages amongst his crew and he loses eight hands (p. 247), and finally is conspired against by his crew, who plan to run away with the ship (p. 259).

15 *Piece*: a firearm.

16 *Madagascar*: at this time Madagascar was a nest of pirates: see Long note 16.

17 *9th Day of May, 1711*: on this day Swift records a fatal duel between Sir Cholmeley Dering and Richard Thornhill (Williams, *JSt*, pp. 264–5).

18 *Hanger*: a heavy short sword, hung from the belt (*OED*).

19 *not to search my Pockets*: unlike the Lilliputians and the Emperor of Blefuscu, who made 'a diligent Search into my Pockets' before allowing Gulliver to leave (above, pp. 53 and 110).

20 *Strand*: the land bordering the sea; in a more restricted sense, that part of a shore which lies between the tide-marks; sometimes used vaguely for coast, shore (*OED*, 1 a).

(as they called him) was resolved, after they had sold the Lading,²¹ to get rid of me in the first Place where they discovered Land. They pushed off immediately, advising me to make haste, for fear of being overtaken by the Tide; and bade me farewell.

In this desolate Condition I advanced forward, and soon got upon firm Ground, where I sat down on a Bank to rest my self, and consider what I had best to do. When I was a little refreshed, I went up into the Country, resolving to deliver my self to the first Savages I should meet; and purchase my Life from them by some Bracelets, Glass Rings, and other Toys,²² which Sailors usually provide themselves with in those Voyages, and whereof I had some about me: The Land was divided by long Rows of Trees, not regularly planted, but naturally growing; there was great Plenty of Grass, and several Fields of Oats. I walked very circumspectly for fear of being surprised, or suddenly shot with an Arrow from behind, or on either Side. I fell into a beaten Road, where I saw many Tracks of human Feet, and some of Cows, but most of Horses. At last I beheld several Animals in a Field,²³ and one or two of the same Kind sitting in Trees. Their Shape was very singular, and deformed, which a little discomposed me, so that I lay down behind a Thicket to observe them better. Some of them coming forward near the Place where I lay, gave me an Opportunity of distinctly marking their Form. Their Heads and Breasts were covered with a thick Hair, some frizzled and others lank; they had Beards like Goats, and a long Ridge of Hair down their Backs,²⁴ and the fore Parts of their Legs

21 *Lading*: freight, cargo (*OED*, 2).

22 *Toys*: trinkets.

23 *several Animals in a Field*: Gulliver's initial encounter with the Yahoos recalls accounts in contemporary travel literature of meetings with aboriginal people: 'The Inhabitants of this Country are the miserablest People in the World . . . setting aside their Humane Shape, they differ but little from Brutes' (Anon., *A Collection of Voyages*, 4 vols. (1729), vol. I, p. 464). Cf. also 'The Quidnuncki's: A Tale' in *Miscellanies. The Last Volume* (1728), pp. 229–32. In 'A Letter to the Archbishop of Dublin, Concerning the Weavers' (?1729) Swift described his experience of walking the streets of Dublin in terms which recall Gulliver's disorienting confrontation with the Yahoos: 'For, I will not deny to your Grace, that I cannot reflect on the singular condition of this Country, different from all others upon the face of the Earth, without some Emotion, and without often examining as I pass the streets whether those animals which come in my way with two legs and human faces, clad, and erect, be of the same species with what I have seen very like them in England, as to the outward Shape, but differing in their notions, natures, and intellectualls more than any two kinds of Brutes in a forest' (Davis, vol. XII, p. 65).

24 *a long Ridge of Hair down their Backs*: in *Samson Agonistes*, the Philistine champion Harapha taunts Samson by saying that his strength 'was giv'n thee in thy hair, / Where strength

and Feet; but the rest of their Bodies were bare, so that I might see their Skins, which were of a brown Buff Colour. They had no Tails, nor any Hair at all on their Buttocks, except about the *Anus*; which, I presume Nature had placed there to defend them as they sat on the Ground; for this Posture they used, as well as lying down, and often stood on their hind Feet. They climbed high Trees, as nimbly as a Squirrel, for they had strong extended Claws before and behind, terminating on sharp Points, hooked. They would often spring, and bound, and leap with prodigious Agility. The Females were not so large as the Males; they had long lank Hair on their Heads, and only a Sort of Down on the rest of their Bodies, except about the *Anus*, and *Pudenda*. Their Dugs²⁵ hung between their fore Feet, and often reached almost to the Ground as they walked.²⁶ The Hair of both Sexes was of several Colours, brown, red, black and yellow. Upon the whole, I never beheld in all my Travels so disagreeable an Animal, or one against which I naturally conceived so strong an Antipathy.²⁷ So that thinking I had seen enough, full of Contempt and Aversion, I got up and pursued the beaten Road, hoping it might direct me to the Cabbin of some *Indian*. I had not gone far when I met one of these Creatures full in my Way, and coming up directly to me. The ugly Monster, when he saw me, distorted several Ways every Feature of his Visage, and stared as at an Object he had never seen before; then approaching nearer, lifted up his fore Paw, whether out of Curiosity or Mischief, I could not tell: But I drew

can least abide, though all thy hairs / Were bristles ranged like those that ridge the back / Of chafed wild boars, or ruffled porcupines' (lines 1135–8). Writing to Charles Wogan on 2 August 1732, Swift declared himself 'an Admirer of Milton' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, p. 515). François Hotman quotes from Cedrenus an insult levelled against the early Frankish kings, who wore their hair long: 'They who were of the Kingly Race were called *Cristati*, which may be interpreted *Bristle-back'd*, because they had all along their Back-bones, Bristles growing out like Swine' (Hotman, *Franco-Gallia*, p. 62). *Franco-Gallia* had been translated into English in 1711 by Robert, Viscount Molesworth, with whom Swift was on friendly terms in the 1720s.

25 Dugs: breasts (*OED*); already with possible overtones of revulsion.

26 *reached almost to the Ground as they walked*: pendulous breasts are a standard element in descriptions of savage women: see Rawson, *GGG*, pp. 92–113. Cf. Edmund Spenser's description of the stripped Duessa: 'Her dried dugs, like bladders lacking wind, | Hong downe, and filthy matter from them weld' (*Faerie Queene*, I.viii.47, lines 6–7).

27 *so strong an Antipathy*: in 'To Mr Congreve' Swift imagined the Muse waylaid by critics in terms which anticipate the encounter between Gulliver and the Yahoos: '*Sham'd and amaz'd, beholds the chatt'ring throng, / To think what cattle she has got among; / But with the odious smell and sight annoy'd, / In haste she does th'offensive herd avoid*' (Williams, *Poems*, p. 50, lines 223–6 and n.).

my Hanger, and gave him a good Blow with the flat Side of it; for I durst not strike him with the Edge, fearing the Inhabitants might be provoked against me, if they should come to know, that I had killed or maimed any of their Cattle.²⁸ When the Beast felt the Smart, he drew back, and roared so loud, that a Herd²⁹ of at least forty came flocking about me from the next Field, howling and making odious Faces; but I ran to the Body of a Tree, and leaning my Back against it, kept them off, by waving my Hanger.³⁰ Several of this cursed Brood getting hold of the Branches behind, leaped up into the Tree, from whence they began to discharge their Excrements on my Head:³¹ However, I escaped pretty well, by sticking close to the Stem of the Tree, but was almost stifled with the Filth, which fell about me on every Side.

28 *any of their Cattle*: a topical fear, since in 1711 bands of 'houghers' were maiming cattle in certain Irish counties, as Archbishop King informed Swift on 16 February 1712. It was suspected that the activity had a Jacobite tinge, and that 'the Pretender is at the bottom' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. I, p. 416).

29 *a Herd*: cf. 'The Life and Genuine Character of Dr Swift', and its identification of an aspect of political modernity Swift found offensive: 'We should indulge the *Dean's* disgust, / Who saw this *Factious Tribe* [Dissenters] caress'd, / And *Lovers* of the *Church* distress'd —: / The *Patrons* of the *good old Cause*, / In *Senates* sit, at making Laws; / The most *malignant* of the *Herd*, / In surest way to be preferr'd —;' (Williams, *Poems*, p. 549, lines 159–65: cf. also 'To Mr Congreve', line 226, in Williams, *Poems*, p. 50). In *The Examiner* 29 (22 February 1710), Swift had disparaged 'the whole Herd of Presbyterians, Independants, Atheists, Anabaptists, Deists, Quakers and Socinians' (Davis, vol. III, p. 92).

30 *waving my Hanger*: cf. Gulliver's defending himself against the flies in Brobdingnag (above, pp. 153–54).

31 *discharge their Excrements on my Head*: travellers recorded similar behaviour by monkeys. Lionel Wafer encountered 'a very waggish kind of Monkey . . . pissing down purposely on our Heads' (*A New Voyage and Description of the Isthmus of America* (1699), p. 66). William Dampier suffered similarly when the monkeys of Campeachy 'scattered their Urine and Dung about my Ears' (*Voyages and Descriptions*, vol. II, third edition (1705), pp. 59–60). Such behaviour had been ascribed to Swift by critics of *A Tale of A Tub*: 'If therefore a Man has not *Merit* enough to appear the most *Shining* Example, his best Method is to throw *Dirt* on others' (Anon., *Essays Divine, Moral, and Political* (1714), p. 40). This episode of *GT* was applied in various ways to Swift; see, e.g., Sheridan, pp. 378–9, and *Essay*, p. 183. Ned Ward applied the image to Pope, who 'squirts down frothy Satyrs with contempt' (*Durgen. Or, a plain Satyr upon a Pompous Satyr* (1729), p. 17). When Pope, writing to Swift on 6 January 1734, ascribed to Lord Hervey 'a squirt to bespatter', he may have been alluding to this passage of *GT* (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, p. 717). Within *GT* the behaviour of the Yahoos invites comparison with Gulliver's urinating and defecating in Part I, and with the flies of Part II (above, pp. 38, 43 and 153). In *Clarissa*, Lovelace compares the defecating Yahoos to Virgil's harpies (Samuel Richardson, *Clarissa, or the History of a Young Lady*, ed. Angus Ross (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1985), p. 1388; cf. *Aeneid*, III.216–18).

In the Midst of this Distress, I observed them all to run away on a sudden as fast as they could; at which I ventured to leave the Tree, and pursue the Road, wondering what it was that could put them into this Fright. But looking on my Left-Hand, I saw a Horse walking softly in the Field; which my Persecutors having sooner discovered, was the Cause of their Flight. The Horse started a little when he came near me, but soon recovering himself, looked full in my Face with manifest Tokens of Wonder:³² He viewed my Hands and Feet, walking round me several times. I would have pursued my Journey, but he placed himself directly in the Way, yet looking with a very mild Aspect, never offering the least Violence. We stood gazing at each other for some time; at last I took the Boldness, to reach my Hand towards his Neck, with a Design to stroak it; using the common Style and Whistle of Jockies when they are going to handle a strange Horse. But, this Animal seeming to receive my Civilities with Disdain, shook his Head, and bent his Brows, softly raising up his Left Fore-Foot to remove my Hand. Then he neighed three or four times, but in so different a Cadence, that I almost began to think he was speaking to himself in some Language of his own.

While He and I were thus employed, another Horse came up; who applying himself³³ to the first in a very formal Manner, they gently struck each others Right Hoof before, neighing several times by Turns, and varying the Sound, which seemed to be almost articulate. They went some Paces off, as if it were to confer together, walking Side by Side, backward and forward, like Persons deliberating upon some Affair of Weight; but often turning their Eyes towards me, as it were to watch that I might not escape. I was amazed to see such Actions and Behaviour in Brute Beasts;

32 *manifest Tokens of Wonder*: compare Sheridan's account of Swift's recollection of an act of charity performed when he was twenty-seven in favour of a deserving clergyman: 'He [Swift] . . . put the presentation into his hand, desiring him to read it. Swift said, that while he was doing so, he kept his eyes steadily fixed on the old man's face, in which the joy of finding that it was a presentation to a living, was visibly expressed: but when he came to that part of the writing which mentioned the name of the living, and found that it was Swift's own which he had resigned in his favour, he looked at him for some time in silence, with such a mixed emotion of astonishment and gratitude in his countenance, as presented to Swift one of the most striking pictures of the mind expressed in the face, he had ever seen; and he said that he never before had felt such exquisite pleasure of mind as he did in that hour' (Sheridan, p. 19).

33 *applying himself*: addressing oneself for information or aid, having recourse, making application to (*OED*, 28 b).

and concluded with myself, that if the Inhabitants of this Country were endued with a proportionable Degree of Reason, they must needs be the wisest People upon Earth. This Thought gave me so much Comfort, that I resolved to go forward untill I could discover some House or Village, or meet with any of the Natives; leaving the two Horses to discourse together as they pleased. But the first, who was a Dapple-Grey, observing me to steal off, neighed after me in so expressive a Tone, that I fancied myself to understand what he meant; whereupon I turned back, and came near him, to expect³⁴ his farther Commands; but concealing my Fear as much as I could; for I began to be in some Pain, how this Adventure might terminate; and the Reader will easily believe I did not much like my present Situation.

The two Horses came up close to me, looking with great Earnestness upon my Face and Hands. The grey Steed rubbed my Hat all round with his Right Fore-hoof, and discomposed it so much, that I was forced to adjust it better, by taking it off, and settling it again; whereat both he and his Companion (who was a brown Bay) appeared to be much surprized; the latter felt the Lappet of my Coat, and finding it to hang loose about me, they both looked with new Signs of Wonder. He stroked my Right Hand, seeming to admire the Softness, and Colour; but he squeezed it so hard between his Hoof and his Pastern,³⁵ that I was forced to roar;³⁶ after which they both touched me with all possible Tenderness. They were under great Perplexity about my Shoes and Stockings, which they felt very often, neighing to each other, and using various Gestures, not unlike those of a Philosopher, when he would attempt to solve some new and difficult Phænomenon.

Upon the whole, the Behaviour of these Animals was so orderly and rational, so acute and judicious, that I at last concluded, they must needs be Magicians, who had thus metamorphosed themselves upon some Design;³⁷ and seeing a Stranger in the Way, were resolved to divert themselves with him; or perhaps were really amazed at the Sight of a Man so very different in Habit, Feature and Complexion from those who might probably live in

34 *expect*: await (*OED*, 2 a).

35 *Pastern*: the part of a horse's foot between the fetlock and the hoof (*OED*, 2 a).

36 *forced to roar*: as the Yahoo that Gulliver hit with the flat of his hanger has just done.

37 *upon some Design*: an explanation which perhaps suggests itself to Gulliver because of his experiences on Glubbudrib, in Part III (above, pp. 286–304). In Apuleius's *Metamorphoses* the narrator Lucius is turned into an ass, and then back again into a man.

so remote a Climate. Upon the Strength of this Reasoning, I ventured to address them in the following Manner: Gentlemen, if you be Conjurers, as I have good Cause to believe, you can understand any Language; therefore I make bold to let your Worships know, that I am a poor distressed *Englishman*, driven by his Misfortunes upon your Coast; and I entreat one of you, to let me ride upon his Back, as if he were a real Horse, to some House or Village, where I can be relieved. In return of which Favour, I will make you a Present of this Knife and Bracelet, (taking them out of my Pocket.) The two Creatures stood silent while I spoke, seeming to listen with great Attention; and when I had ended, they neighed frequently towards each other, as if they were engaged in serious Conversation. I plainly observed, that their Language expressed the Passions very well, and the Words might with little Pains be resolved into an Alphabet more easily than the *Chinese*.³⁸

I could frequently distinguish the Word *Yahoo*, which was repeated by each of them several times; and although it were impossible for me to conjecture what it meant, yet while the two Horses were busy in Conversation, I endeavoured to practice this Word upon my Tongue; and as soon as they were silent, I boldly pronounced *Yahoo* in a loud Voice, imitating, at the same time, as near as I could, the Neighing of a Horse; at which they were both visibly surprized,³⁹ and the Grey repeated the same Word twice, as if he meant to teach me the right Accent, wherein I spoke after him as well as I could, and found myself perceivably to improve every time, although very far from any Degree of Perfection. Then the Bay tried me with a second Word, much harder to be pronounced; but reducing it to the *English Orthography*, may be spelt thus, *Houyhnhnm*. I did not succeed in this so well as the former, but after two or three farther Trials, I had better Fortune; and they both appeared amazed at my Capacity.

After some farther Discourse, which I then conjectured might relate to me, the two Friends took their Leaves, with the same Compliment of

38 *more easily than the Chinese*: Swift had admired the stability of the Chinese language in his *A Proposal for Correcting, Improving and Ascertaining the English Tongue* (1712) (Davis, vol. IV, p. 9).

39 *visibly surprized*: according to Aristotle's *Poetics* (1448 b), imitation is a characteristic human talent: 'Mimesis is innate in human beings from childhood – indeed, we differ from the other animals in being most given to *mimesis* and in making our first steps in learning through it – and pleasure in instances of *mimesis* is equally general' (*Ancient Literary Criticism*, p. 94).

striking each other's Hoof; and the Grey made me Signs that I should walk before him; wherein I thought it prudent to comply, till I could find a better Director. When I offered to slacken my Pace, he would cry *Hhuun*, *Hhuun*; I guessed his Meaning, and gave him to understand, as well as I could, that I was weary, and not able to walk faster; upon which, he would stand a while to let me rest.

CHAPTER II.

The Author conducted by a Houyhnhnm to his House. The House described. The Author's Reception. The Food of the Houyhnhnms. The Author in Distress for want of Meat, is at last relieved. His Manner of feeding in that Country.

Having travelled about three Miles, we came to a long Kind of Building, made of Timber, stuck in the Ground, and wattled a-cross;¹ the Roof was low, and covered with Straw. I now began to be a little comforted; and took out some Toys, which Travellers usually carry for Presents to the Savage *Indians of America* and other Parts, in hopes the People of the House would be thereby encouraged to receive me kindly. The Horse made me a Sign to go in first; it was a large Room with a smooth Clay Floor, and a Rack and Manger extending the whole Length on one Side. There were three Nags, and two Mares, not eating, but some of them sitting down upon their Hams, which I very much wondered at; but wondered more to see the rest employed in domestick Business: The last seemed but ordinary Cattle; however this confirmed my first Opinion, that a People who could so far civilize brute Animals, must needs excel in Wisdom all the Nations of the World. The Grey came in just after, and thereby prevented any ill Treatment, which the others might have given me. He neighed to them several times in a Style of Authority, and received Answers.

Beyond this Room there were three others, reaching the Length of the House, to which you passed through three Doors, opposite to each other, in the Manner of a Vista:² We went through the second Room towards the third; here the Grey walked in first, beckoning me to attend: I waited in the second Room, and got ready my Presents, for the Master and Mistress

1 *and wattled a-cross*: possibly a memory of the 'neat cabin' Swift had built for himself at Laracor (Landa, p. 37).

2 *Vista*: an open corridor or long passage in or through a large building; an interior portion of a building affording a continuous view (*OED*, 2 b).

of the House: They were two Knives, three Bracelets of false Pearl, a small Looking Glass and a Bead Necklace. The Horse neighed three or four Times, and I waited to hear some answers in a human Voice, but I heard no other Returns than in the same Dialect, only one or two a little shriller than his. I began to think that this House must belong to some Person of great Note among them, because there appeared so much Ceremony before I could gain Admittance. But, that a Man of Quality should be served all by Horses, was beyond my Comprehension. I feared my Brain was disturbed by my Sufferings and Misfortunes: I roused my self, and looked about me in the Room where I was left alone; this was furnished as the first, only after a more elegant Manner. I rubbed mine Eyes often, but the same Objects still occurred. I pinched my Arms and Sides, to awake my self, hoping I might be in a Dream. I then absolutely concluded, that all these Appearances could be nothing else but Necromancy and Magick. But I had no Time to pursue these Reflections; for the Grey Horse came to the Door, and made me a Sign to follow him into the third Room; where I saw a very comely Mare, together with a Colt and Fole, sitting on their Haunches, upon Mats of Straw, not unartfully made, and perfectly neat and clean.

The Mare soon after my Entrance, rose from her Mat, and coming up close, after having nicely observed my Hands and Face, gave me a most contemptuous Look; then turning to the Horse, I heard the Word *Yahoo* often repeated betwixt them; the meaning of which Word I could not then comprehend, although it were the first I had learned to pronounce; but I was soon better informed, to my everlasting Mortification: For the Horse beckoning to me with his Head, and repeating the Word *Hhuun*, *Hhuun*, as he did upon the Road, which I understood was to attend him, led me out into a kind of Court, where was another Building at some Distance from the House. Here we entered, and I saw three of those detestable Creatures, which I first met after my landing, feeding upon Roots,³ and the Flesh of some Animals, which I afterwards found to be that of Asses and Dogs, and now and then a Cow dead by Accident or Disease.⁴ They were all tied

3 *Roots*: i.e. root vegetables. Temple described the diet of the Dutch Boors as 'Herbs, Roots, and Milks' (Temple, vol. I, p. 47).

4 *Accident or Disease*: the diet of the Yahoos contains elements condemned in the Old Testament as unclean (Leviticus 11:27–47). However, their diet also parallels the extremities to which the inhabitants of besieged cities were driven, as in 2 Kings 6:25 (the siege of Samaria).

by the Neck with strong Wyths,⁵ fastened to a Beam; they held their Food between the Claws of their fore Feet, and tore it with their Teeth.

The Master Horse ordered a Sorrel Nag, one of his Servants, to untie the largest of these Animals, and take him into a Yard. The Beast and I were brought close together; and our Countenances diligently compared, both by Master and Servant, who thereupon repeated several Times the Word *Yahoo*. My Horror and Astonishment are not to be described, when I observed, in this abominable Animal, a perfect human Figure; the Face of it indeed was flat and broad, the Nose depressed, the Lips large, and the Mouth wide: But these Differences are common to all savage Nations, where the Lineaments of the Countenance are distorted by the Natives suffering their Infants to lie grovelling on the Earth, or by carrying them on their Backs, nuzzling with their Face against the Mother's Shoulders.⁶

For more recent examples, see Arrigo Davila, *The History of the Civil Wars of France* (1678), p. 463: 'nor was any thing left for the people to live upon but Oats, of which some little quantity remained . . . and for dainties, sometimes a little flesh, either of Horses, Dogs, Asses, or Mules'; Louis Maimbourg, *The History of the League*, tr. John Dryden (1684), p. 801: 'the *Fauxbourgs* being taken in *Iuly*, they were shut up in the Town, and restrain'd from going out to search for Herbs, Leaves, and Roots, in the neighbouring Fields, and in the Ditches: that after they had eaten their Horses, Asses, Dogs, and Cats, they were reduc'd in *August*, to Rats and Mice, and then to Skins and Leather, and an abominable kind of Bread, which instead of Meal, was made of the Powder of dead mens Bones, taken out of the Church-yard of St. *Innocent*'; cf. also Anon., *A Caveat Against the Pretender* (1723), pp. 76–7. Swift's library contained copies of Davila and Maimbourg, and he refers to Davila in *The Examiner* 32 (Davis, vol. III, p. 107) and *The Battel of the Books* (CWJS, vol. I, p. 153; Davis, vol. I, p. 152), where he is the leader of the mercenary foot in the army of the Moderns. Similar hardships had been suffered in 1689 by the garrison of Londonderry when besieged by Jacobite troops (Pincus, 1688, p. 270). The Yahoos are a captive race, and as such are distressed, as well as depraved.

5 *Wyths*: shackles consisting of a tough flexible twig or branch of willow or osier, or of several twisted together (*OED*, 1 a).

6 *against the Mother's Shoulders*: the flattened nature of the Yahoo face, and Gulliver's hypothesis concerning how it is produced, reflect ethnographic accounts of savages: see Rawson, *GGG*, pp. 98–101 and Higgins, 'Hints'. Henry Curson reported that in the Congo 'the People account the Principal Beauty a flat Nose, therefore press 'em down in their Infancy' (*A New Description of the World* (1706), p. 363). Others such as Pierre Charron saw in this variation of the standard of beauty evidence for relativism of aesthetic judgement: 'several Nations and Climates have several Opinions of *Beauty*. The *Indians* particularly esteem That the most exquisite *Beauty*, which We look upon to be the greatest *Deformity*; a Tawny Complexion, large thick Lips, a flat wide Nose, and Teeth stained with black or red; long hanging Ears; a low hairy Forehead; vast pendulous Breasts, so large, that they may fling them over their Shoulders, and give Suck to the Children at their Backs' (Charron, *Wisdom*, vol. I, pp. 38–9). Charron was here following Montaigne, who in the 'Apology for Raymond Sebond' noted that 'in the Indies beauty is black and sunburnt, with thick swollen lips and broad flat noses'

The Fore-feet of the *Yahoo* differed from my Hands in nothing else, but the Length of the Nails, the Coarseness and Brownness of the Palms, and the Hairiness on the Backs. There was the same Resemblance between our Feet, with the same Differences, which I knew very well, although the Horses did not, because of my Shoes and Stockings; the same in every Part of our Bodies, except as to Hairiness and Colour, which I have already described.

The great Difficulty that seemed to stick with the two Horses, was, to see the rest of my Body so very different from that of a *Yahoo*, for which I was obliged to my Cloaths, whereof they had no Conception:⁷ The Sorrel Nag offered me a Root, which he held (after their Manner, as we shall describe in its proper Place) between his Hoof and Pastern; I took it in my Hand, and having smelt it, returned it to him again as civilly as I could. He brought out of the *Yahoo*'s Kennel a Piece of Ass's Flesh, but it smelt so offensively that I turned from it with loathing; he then threw it to the *Yahoo*, by whom it was greedily devoured. He afterwards shewed me a Wisp of Hay, and a Fettlock⁸ full of Oats; but I shook my Head, to signify, that neither of these were Food for me. And indeed, I now apprehended, that I must absolutely starve, if I did not get to some of my own Species: For as to those filthy *Yahoos*, although there were few greater Lovers of Mankind, at that time, than myself; yet I confess I never saw any sensitive⁹ Being so detestable on all Accounts; and the more I came near them, the more hateful they grew, while I stayed in that Country. This the Master Horse observed by my Behaviour, and therefore sent the *Yahoo* back to his Kennel. He then put his Forehoof to his Mouth, at which I was much

(*Essays*, p. 537; cf. also *The Athenian Oracle*, vol. I, second edition (1704), p. 39). Yahoo physiognomy also recalls early eighteenth-century descriptions of the features of apes: 'The Head was round, with a kind of a flat Face, resembling the Visage of a Man with a short and Flat Nose' (*The Natural History of Animals* (1702), p. 159). Cf. also 'the Characters that Plato and Xenophon give us of Socrates; the flat Nose, the broad Face, the Simplicity of Look, and the mean Appearance which that great Philosopher made' (Gilbert Burnet, *Travels Through Switzerland, Italy &c.* (Dublin, 1725), p. 180).

⁷ *they had no Conception*: the Houyhnhnms' ignorance of clothes recalls Edenic ideas of innocence: cf. Genesis 3:7–12; *Paradise Lost*, IX.1052–66.

⁸ *Fettlock*: the fetlock is that part of a horse's leg where the tuft of hair grows behind the pastern-joint (*OED*, 1); here what is meant is a fetlock boot, which is a protection for the fetlock (*OED*, 3), but which might equally serve as a measure for oats. Quite what this implement associated with the human mastery of horses is doing in the land of the Houyhnhnms is not clear.

⁹ *sensitive*: possessing sense but not reason (Johnson). Cf. below, p. 396.

surprized, although he did it with Ease, and with a Motion that appear'd perfectly natural; and made other Signs to know what I would eat; but I could not return him such an Answer as he was able to apprehend; and if he had understood me, I did not see how it was possible to contrive any way for finding myself Nourishment. While we were thus engaged, I observed a Cow passing by; whereupon I pointed to her, and expressed a Desire to let me go and milk her. This had its Effect; for he led me back into the House, and ordered a Mare-servant to open a Room, where a good Store of Milk lay in Earthen and Wooden Vessels, after a very orderly and cleanly Manner. She gave me a large Bowl full, of which I drank very heartily, and found myself well refreshed.

About Noon I saw coming towards the House a Kind of Vehicle, drawn like a Sledge¹⁰ by four *Yahoos*.¹¹ There was in it an old Steed, who seemed to be of Quality; he alighted with his Hind-feet forward, having by Accident got a Hurt in his Left Fore-foot. He came to dine with our Horse, who received him with great Civility. They dined in the best Room, and had Oats boiled in Milk for the second Course, which the old Horse eat warm, but the rest cold. Their Mangers were placed circular in the Middle of the Room, and divided into several Partitions, round which they sat on their Haunches upon Bosses of Straw.¹² In the Middle was a large Rack with Angles answering to every Partition of the Manger. So that each Horse and Mare eat their own Hay, and their own Mash of Oats and Milk, with much Decency and Regularity. The Behaviour of the young Colt and Fole appeared very modest; and that of the Master and Mistress extremely chearful and complaisant¹³ to their Guest. The Grey ordered me to stand by him; and much Discourse passed between him and his Friend concerning me, as I found by the Stranger's often looking on me, and the frequent Repetition of the Word *Yahoo*.

I happened to wear my Gloves; which the Master Grey observing, seemed perplexed; discovering Signs of Wonder what I had done to my

10 *Sledge*: the absence of wheels, and hence of machinery, from the land of the Houyhnhnms is another sign that in material terms they are still in a golden age of innocence and simplicity, notwithstanding their intellectual and moral development.

11 *four Yahoos*: Robert Burton cited 'to see horses ride in a Coach, men draw it' as a symptom of the world's disorder ('Democritus to the Reader', Burton, vol. I, p. 54).

12 *Bosses of Straw*: a seat consisting of or resembling a bundle of straw (*OED*).

13 *complaisant*: disposed to please; obliging, politely agreeable, courteous (*OED*, 1).

Fore-feet; he put his Hoof three or four times to them, as if he would signify, that I should reduce them to their former Shape, which I presently did, pulling off both my Gloves, and putting them into my Pocket. This occasioned farther Talk, and I saw the Company was pleased with my Behaviour, whereof I soon found the good Effects. I was ordered to speak the few Words I understood; and while they were at Dinner, the Master taught me the Names for Oats, Milk, Fire, Water, and some others; which I could readily pronounce after him; having from my Youth a great Facility in learning Languages.

When Dinner was done, the Master Horse took me aside, and by Signs and Words made me understand the Concern he was in, that I had nothing to eat. Oats in their Tongue are called *Hlunnh*. This Word I pronounced two or three times; for although I had refused them at first, yet upon second Thoughts, I considered that I could contrive to make of them a Kind of Bread, which might be sufficient with Milk to keep me alive, till I could make my Escape to some other Country, and to Creatures of my own Species. The Horse immediately ordered a white Mare-servant of his Family to bring me a good Quantity of Oats in a Sort of wooden Tray. These I heated before the Fire as well as I could, and rubbed them till the Husks came off, which I made a shift to winnow from the Grain; I ground and beat them between two Stones, then took Water, and made them into a Paste or Cake, which I toasted at the Fire, and eat warm with Milk.¹⁴ It was at first a very insipid Diet, although common enough in many Parts of *Europe*, but grew tolerable by Time; and having been often reduced to hard Fare in my Life, this was not the first Experiment I had made how easily Nature is satisfied.¹⁵ And I cannot but observe, that I never had one Hour's Sickness, while I staid in this Island. It is true, I sometimes made a shift to catch a Rabbet, or Bird, by Springes made of *Yaboos* Hairs; and I often gathered wholesome Herbs, which I boiled, or eat as Salades with my

14 *eat warm with Milk*: not a diet which Swift himself relished: see Williams, *JSt*, pp. 505 and 549. On 4 June 1734 he complained to Miss Hoadly that 'my breakfast is that of a sickly man, rice-gruel' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, p. 737). Anthony à Wood records that Samuel Parker, bishop of Oxford in the late seventeenth century, had led a strict life while a student at Wadham under a presbyterian tutor, and had joined a sect known as '*Grewellers*' because of their preferred diet of 'thin broth, made of Oatmeal and water only' (*Athenae Oxonienses*, 2 vols. (1691–2), vol. II, p. 616). A similar spare diet was recommended by the Roman Stoics: cf. Seneca, *Ad Lucilium*, XVIII.10.

15 *how easily Nature is satisfied*: proverbial: Tilley, N61. See Long note 31.

Bread; and now and then, for a Rarity, I made a little Butter, and drank the Whey. I was at first at a great Loss for Salt; but Custom soon reconciled the Want of it; and I am confident that the frequent Use of Salt among us is an Effect of Luxury, and was first introduced only as a Provocative¹⁶ to Drink; except where it is necessary for preserving of Flesh in long Voyages, or in Places remote from great Markets. For we observe no Animal to be fond of it but Man: And as to myself, when I left this Country, it was a great while before I could endure the Taste of it in any thing that I eat.¹⁷

This is enough to say upon the Subject of my Dyet, wherewith other Travellers fill their Books, as if the Readers were personally concerned, whether we fare well or ill. However, it was necessary to mention this Matter, lest the World should think it impossible that I could find Sustenance for three Years in such a Country, and among such Inhabitants.

When it grew towards Evening, the Master Horse ordered a Place for me to lodge in; it was but Six Yards from the House, and separated from the Stable of the *Yahoos*. Here I got some Straw, and covering myself with my own Cloaths, slept very sound. But I was in a short time better accommodated, as the Reader shall know hereafter, when I come to treat more particularly about my Way of living.

16 *Provocative*: anything that excites appetite (*OED*, B 1).

17 *any thing that I eat*: the Houyhnhnm aversion to salt also evokes innocent simplicity. Pliny had identified salt as a necessity of civilization (*Natural History*, XXXI.xli.88). However, Gulliver is wrong to say that animals dislike the taste of salt; cows in particular relish it. Cf. the parallel error concerning the natural tastes of animals in *An Examination of Certain Abuses* (1732): 'it is agreed among *Naturalists*, that no Brute can endure the Taste of strong Liquor; except where he hath been used to it from his Infancy' (Davis, vol. XII, p. 223). This idealizing of the inhuman part of the animal kingdom is the corollary of Swift's condemnation of human nature.

CHAPTER III.

The Author studious to learn the Language, the Houyhnhnm his Master assists in teaching him. The Language described. Several Houyhnhnms of Quality come out of Curiosity to see the Author. He gives his Master a short Account of his Voyage.

My principal Endeavour was to learn the Language, which my Master¹ (for so I shall henceforth call him) and his Children, and every Servant of his House were desirous to teach me. For they looked upon it as a Prodigy, that a brute Animal should discover such Marks of a rational Creature.² I pointed to every thing, and enquired the Name of it, which I wrote down in my *Journal Book* when I was alone, and corrected my bad Accent, by desiring those of the Family to pronounce it often. In this

1 *my Master*: Gulliver refers to a number of those he meets on his travels as his 'Master', beginning with James Bates (above, p. 30), the Emperor of Lilliput (above, p. 105), and the Brobdingnagian farmer (above, p. 131). In retrospect, these are all imperfect masters, and one of the most stubborn dilemmas of reading Part IV is that of trying to decide whether or not Gulliver's Houyhnhnm Master conforms to or departs from that pattern of imperfection.

2 *Marks of a rational Creature*: the conjunction of animality and rationality in man is the crucial issue which Swift addresses in Part IV. For an overview of the topic, see Long note 34. A number of philosophical works which were known to Swift and which would have been known to some of the first readers of *GT* exemplify human rationality by drawing a contrast with a horse. In his 'Letter to the Bishop of Worcester', John Locke, sceptically considering the subject of essence, doubted 'how *Animal rationale* can be enough really to distinguish a *Man* from an *Horse*, for that is but the Nominal, not real Essence of that Kind, designed by the Name *Man*' (*An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, seventh edition, 2 vols. (1715), vol. II, p. 17). Henry More illustrated a logical fallacy again by juxtaposing man and horse: '*If Bucephalus be a man, he is endued with humane reason*; this Axiome is necessarily true, and yet the parts are impossible. For *Alexander's* horse can neither be a man, nor have the reason of a man, either radically or actually' (*A Collection of Several Philosophical Writings*, fourth edition (1712), p. 72). Joseph Glanvil also echoed the standard position: 'if it be once acknowledged that *Brutum* is *Animal Irrationale*, and that *Irrationale* is the specifick Difference, its opposite Species *Homo* must needs be *Animal Rationale*. This is so plain and convictive' (*Sadducismus Triumphatus*, fourth edition (1726), p. 152). Swift's own doubts were voiced as early as 1703, in his *A Meditation upon a Broom-stick*: 'what is Man but a topsy-turvy Creature? His Animal Faculties perpetually mounted on his Rational' (Davis, vol. I, p. 240; and note the variant, p. 302).

Employment, a Sorrel Nag, one of the under Servants, was very ready to assist me.

In speaking, they pronounce through the Nose and Throat, and their Language approaches nearest to the *High Dutch* or *German*,³ of any I know in *Europe*; but is much more graceful and significant.⁴ The Emperor *Charles V.* made almost the same Observation, when he said, That if he were to speak to his Horse, it should be in *High Dutch*.⁵

The Curiosity and Impatience of my Master were so great, that he spent many Hours of his Leisure to instruct me. He was convinced (as he afterwards told me) that I must be a *Yahoo*, but my Teachableness, Civility and Cleanliness astonished him; which were Qualities altogether so opposite to those Animals. He was most perplexed about my Cloaths, reasoning sometimes with himself, whether they were a Part of my Body; for I never pulled them off till the Family were asleep, and got them on before they waked in the Morning. My Master was eager to learn from whence I came; how I acquired those Appearances of Reason, which I discovered in all my Actions; and to know my Story from my own Mouth, which he hoped he should soon do by the great Proficiency I made in learning and pronouncing their Words and Sentences. To help my Memory, I formed all I learned into the *English* Alphabet, and writ the Words down with the Translations. This last, after some time, I ventured to do in my Master's Presence. It cost me much Trouble to explain to him what I was doing; for the Inhabitants have not the least Idea of Books or Literature.⁶

3 *High Dutch* or *German*: according to Samuel Butler, Johannes Goropius Becanus (1519–72), physician to Queen Maria of Hungary, attempted in his *Origines Antuerpianae* (1569) 'to prove that High-Dutch was the Language that *Adam* and *Eve* spoke in *Paradise*'; see *Hudibras*, I.i.178 n., and Jonson, *The Alchemist*, II.i.84. In his *A Proposal for Correcting, Improving and Ascertaining the English Tongue* (1712), Swift states that modern affected and falsely refined English sounds 'like *High-Dutch*' (Davis, vol. IV, p. 13). In the anonymous *An Account of Several Late Voyages and Discoveries* (1711), High Dutch is said to be 'a Language little understood in England' (p. xxviii).

4 *significant*: full of meaning or import; highly expressive or suggestive (*OED*, 1).

5 *High Dutch*: the anecdote of Charles V – 'That if he was to speak to Ladies, he would speak *Italian*; that if he was to speak to Men, he would speak *French*; that if he was to speak to a Horse, he would speak *High-Dutch*; but if he was to speak to God, he would speak in *Spanish*' – occurs in note Δ to the article 'Charles V' in Bayle's *Dictionary*, where it is in turn traced to Dominique Bouhours, *Les Entretiens d'Ariste et d'Eugene* (Paris, 1671), p. 64.

6 *Books or Literature*: the preference for oral poetry over written literature is attributed to Socrates in Plato's *Phaedrus* (274D–278B), and according to Plutarch was also a feature of ancient Sparta ('Lycurgus', XXI).

In about ten Weeks time I was able to understand most of his Questions; and in three Months could give him some tolerable Answers. He was extremely curious to know from what Part of the Country I came, and how I was taught to imitate a rational Creature; because the *Yahoos*, (whom he saw I exactly resembled in my Head, Hands and Face, that were only visible,) with some Appearance of Cunning, and the strongest Disposition to Mischief, were observed to be the most unteachable of all Brutes. I answered; that I came over the Sea, from a far Place, with many others of my own Kind, in a great hollow Vessel made of the Bodies of Trees: That, my Companions forced me to land on this Coast, and then left me to shift for myself. It was with some Difficulty, and by the Help of many Signs, that I brought him to understand me. He replied, That I must needs be mistaken, or that I *said the thing which was not*.⁷ (For they have no Word in their Language to express Lying or Falshood.)⁸ He knew it was impossible⁹ that there could be a Country beyond the Sea, or that a Parcel of Brutes could move a wooden Vessel whither they pleased upon Water.

7 *said the thing which was not*: a phrase which was immediately seized on by the first readers of *GT*, such as John Gay in his letter to Swift of 7 November 1726 (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, p. 48), and which enjoyed a vivid afterlife in eighteenth-century literature and beyond: see, e.g., Robert Bage, *Hermesprong*, ed. Peter Faulkner (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), p. 57; Acton, *Essays*, p. 50; and Eliot, *Letters* 2, p. 83. For the possible patristic connotations of the phrase, see Anne Barbeau Gardiner, “Be ye as the horse!” – Swift, Spinoza, and the Society of Virtuous Atheists’, *SP*, 97 (2000), 245. For a similar innocence of deception, although in a race of savages, see Aphra Behn’s *Oroonoko* and the question asked by the Indians of Surinam of the English Governor who had broken his word to visit them: ‘what Name they had for a Man who promis’d a thing he did not do?’ (Behn, *Works*, vol. III, p. 59).

8 *no Word in their Language to express Lying or Falshood*: true also to some extent of ancient Greek, where the prefix *ψευδο* (meaning ‘false’) is attached to *λογέω* to create the verb meaning to lie, and to *λογία* to create the noun meaning untruth. Swift’s attention would have been drawn to these Greek words by his friend John Arbuthnot’s *Ψευδολογία Πολιτική; Or, A Treatise of the Art of Political Lying* (1712); see Williams, *JSt*, p. 562. This work was eventually republished in the 1727 *Miscellanies*.

9 *He knew it was impossible*: cf. Locke’s discussion of the King of Siam’s refusal to believe the testimony of the Dutch ambassador, that water might freeze, and that men might walk on it: ‘Hitherto I have believed the strange Things you have told me, because I look upon you as a sober fair man, but now I am sure you lyē’ (*Human Understanding*, IV.xv.5; cf. Hume, *Enquiries*, pp. 113–14). Bolingbroke alludes to this anecdote about the King of Siam in a letter to Swift written on 27 June 1734 (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, p. 743). Swift made a similar observation in his sermon ‘On the Trinity’: ‘If an ignorant Person were told that a Loadstone would draw Iron at a Distance, he might say it was a Thing contrary to his Reason, and could not believe before he saw it with his Eyes’ (Davis, vol. IX, p. 164). Cf. the puzzlement of the philosophers of Brobdingnag over Gulliver (above, pp. 145–47); and the opening of *Some Remarks on the Barrier Treaty* (1712) (*CWJS*, vol. VIII, p. 124; Davis, vol. VI, p. 87).

He was sure no *Houyhnhnm* alive could make such a Vessel, or would trust *Yahoos* to manage it.

The Word *Houyhnhnm*, in their Tongue, signifies a *Horse*; and in its Etymology, *the Perfection of Nature*.¹⁰ I told my Master, that I was at a Loss for Expression, but would improve as fast as I could; and hoped in a short time I should be able to tell him Wonders: He was pleased to direct his own Mare, his Colt and Fole, and the Servants of the Family to take all Opportunities of instructing me; and every Day for two or three Hours, he was at the same Pains himself: Several Horses and Mares of Quality in the Neighbourhood came often to our House, upon the Report spread of a wonderful *Yahoo*, that could speak like a *Houyhnhnm*, and seemed in his Words and Actions to discover some Glimmerings of Reason. These delighted to converse with me; they put many Questions, and received such Answers, as I was able to return. By all which Advantages, I made so great a Progress, that in five Months from my Arrival, I understood whatever was spoke, and could express myself tolerably well.

The *Houyhnhnms* who came to visit my Master, out of a Design of seeing and talking with me, could hardly believe me to be a right¹¹ *Yahoo*, because my Body had a different Covering from others of my Kind. They were astonished to observe me without the usual Hair or Skin, except on my Head, Face and Hands: But I discovered that Secret to my Master, upon an Accident, which happened about a Fortnight before.

I have already told the Reader, that every Night when the Family were gone to Bed, it was my Custom to strip and cover myself with my Cloaths: It happened one Morning early, that my Master sent for me, by the Sorrel Nag, who was his Valet; when he came, I was fast asleep, my Cloaths fallen off on one Side, and my Shirt above my Waste. I awaked at the Noise he made, and observed him to deliver his Message in some Disorder; after which he went to my Master, and in a great Fright gave him a very confused Account of what he had seen:¹² This I presently discovered; for going as soon as I was dressed, to pay my Attendance upon his Honour, he asked me the Meaning of what his Servant had reported; that I was not the same Thing when I slept as I appeared to be at other times; that his Valet assured

10 *the Perfection of Nature*: see Long note 32.

11 *right*: true.

12 *of what he had seen*: contrast the different response of the Lilliputian soldiers to the same sight (above, p. 62).

him, some Part of me was white, some yellow, at least not so white, and some brown.

I had hitherto concealed the Secret of my Dress, in order to distinguish myself as much as possible, from that cursed Race of *Yahoos*; but now I found it in vain to do so any longer. Besides, I considered that my Cloaths and Shoes would soon wear out, which already were in a declining Condition, and must be supplied by some Contrivance from the Hides of *Yahoos*, or other Brutes;¹³ whereby the whole Secret would be known. I therefore told my Master, that in the Country from whence I came, those of my Kind always covered their Bodies with the Hairs of certain Animals prepared by Art, as well for Decency, as to avoid Inclemencies of Air both hot and cold; of which, as to my own Person I would give him immediate Conviction, if he pleased to command me; only desiring his Excuse, if I did not expose those Parts that Nature taught us to conceal.¹⁴ He said, my Discourse was all very strange, but especially the last Part; for he could not understand why Nature should teach us to conceal what Nature had given. That neither himself nor Family were ashamed of any Parts of their Bodies; but however I might do as I pleased. Whereupon, I first unbuttoned my Coat, and pulled it off. I did the same with my Waste-coat; I drew off my Shoes, Stockings and Breeches. I let my Shirt down to my Waste, and drew up the Bottom, fastening it like a Girdle about my Middle to hide my Nakedness.

My Master observed the whole Performance with great Signs of Curiosity and Admiration. He took up all my Cloaths in his Pastern, one Piece after another, and examined them diligently; he then stroaked my Body

13 *Hides of Yahoos, or other Brutes*: cf. *A Modest Proposal*, where Swift says that the skin of the carcasses of butchered children 'will make admirable *Gloves for Ladies*, and *Summer Boots for fine Gentlemen*' (Davis, vol. XII, p. 112). Crusoe makes himself clothes from the hides of goats (Defoe, *Crusoe*, pp. 134–5 and 149). For classical parallels, cf., e.g., Herodotus, IV.lxiv–lxv and Strabo, VII.iii.6–7; for discussion, see Rawson, *GGG*, pp. 84 and 285.

14 *Parts that Nature taught us to conceal*: Gulliver's sexual shame is a sign of his fallen nature, although he denies its Biblical origin (Genesis 3:7). Cf. Montaigne, 'An Apology for Raymond Sebond': 'When I think of the human animal, stark naked, with all its blemishes, natural weaknesses and flaws, I find that we have more cause to cover ourselves up than any other animal' (*Essays*, p. 539); Charron, *Wisdom*, vol. I, p. 42: 'it was Guilt first, and then Custom, that introduced Shame. Besides, even those very Parts, which we take Pains to conceal, Nature hath been before-hand with us, in keeping out of Sight.' For a parallel in a Dublin publication contemporary with *GT*, see *The Fable of Bubo and Turturella* (Dublin, 1726), p. 8: 'Was ever such a Villain seen? / To wound and strip this lovely Creature! / To shew what was conceal'd by Nature!'

very gently, and looked round me several Times; after which he said, it was plain I must be a perfect *Yahoo*; but that I differed very much from the rest of my Species, in the Whiteness, and Smoothness of my Skin, my want of Hair in several Parts of my Body, the Shape and Shortness of my Claws behind and before, and my Affectation of walking continually on my two hinder Feet. He desired to see no more; and gave me leave to put on my Cloaths again, for I was shuddering with Cold.

I expressed my Uneasiness at his giving me so often the Appellation of *Yahoo*, an odious Animal, for which I had so utter an Hatred and Contempt. I begged he would forbear applying that Word to me, and take the same Order in his Family, and among his Friends whom he suffered to see me. I requested likewise, that the Secret of my having a false Covering to my Body might be known to none but himself, at least as long as my present Cloathing should last: For as to what the Sorrel Nag his Valet had observed, his Honour might command him to conceal it.

All this my Master very graciously consented to;¹⁵ and thus the Secret was kept till my Cloaths began to wear out, which I was forced to supply by several Contrivances, that shall hereafter be mentioned. In the mean Time, he desired I would go on with my utmost Diligence to learn their Language, because he was more astonished at my Capacity for Speech and Reason, than at the Figure of my Body, whether it were covered or no; adding, that he waited with some Impatience to hear the Wonders which I promised to tell him.

From thenceforward he doubled the Pains he had been at to instruct me; he brought me into all Company, and made them treat me with Civility, because, as he told them privately, this would put me into good Humour, and make me more diverting.¹⁶

Every Day when I waited on him, beside the Trouble he was at in teaching, he would ask me several Questions concerning my self, which I answered as well as I could; and by those Means he had already received some general Ideas, although very imperfect. It would be tedious to relate the several Steps, by which I advanced to a more regular Conversation: But the first Account I gave of my self in any Order and Length, was to this Purpose:

15 *very graciously consented to*: Gulliver's master, although supposed not to lie, does here agree to conceal the truth.

16 *make me more diverting*: an echo of Part II, where Gulliver was also a source of amusement.

That, I came from a very far Country, as I already had attempted to tell him, with about fifty more of my own Species; that we travelled upon the Seas, in a great hollow Vessel made of Wood, and larger than his Honour's House. I described the Ship to him in the best Terms I could; and explained by the Help of my Handkerchief displayed,¹⁷ how it was driven forward by the Wind. That, upon a Quarrel among us, I was set on Shoar on this Coast, where I walked forward without knowing whither, till he delivered me from the Persecution of those execrable *Yahoos*. He asked me, Who made the Ship, and how it was possible that the *Houyhnhnms* of my Country would leave it to the Management of Brutes? My Answer was, that I durst proceed no farther in my Relation, unless he would give me his Word and Honour that he would not be offended; and then I would tell him the Wonders I had so often promised. He agreed; and I went on by assuring him, that the Ship was made by Creatures like myself, who in all the Countries I had travelled, as well as in my own, were the only governing, rational Animals; and that upon my Arrival hither, I was as much astonished to see the *Houyhnhnms* act like rational Beings, as he or his Friends could be in finding some Marks of Reason in a Creature he was pleased to call a *Yahoo*; to which I owned my Resemblance in every Part, but could not account for their degenerate and brutal Nature. I said farther, That if good Fortune ever restored me to my native Country, to relate my Travels hither, as I resolved to do; every Body would believe that I *said the Thing which was not*, that I invented the Story out of my own Head: And with all possible Respect to Himself, his Family, and Friends, and under his Promise of not being offended, our Countrymen would hardly think it probable, that a *Houyhnhnm* should be the presiding Creature of a Nation, and a *Yahoo* the Brute.¹⁸

17 *displayed*: spread out, unfurled (*OED*, 1 a).

18 *and a Yahoo the Brute*: cf. above, p. 349 and n. 9, on the constraining effect exerted by experience on conceptions of what is possible.

CHAPTER IV.

The Houyhnhnms Notion of Truth and Falshood. The Author's Discourse disapproved by his Master. The Author gives a more particular Account of himself, and the Accidents of his Voyage.

My master heard me with great Appearances of Uneasiness in his Countenance; because *Doubting* or *not believing*, are so little known in this Country, that the Inhabitants cannot tell how to behave themselves under such Circumstances. And I remember in frequent Discourses with my Master concerning the Nature of Manhood,¹ in other Parts of the World; having Occasion to talk of *Lying*, and *false Representation*, it was with much Difficulty that he comprehended what I meant; although he had otherwise a most acute Judgment. For he argued thus; That the Use of Speech was to make us understand one another, and to receive Information of Facts;² now if any one *said the Thing which was not*, these Ends were defeated; because I cannot properly be said to understand him; and I am so far from receiving Information, that he leaves me worse than in Ignorance; for I am led to believe a Thing *Black* when it is *White*,³ and *Short* when it is *Long*. And these were all the Notions he had concerning that Faculty of *Lying*, so perfectly well understood, and so universally practised among human Creatures.⁴

1 *Nature of Manhood*: i.e. human nature.

2 *receive Information of Facts*: see Long note 33.

3 *to believe a Thing Black when it is White*: cf. Gulliver's description of the objective of the expertise of lawyers (below, pp. 368–69).

4 *among human Creatures*: on the prevalence of lying, see George Burghope, *AYTAPXIA or the Art of Self-Government*, second edition (1713): 'Men swear, lye and dissemble, and will maintain that there is a necessity so to do . . . Lying is become so clamorous, that it hath took away our Senses' (p. 3). George Smalridge, in his *The Thoughts of a Country Gentleman upon Reading Dr Sacheverell's Tryal in a Letter to a Friend* (1710), attributed the Whig ascendancy of the preceding years to a facility in lying: 'Have we seen a *Junto*, a few Men of no real Weight or Interest in the Nation, by Artifice, Assiduity and great Improvement in the Faculty of Lying, work themselves into Power, and Lord it over their Fellow Subjects?' (p. 67). In *A Tale of a Tub*, Section 4 Swift attributes to Peter 'an abominable Faculty of telling huge palpable *Lies*

To return from this Digression; when I asserted that the *Yahoos* were the only governing Animals in my Country, which my Master said was altogether past his Conception, he desired to know, whether we had *Houyhnhnms* among us, and what was their Employment: I told him, we had great Numbers; that in Summer they grazed in the Fields, and in Winter were kept in Houses, with Hay and Oats, where *Yahoo*-Servants were employed to rub their Skins smooth, comb their Manes, pick their Feet, serve them with Food, and make their Beds. I understand you well, said my Master; it is now very plain from all you have spoken, that whatever Share of Reason the *Yahoos* pretend to, the *Houyhnhnms* are your Masters;⁵ I heartily wish our *Yahoos* would be so tractable. I begged his Honour would please to excuse me from proceeding any farther, because I was very certain that the Account he expected from me would be highly displeasing. But he insisted in commanding me to let him know the best and the worst: I told him he should be obeyed. I owned, that the *Houyhnhnms* among us, whom we called *Horses*, were the most generous and comely Animal we had; that they excelled in Strength and Swiftmess; and when they belonged to Persons of Quality, employed in Travelling, Racing, and drawing Chariots, they were treated with much Kindness and Care, till they fell into Diseases, or became foundered in the Feet; but then they were sold, and used to all kind of Drudgery till they died; after which their Skins were stripped and sold for what they were worth, and their Bodies left to be devoured by Dogs and Birds of Prey.⁶ But the common Race of Horses had not so good Fortune, being kept by Farmers and Carriers, and other mean People, who put them to greater Labour, and feed them worse. I

upon all Occasions; and swearing, not only to the Truth, but cursing the whole Company to Hell, if they pretended to make the least Scruple of believing Him' (*CWJS*, vol. I, p. 77; Davis, vol. I, p. 74). For Swift's comments on the contemporary pandemic of political lying, see *The Examiner* 14 (9 November 1710) (Davis, vol. III, pp. 8–13, esp. p. 10). In *Hints Towards an Essay on Conversation*, Swift specifies 'telling of Lies' as a quality which renders someone 'as unfit for Conversation as a Mad-man in Bedlam' (Davis, vol. IV, p. 94). Nevertheless, his own *Project for the Advancement of Religion and Manners* (1709) did not flinch from preferring the deceit involved in hypocrisy to 'open Infidelity and Vice' (Davis, vol. II, p. 57).

5 *the Houyhnhnms are your Masters*: cf. *The Most Wonderful Wonder that ever appear'd to the Wonder of the British Nation . . . Written by the Copper-Farthing Dean* (1726): 'for all things rightly consider'd, Man who provides for the Horse's Sustenance, who keeps him clean, carries away his Dung, and waits upon him when he has any Ailment, is no more than Slave to that generous Beast' (p. 11).

6 *Birds of Prey*: cf. *Iliad*, I.4–5; a pattern of ignominious death.

described as well as I could, our Way of Riding;⁷ the Shape and Use of a Bridle, a Saddle, a Spur, and a Whip; of Harness and Wheels. I added, that we fastened Plates of a certain hard Substance called *Iron* at the Bottom of their Feet, to preserve their Hoofs from being broken by the Stony Ways⁸ on which we often travelled.

My Master, after some Expressions of great Indignation, wondered how we dared to venture upon a *Houyhnhnm*'s Back; for he was sure, that the meanest Servant in his House would be able to shake off the strongest *Yahoo*; or by lying down, and roulng⁹ upon his Back, squeeze the Brute to Death. I answered, That our Horses were trained up from three or four Years old to the several Uses we intended them for; That if any of them proved intolerably vicious, they were employed for Carriages; that they were severely beaten while they were young for any mischievous Tricks: That the Males, designed for the common Use of Riding or Draught, were generally *castrated* about two Years after their Birth, to take down their Spirits, and make them more tame and gentle: That they were indeed sensible of Rewards and Punishments; but his Honour would please to consider, that they had not the least Tincture of Reason any more than the *Yahoos* in this Country.

It put me to the Pains of many Circumlocutions to give my Master a right Idea of what I spoke; for their Language doth not abound in Variety of Words, because their Wants and Passions are fewer than among us.¹⁰ But it is impossible to express his noble Resentment at our savage Treatment of the *Houyhnhnm* Race; particularly after I had explained the Manner and Use of *Castrating* Horses among us, to hinder them from propagating

7 *our Way of Riding*: Swift told Pope on 8 July 1733 that his regime of exercise included riding: 'all my few hours of health and leisure I employ in riding or walking' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, p. 661; cf. vol. III, pp. 384, 402–3, 546, 616, 650, 733, 749; vol. IV, pp. 1, 8, 15, 25, 62, 170, 172, 203, 260, 354, 365, 372. Ehrenpreis, vol. III, p. 35).

8 *Stony Ways*: but note that the young *Houyhnhnms* are toughened by 'running Races up and down steep Hills, or over hard stony Grounds' (below, pp. 405–6).

9 *roulmg*: cf. the mishap of the Whig authorial persona of *An Examination of Certain Abuses* (Dublin, 1732) who is carried off by a mastiff: 'although I made use of his Tail for a Bridle, holding it fast with both my Hands, and clung my Legs as close to his Sides as I could; yet we both came down together in the middle of the Kennel; where after rowling three or four Times over each other, I got up with much ado, amidst the Shouts and Huzza's of a Thousand malicious *Jacobites*' (Davis, vol. XII, pp. 221–2).

10 *fewer than among us*: the fewness of genuine wants is a recurrent feature of utopian fiction. The fewness of the *Houyhnhnms*'s passions is more surprising, given the conventional association of the horse with passion: Plato, *Phaedrus*, 246A–248E.

their Kind, and to render them more servile. He said, if it were possible there could be any Country where *Yahoos* alone were endued with Reason, they certainly must be the governing Animal, because Reason will in Time always prevail against Brutal Strength.¹¹ But, considering the Frame of our Bodies, and especially of mine, he thought no Creature of equal Bulk was so ill-contrived, for employing that Reason¹² in the common Offices of Life;¹³ whereupon he desired to know whether those among whom I lived, resembled me or the *Yahoos* of his Country. I assured him, that I was as well shaped as most of my Age; but the younger and the Females were much more soft and tender, and the Skins of the latter generally as white as Milk.¹⁴ He said, I differed indeed from other *Yahoos*, being much more cleanly, and not altogether so deformed; but in point of real Advantage, he thought I differed for the worse. That my Nails were of no Use either to my fore or hinder Feet: As to my fore Feet, he could not properly call them by that Name, for he never observed me to walk upon them; that they were too soft to bear the Ground; that I generally went with them uncovered, neither was the Covering I sometimes wore on them, of the same Shape, or so strong as that on my Feet behind.¹⁵ That I could not walk with any

11 *Brutal Strength*: cf. *Samson Agonistes*, lines 53–7: ‘But what is strength without a double share / Of wisdom? Vast, unwieldy, burdensome, / Proudly secure, yet liable to fall / By weakest subtleties; not made to rule, / But to subserve where wisdom bears command.’ For Swift’s admiration of Milton, cf. above, p. 334, n. 24.

12 *Reason*: cf. Gulliver’s presumptuous comments to the King of Brobdingnag in Part II, Chapter 6, on the relation of reason to bulk: ‘Reason did not extend itself with the Bulk of the Body: On the contrary, we observed in our Country, that the tallest Persons were usually least provided with it. That among other Animals, Bees and Ants had the Reputation of more Industry, Art, and Sagacity than many of the larger Kinds. And that, as inconsiderable as he took me to be, I hoped I might live to do his Majesty some signal Service’ (above, pp. 178–79).

13 *common Offices of Life*: bodily or mental function (*OED*, 4 b); but note also the scatological meaning, ‘the action of defecating or urinating’ (*OED*, 4 c).

14 *as white as Milk*: a surprising poeticism, given the accounts of female skin in Part II, Chapter 5 (above, pp. 167–68).

15 *on my Feet behind*: cf. the similar observations on human imbecillity made by the King of Brobdingnag in Part II, Chapter 7 (above, p. 198 and n. 30). Samuel Pufendorf notes of men that, ‘though unlike the beasts they are not formidable for teeth or hooves or horns, yet the dexterity of their hands can be developed into a most effective instrument of harm; and furthermore that the human condition ‘would have been . . . more miserable than that of any beast, if we reflect on the great weakness of man as he comes into this world, when he would straight away die without help from others’ (*On the Duty of Man and Citizen*, I.iii.5 and II.i.4). In Remark ‘P’ of Bernard Mandeville’s *The Fable of the Bees*, the Lion admonishes the Merchant that man is ‘the most necessitous and most helpless Animal’ (*Fable of the Bees*,

Security; for if either of my hinder Feet slipped, I must inevitably fall. He then began to find Fault with other Parts of my Body; the Flatness of my Face, the Prominence of my Nose,¹⁶ mine Eyes placed directly in Front, so that I could not look on either Side without turning my Head: That I was not able to feed my self, without lifting one of my fore Feet to my Mouth: And therefore Nature had placed those Joints to answer that Necessity. He knew not what could be the Use of those several Clefts and Divisions in my Feet behind; that these were too soft to bear the Hardness and Sharpness of Stones¹⁷ without a Covering made from the Skin of some other Brute; that my whole Body wanted a Fence¹⁸ against Heat and Cold, which I was forced to put on and off every Day with Tediousness and Trouble. And lastly, that he observed every Animal in this Country naturally to abhor the *Yahoos*, whom the Weaker avoided, and the Stronger drove from them. So that supposing us to have the Gift of Reason, he could not see how it were possible to cure that natural Antipathy which every Creature discovered against us; nor consequently, how we could tame and render them serviceable. However, he would (as he said) debate the Matter no farther, because he was more desirous to know my own Story, the Country, where I was born, and the several Actions and Events of my Life before I came hither.

I assured him, how extreamly desirous I was that he should be satisfied in every Point; but I doubted much, whether it would be possible for me to explain my self on several Subjects whereof his Honour could have no Conception, because I saw nothing in his Country to which I could

vol. I, p. 177). In Remark 'R' Mandeville expanded on man's natural vulnerability, making inferences thereupon which are at some points close to those of the Master Houyhnhnm: 'From the Tenderness of Man's Skin, and the great care that is required for Years together to rear him; from the Make of his Jaws, the Evenness of his Teeth, the Breadth of his Nails, and the Slightness of both, it is not probable that Nature should have design'd him for Rapine; for this Reason his Hunger is not voracious as it is in Beasts of Prey; neither is he so salacious as other Animals that are call'd so, and being besides very industrious to supply his Wants, he can have no reigning Appetite to perpetuate his Anger, and must consequently be a timorous Animal' (*Fable of the Bees*, vol. I, p. 205).

16 *Prominence of my Nose*: contrast the flatness of the nose of the Yahoos (above, p. 342).

17 *too soft to bear the Hardness and Sharpness of Stones*: on 5 June 1711 Swift went swimming in the Thames, and wrote to Stella that when he came out 'the great stones were so sharp, I could hardly set my feet on them' (Williams, *JS*, p. 286). Note the parallel with Part II, Chapter 4 (above, p. 157).

18 *Fence*: that which serves as a defence (*OED*, 4).

resemble them.¹⁹ That however, I would do my best, and strive to express my self by Similitudes, humbly desiring his Assistance when I wanted proper Words; which he was pleased to promise me.

I said, my Birth was of honest Parents, in an Island called *England*, which was remote from this Country, as many Days Journey as the strongest of his Honour's Servants could travel in the Annual Course of the Sun.²⁰ That I was bred a Surgeon, whose Trade is to cure Wounds and Hurts in the Body, got by Accident or Violence.²¹ That my Country was governed by a Female Man, whom we called *Queen*.²² That I left it to get Riches, whereby I might maintain my self and Family when I should return. That in my last Voyage, I was Commander of the Ship and had about fifty *Yahoos* under me, many of which died at Sea, and I was forced to supply them by others picked out from several Nations. That our Ship was twice in Danger of being sunk; the first Time by a great Storm, and the second, by striking against a Rock.²³ Here my Master interposed, by asking me, How I could persuade Strangers out of different Countries to venture with me, after the Losses I had sustained, and the Hazards I had run. I said, they were Fellows of desperate Fortunes, forced to fly from the Places of their Birth, on Account of their Poverty or their Crimes.²⁴ Some were undone by Law-suits; others spent all they had in Drinking, Whoring and Gaming; others fled for Treason; many for Murder, Theft, Poysoning, Robbery, Perjury, Forgery, Coining false Money; for committing Rapes or Sodomy; for flying from their Colours,²⁵ or deserting to the Enemy;

19 *to which I could resemble them*: the absence of experiential analogy again places Gulliver in the position of Locke's Dutch ambassador, who was unable to persuade the King of Siam that water might freeze and that men might walk on it (*Human Understanding*, IV.xvi.5): see above, p. 349 and n. 9.

20 *Annual Course of the Sun*: cf. above p. 332, where it is clear that Gulliver is ignorant of the position of the land of the Houyhnhnms.

21 *Accident or Violence*: cf. Johnson's definition: 'one that cures ailments, not by internal medicines, but outward applications'.

22 *a Female Man, whom we called Queen*: i.e. Queen Anne, the daughter of James II, who reigned 1702–14.

23 *against a Rock*: cf. above, pp. 330–31, where the storm is mentioned, but not the incident of striking against a rock.

24 *on Account of their Poverty or their Crimes*: in *A Modest Proposal* (1729) the proposer deplors the fate of the 'helpless Infants' of Ireland's poor, 'who, as they grow up, either turn *Thieves* for want of Work; or leave their dear Native Country, to fight for the Pretender in Spain, or sell themselves to the *Barbadoes*' (Davis, vol. XII, p. 109).

25 *flying from their Colours*: military desertion.

and most of them had broken Prison.²⁶ None of these durst return to their native Countries for fear of being hanged, or of starving in a Jail; and therefore were under a Necessity of seeking a Livelihood in other Places.

During this Discourse, my Master was pleased often to interrupt me. I had made Use of many Circumlocutions in describing to him the Nature of the several Crimes, for which most of our Crew had been forced to fly their Country. This Labour took up several Days Conversation before he was able to comprehend me. He was wholly at a Loss to know what could be the Use or Necessity of practising those Vices. To clear up which I endeavoured to give him some Ideas of the Desire of Power and Riches; of the terrible Effects of Lust, Intemperance, Malice, and Envy. All this I was forced to define and describe by putting of Cases, and making Suppositions. After which, like one whose Imagination was struck with something never seen or heard of before, he would lift up his Eyes with Amazement and Indignation.²⁷ Power, Government, War, Law, Punishment, and a Thousand other Things had no Terms, wherein that Language could express them; which made the Difficulty almost insuperable to give my Master any Conception of what I meant: But being of an excellent Understanding, much improved by Contemplation and Converse, he at last arrived at a competent Knowledge of what human Nature in our Parts of the World is capable to perform; and desired I would give him some particular Account of that Land, which we call *Europe*, especially, of my own Country.

²⁶ *broken Prison*: escaped from prison (*OED*, 19).

²⁷ *Amazement and Indignation*: again, in the manner of Locke's King of Siam (*Human Understanding*, IV.xvi.5): cf. above, p. 349 and n. 9.

CHAPTER V.¹

The Author at his Master's Commands informs him of the State of England. The Causes of War among the Princes of Europe. The Author begins to explain the English Constitution.

The Reader may please to observe, that the following Extract of many Conversations I had with my Master, contains a Summary of the most material Points, which were discoursed at several times for above two Years;² his Honour often desiring fuller Satisfaction as I farther improved in the *Houyhnhnm* Tongue. I laid before him, as well as I could, the whole State of *Europe*; I discoursed of Trade and Manufactures, of Arts and Sciences; and the Answers I gave to all the Questions he made, as they arose upon several Subjects, were a Fund of Conversation not to be exhausted. But I shall here only set down the Substance of what passed between us concerning my own Country, reducing it into Order as well as I can, without any Regard to Time or other Circumstances, while I strictly adhere to Truth. My only Concern is, that I shall hardly be able

1 *CHAP. V.*: the division of this chapter into an initial section on war and a second section on law may seem miscellaneous, but for *GT*'s first readers the juxtaposition would have been familiar. Arbuthnot's *John Bull* pamphlets had figured the War of the Spanish Succession as a legal dispute between John Bull and Lewis Baboon, and in that work the Duke of Marlborough is satirized as Humphrey Hocus, 'an old cunning Attorney' (*John Bull*, p. 10). Defoe had justified the metaphorical link in *The Review* for 7 October 1707: 'War and Law having so near a Correspondence . . . we must allow the Men of Law are Men of War, and have something in them Synonymous to a Soldier' (*John Bull*, p. xix). Pope linked *GT* and *John Bull* in a letter to the Earl of Oxford of 8 December 1726 (Pope, *Correspondence*, vol. II, p. 421). Law and war were also connected in Swift's mind at that time. In *The Examiner* 29 (22 February 1710) he noted that 'Cowardice in a Lawyer is more supportable than in an Officer of the Army' (Davis, vol. III, p. 96). In *Utopia* Hythloday's descriptions of the Utopians' attitudes towards law and war are close to one another (*Utopia*, pp. 82–3 and 85–92).

2 *above two Years*: in Part IV Gulliver leaves London on 10 September 1710, is marooned on 9 May 1711 and leaves the land of the Houyhnhnms on 15 February 1715; so about half his time with the Houyhnhnms is occupied by this conversation. Cf. the chronology of *GT*, above, p. xxiii.

to do Justice to my Master's Arguments and Expressions, which must needs suffer by my Want of Capacity, as well as by a Translation into our barbarous *English*.³

In Obedience therefore to his Honour's Commands, I related to him the *Revolution* under the Prince of *Orange*; the long War with *France* entered into by the said Prince, and renewed by his Successor the present Queen; wherein the greatest Powers of *Christendom* were engaged, and which still continued: I computed at his Request, that about a Million of *Yahoos* might have been killed in the whole Progress of it; and perhaps a Hundred or more Cities taken, and five times as many Ships burnt or sunk.⁴

He asked me what were the usual Causes or Motives that made one Country go to War with another.⁵ I answered, they were innumerable; but I should only mention a few of the chief. Sometimes the Ambition of Princes, who never think they have Land or People enough to govern:⁶

3 *our barbarous English*: for Swift's opinion of English as a language less refined than Italian, French or Spanish, see his *A Proposal for Correcting, Improving and Ascertaining the English Tongue* (1712) (Davis, vol. IV, p. 6), in which the decay in the quality of English dates from the Civil War (Davis, vol. IV, pp. 9–10). The tendency towards linguistic decline is traced by Swift to 'those *Northern Nations* from whom we are descended' (Davis, vol. IV, p. 12).

4 *burnt or sunk*: Swift refers to the Glorious Revolution of 1688, and to the two continental wars in which William III subsequently involved Britain: the war of the League of Augsburg (1689–97) and the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–13). Gulliver's estimation of the casualties at a million seems high.

5 *go to War with another*: the causes of war are the subject of Machiavelli, *Discorsi*, II.9. They also form a topic in the natural law theory associated with Grotius and Pufendorf: see Grotius, *De Iure Belli et Pacis*, II.i, 'Of the Causes of War' and Pufendorf, *De Officio*, II.16, 'On War and Peace'. For Swift's hatred of and contempt for war, see *A Tale of a Tub*, Section 9 (CWJS, vol. I, pp. 106–7; Davis, vol. I, p. 104), *The Conduct of the Allies* (1711) (CWJS, vol. VIII, pp. 45–106; Davis, vol. VI, pp. 1–65), and his judgement in *The Battel of the Books* that 'War is the Child of Pride, and Pride the Daughter of Riches' (CWJS, vol. I, p. 143; Davis, vol. I, p. 141). For the topic of the miseries of war, see Erasmus, *Complaint*, pp. 30 and 46 and *Education*, pp. 105–6. A close parallel occurs in Cyrano de Bergerac's *A Voyage to the Moon*, which describes 'the . . . politic Customs of EUROPE, where the Monarch omits no Opportunity that offers of encreasing his Power, and leaves nothing undone that tends to Conquest' (*Voyage to the Moon*, p. 86). Swift's catalogue of the trivial or unjust causes of war is the obverse of the opening sentences of *The Conduct of the Allies*, in which the just causes of war are listed (CWJS, vol. VIII, p. 49; Davis, vol. VI, p. 7). Thomas More's Utopians 'go to war only for good reasons: to protect their own land, to drive invading armies from the territories of their friends, or to liberate an oppressed people, in the name of compassion and humanity, from tyranny and servitude' (*Utopia*, p. 85).

6 *enough to govern*: cf. the Utopians' skill at stirring up conflicts among their enemies by 'digging up ancient claims to dominion, of which kings always have an ample supply' (*Utopia*, p. 88; cf. pp. 30–1 for Hythloday's views on why kings should not attempt to enlarge their dominions).

Sometimes the Corruption of Ministers, who engage their Master in a War in order to stifle or divert the Clamour of the Subjects against their evil Administration. Difference in Opinions⁷ hath cost many Millions of Lives: For Instance, whether *Flesh* be *Bread*, or *Bread* be *Flesh*: Whether the Juice of a certain Berry be *Blood* or *Wine*:⁸ Whether *Whistling* be a Vice or a Virtue:⁹ Whether it be better to *kiss a Post*, or throw it into the Fire:¹⁰ What is the best Colour for a *Coat*, whether *Black*, *White*, *Red* or *Grey*; and whether it should be *long* or *short*, *narrow* or *wide*, *dirty* or *clean*;¹¹ with many more. Neither are any Wars so furious and bloody, or of so long Continuance, as those occasioned by Difference in Opinion, especially if it be in things indifferent.¹²

Sometimes¹³ the Quarrel between two Princes is to decide which of them shall dispossess a Third of his Dominions, where neither of them pretend to any Right.¹⁴ Sometimes one Prince quarrelleth with another,

7 *Difference in Opinions*: for a similar analysis of the religious causes of war, cf. Robert Burton, 'Democritus Junior to the Reader' (Burton, vol. I, pp. 39–49). Note the affinity between Swift's list of the various inadequate causes of religious warfare and Locke's similar list of the various inadequate pretexts for religious persecution (Locke, *Toleration*, p. 27).

8 *Bread be Flesh... Blood or Wine*: references to the Roman Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation which teaches that, in the mass, the bread and wine are changed into the flesh and blood of Christ. Cf. *A Tale of a Tub*, Section 4, in which Peter assures his brothers that 'Bread... is the Staff of Life; in which Bread is contained, inclusive, the Quintessence of Beef, Mutton, Veal, Venison, Partridge, Plum-pudding, and Custard' (CWJS, vol. I, p. 74; Davis, vol. I, p. 72).

9 *Vice or a Virtue*: a reference to Puritan disapproval of the incorporation of music into church services. For Swift's attentiveness to the quality of the music at St Patrick's, see Ehrenpreis, vol. III, pp. 352–4.

10 *throw it into the Fire*: references to, respectively, Catholic idolatry and Puritan iconoclasm.

11 *dirty or clean*: a reference to religious disputes over vestments, which had occurred during the reigns of both Edward VI and Elizabeth I: see Patrick Collinson, *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1967), pp. 71–83.

12 *things indifferent*: i.e. of no doctrinal significance (the technical term for which is *adiaphora*). It is a concept of particular importance in the work of Richard Hooker, whom Swift praised in *The Tatler* 230, 28 September 1710 (Davis, vol. II, p. 177; *Tatler*, vol. III, p. 195). In *A Tale of a Tub*, Section 6 Martin's recommendation of moderation to Jack deploys the concept of *adiaphora* (CWJS, vol. I, pp. 92–3; Davis, vol. I, pp. 86–7).

13 *Sometimes*: this passage was particularly praised by William Godwin, *Political Justice*, Book I, Chapter 2 (Godwin, *Enquiry*, pp. 86–7).

14 *pretend to any Right*: cf. 'The Revolution at Market-Hill': 'And soon as we have got Possession, / We'll act as *other* Conquerors do; / Divide the Realm between us two' (Williams, *Poems*, p. 886, lines 89–91). Compare also what Hythloday says in *Utopia* about the pretexts used by counsellors to encourage princes to wage war: 'still another thinks a settlement should be made with the King of Aragon, and that, as a reward for peace, he should be given Navarre, which belongs to somebody else' (*Utopia*, pp. 28–9).

for fear the other should quarrel with him.¹⁵ Sometimes a War is entered upon, because the Enemy is too *strong*,¹⁶ and sometimes because he is too *weak*. Sometimes our Neighbours *want* the *Things* which we *have*, or *have* the *Things* which we *want*; and we both fight, till they take ours or give us theirs.¹⁷ It is a very justifiable Cause of War to invade a Country after the People have been wasted by Famine, destroyed by Pestilence, or embroiled by Factions amongst themselves. It is justifiable to enter into a War against our nearest Ally, when one of his Towns lies convenient for us, or a Territory of Land, that would render our Dominions round and compact.¹⁸ If a Prince send Forces into a Nation, where the People are poor and ignorant, he may lawfully put half of them to Death, and make Slaves of the rest, in order to civilize and reduce¹⁹ them from their barbarous Way of Living. It is a very kingly, honourable, and frequent Practice, when one Prince desires the Assistance of another to secure him against an Invasion, that the Assistant, when he hath driven out the Invader, should seize on the Dominions himself, and kill, imprison or banish the Prince he came to relieve.²⁰ Alliance by Blood or Marriage, is a sufficient Cause of War between Princes; and the nearer the Kindred is, the greater is their Disposition to quarrel: *Poor* Nations are *hungry*, and *rich* Nations are *proud*; and Pride and Hunger will ever be at Variance. For these Reasons,

15 *for fear the other should quarrel with him*: natural law theory acknowledges, in certain circumstances, a right of pre-emptive defence: cf. Grotius, *De Iure Belli et Pacis*, II.xx.39 (quoted approvingly by Andrew Marvell, in *An Account of the Growth of Popery and Arbitrary Government* (1677); Marvell, *Prose*, vol. II, pp. 345–6). For Swift on Grotius, see his letter to Gay of 12 June 1714 (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. I, p. 615). Cf. also Pufendorf, *De Officio*, II.xvi.2 (but note also I.v.11–12).

16 *the Enemy is too strong*: Grotius denies this to be a legitimate cause of war: 'I can by no Means approve of what some Authors have advanced, that by the Law of Nations it is permitted to take up Arms to reduce the growing Power of a Prince or State, which if too much augmented, may possibly injure us' (*De Iure Belli et Pacis*, II.i.17; cf. also II.xxii.4). Note how close this is to a cause of war which in *The Conduct of the Allies* (1711) Swift had asserted to be legitimate: 'to check the overgrown Power of some ambitious Neighbour' (*CWJS*, vol. VIII, p. 49; Davis, vol. VI, p. 7).

17 *or give us theirs*: compare the list of unjust causes of war in Pufendorf, *De Officio*, II.xvi.4.

18 *round and compact*: F. P. Lock finds here a reference to the annexation of Bremen and Verden by George I (Lock, *Politics*, p. 64).

19 *reduce*: to lead away from (*OED*, 2 a).

20 *the Prince he came to relieve*: cf. Temple's comments on 'how dangerous it ever proves for weak Princes to call in greater to their Aid, which makes them a Prey to their Friend, instead of their Enemy' (Temple, vol. I, p. 29).

the Trade of a *Soldier* is held the most honourable of all others:²¹ Because a *Soldier* is a *Yahoo* hired to kill in cold Blood as many of his own Species, who have never offended him, as possibly he can.

There is likewise a Kind of beggarly Princes in *Europe*, not able to make War by themselves, who hire out their Troops to richer Nations for so much a Day to each Man;²² of which they keep three Fourths to themselves, and it is the best Part of their Maintenance; such are those in many *Northern Parts of Europe*.²³

What you have told me, (said my Master) upon the Subject of War, doth indeed discover most admirably the Effects of that Reason you pretend to: However, it is happy that the *Shame* is greater than the *Danger*; and that Nature hath left you utterly incapable of doing much Mischief:²⁴ For your Mouths lying flat with your Faces, you can hardly bite each other to any

21 *most honourable of all others*: cf. Swift to a soldier, Charles Wogan, on 2 August 1732: 'I have no great Regard for your Trade, from the Judgment I make of those who profess it in these Kingdoms' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, p. 514).

22 *to each Man*: for the Utopian use of mercenaries, see *Utopia*, pp. 60 and 88. In 'Upon the Original and Nature of Government', Temple deplored the use of mercenaries: 'these kind of Forces come to be used by good Princes only upon necessity of providing for their defence against great and armed Neighbours or Enemies; but by ill ones as a support of decayed Authority, or as they lose the force of that which is Natural and Paternal, and so grow to set up an Interest of those that Govern, different from that of those that are Governed, which ought ever to be the same' (Temple, vol. I, p. 102).

23 *Northern Parts of Europe*: Charles Ford's interleaved copy here specifies 'Germany and other Northern Parts of Europe' (Williams, *Text*, p. 57; see below, p. 757). Neither Benjamin Motte nor George Faulkner was prepared to publish so unmistakable an insult on the Hanoverians. For parallel sentiments, cf. *Utopia*, p. 88; Defoe, *Cavalier*, p. 125; and Montagu, *Reflections*, p. 189. Molesworth's strictures on the military policy of Denmark might have been particularly significant for Swift: 'Souldiers are, through I know not what mistaken Policy, esteemed the Riches of the Northern Kings, and other German Princes . . . they are constrained to foment Quarrels between more potent Princes, that they may have the opportunity of selling to one or other those Forces which themselves cannot possibly maintain: so that at present Soldiers are grown to be as saleable Ware, as Sheep or Oxen, and are as little concern'd when they are sold' (Molesworth, *Denmark*, pp. 117–18; cf. also Molesworth, 'True Whig', pp. xxvii–xxviii). However, Ireland also exported its surplus young males as 'wild geese' to the armies of mainland Europe (Connolly, *Religion, Law, and Power*, p. 238). English policy since the early seventeenth century had been to encourage Irish swordsmen to serve abroad as mercenaries, because few of them returned. Military emigration from Ireland was further accelerated by the Williamite settlement, which excluded most of the population from the political nation and declared them 'unfit to render military service'. Consequently, after 1690 Irish soldiers were 'as numerous in the French royal army as the Swiss' (Manning, *Apprenticeship*, pp. 233, 399 and vii; see also pp. 63–6 and 316–17).

24 *incapable of doing much Mischief*: cf. the King of Brobdingnag's similar comparisons of human imbecility and animal strength in Part II, Chapter 7 (above, p. 198 and n. 30, for the use of and parallels to such mortifying comparisons).

Purpose, unless by Consent. Then, as to the Claws upon your Feet before and behind, they are so short and tender, that one of our *Yahoos* would drive a Dozen of yours before him. And therefore in recounting the Numbers of those who have been killed in Battle, I cannot but think that you have *said the Thing which is not*.

I could not forbear shaking my Head and smiling a little at his Ignorance. And, being no Stranger to the Art of War,²⁵ I gave him a Description of Cannons, Culverins,²⁶ Muskets, Carabines,²⁷ Pistols, Bullets, Powder, Swords, Bayonets, Sieges, Retreats, Attacks, Undermines,²⁸ Countermines,²⁹ Bombardments, Sea-fights; Ships sunk with a Thousand Men; twenty Thousand killed on each Side; dying Groans, Limbs flying in the Air: Smoak, Noise, Confusion, trampling to Death under Horses Feet.³⁰ Flight, Pursuit, Victory; Fields strewed with Carcases left for Food to Dogs, and Wolves, and Birds of Prey; Plundering, Stripping, Ravishing, Burning and Destroying. And, to set forth the Valour of my own dear Countrymen, I assured him, that I had seen them blow up a Hundred Enemies at once in a Siege, and as many in a Ship; and beheld the dead Bodies drop down in Pieces from the Clouds, to the great Diversion of all the Spectators.³¹

I was going on to more Particulars, when my Master commanded me Silence. He said, whoever understood the Nature of *Yahoos* might easily believe it possible for so vile an Animal,³² to be capable of every Action I

25 *Art of War*: the title of a celebrated work by Machiavelli (1517–20), and echoed by many more recent (anonymous) publications, e.g. *Military Discipline; or the Art of War* (1689), *The Art of War* (1707) and *The New Art of War* (1726). What we are told of Gulliver's past life sheds no light on how he may have become familiar with the art of war.

26 *Culverins*: large cannons, very long in proportion to their bore (*OED*, 1).

27 *Carabines*: a short firearm used by a cavalryman.

28 *Undermines*: excavations under the wall of a fortification.

29 *Countermines*: excavations beneath undermines made by the defenders of a fortification.

30 *trampling to Death under Horses Feet*: cf. Gulliver's speculations about the difficulty of conquering the Houyhnhnms (below, p. 439).

31 *Diversion of all the Spectators*: cf. Gulliver's description to the King of Brobdingnag of the effects of gunpowder (above, pp. 191–92). There are parallel passages in Defoe's *Essay Upon Projects* (1697), (Defoe, *Projects*, pp. 3–4 and 255–7). Swift might have read of 'Indian and Chinese Juglers' who 'take a Child, throw it into the Air, and make 'em fall Limb by Limb, first one Leg, then another, and so of all the rest, the last of which is the Head . . . thereby deceiving the Eyes of the Spectators' (Anon., *A New Collection of Voyages and Travels*, 2 vols. (1721), vol. II, p. 162).

32 *so vile an Animal*: echoing the King of Brobdingnag's condemnation of the Europeans as 'the most pernicious Race of little odious Vermin that Nature ever suffered to crawl upon the Surface of the Earth' in Part II, Chapter 6 (above, p. 189).

had named, if their Strength and Cunning equalled their Malice. But, as my Discourse had increased his Abhorrence of the whole Species, so he found it gave him a Disturbance in his Mind, to which he was wholly a Stranger before. He thought his Ears being used to such abominable Words, might by Degrees admit them with less Detestation. That, although he hated the *Yahoos* of this Country, yet he no more blamed them for their odious Qualities, than he did a *Gnnayh* (a Bird of Prey) for its Cruelty, or a sharp Stone for cutting his Hoof.³³ But, when a Creature pretending to Reason, could be capable of such Enormities, he dreaded lest the Corruption of that Faculty might be worse than Brutality itself.³⁴ He seemed therefore confident, that instead of Reason, we were only possessed of some Quality fitted to increase our natural Vices; as the Reflection from a troubled Stream³⁵ returns the Image of an ill-shapen Body, not only *larger*, but more *distorted*.

33 *cutting his Hoof*: cf. Swift to Pope, 26 November 1725: 'I tell you after all that I do not hate Mankind, it is vous autr[e]s who hate them because you would have them reasonable Animals, and are Angry for being disappointed. I have always rejected that Definition and made another of my own. I am no more angry with [Walpole] th[a]n I was with the Kite that last week flew away with one of my Chickins and yet I was pleas'd when one of my Servants shot him two days after' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. II, p. 623). Later in the century Adam Smith may have had this passage of *GT* in mind when he maintained that 'We are angry, for a moment, even at the stone that hurts us' (Smith, *TMS*, II.iii.1, p. 94).

34 *worse than Brutality itself*: the corruption of reason was proverbially the generation of wit; cf. Anon., *The Character of a Whig* (1709), where Whiggism is said to be produced out of the 'Corruption of Reason' (p. 3). Nicolas Malebranche, in his *De la recherche de la vérité*, 3 vols. (1678), a copy of which was in Swift's library, has a long passage on how the corruption of reason expresses itself in vicious human behaviour: 'Where-ever there are Men not insensible to Passions, and the Imagination has the supremacy over Reason; there will be fantastical Humours, and Humours unaccountable . . . For an *Ethiopian* might, in justifying himself, say he pluck'd out an Eye, out of a point of Loyalty and Honour: But what should a *Christian* Lady say for Exposing what Nature and Religion oblige her to conceal? Perhaps, that she did it, because 'twas the Fashion, and for no other Reason. But she ought to know, That 'tis an Extravagant, Inconvenient, Unseemly, and Shameful Fashion on all Accounts, and proceeds from nothing but a manifest Corruption of Reason, and a secret Depravation of Heart; and cannot be favour'd or follow'd without Scandal, and openly siding with the Corruption of the Imagination against Reason; with Impurity against Purity; with the Spirit of the World against the Spirit of GOD' (*Father Malebranche His Treatise Concerning the Search After Truth*, tr. T. Taylor (1700), p. 89).

35 *a troubled Stream*: cf. Sir John Davies, *Nosce Teipsum*: 'So though the clouds eclips the *Suns* fair light, / Yet from his face they do not take one beame; / So have our eyes their perfect power of sight, / Even when they looke into a troubled streame. / Then these defects in *Senses* organes bee, / Not in the *Soule*, nor in her working might, / She cannot loose her perfect power to see, / Though mists, and clouds do choke her window light' (Davies, *Poems*, pp. 58–9, lines 1661–8). For Swift's comments on Davies (who served as solicitor-general for Ireland under James I), see Davis, vol. X, p. 10.

He added, That he had heard too much upon the Subject of War, both in this, and some former Discourses. There was another Point which a little perplexed him at present. I had said, that some of our Crew left their Country on Account of being ruined by *Law*: That I had already explained the Meaning of the Word; but he was at a Loss how it should come to pass, that the *Law* which was intended for *every* Man's Preservation, should be any Man's Ruin. Therefore he desired to be farther satisfied what I meant by *Law*, and the Dispensers thereof, according to the present Practice in my own Country: Because he thought, Nature and Reason were sufficient Guides for a reasonable Animal,³⁶ as we pretended to be, in shewing us what we ought to do, and what to avoid.

I assured his Honour, that *Law* was a Science wherein I had not much conversed, further than by employing Advocates, in vain, upon some Injustices that had been done me.³⁷ However, I would give him all the Satisfaction I was able.

I said there was a Society of Men among us,³⁸ bred up from their Youth in the Art of proving by Words multiplied for the Purpose, that *White* is

36 *sufficient Guides for a reasonable Animal*: the sufficiency of reason and nature is a topos of utopian writing; cf. *Utopia*, pp. 67 and 74. Cf. also the 'Preliminary Discourse' to Grotius's *De Iure Belli et Pacis*. Chevalier Ramsay's *An Essay Upon Civil Government* (1722) describes an ideal state which resembles that of the Houyhnhnms: 'If Men would follow the Law of Nature, they would do that for the Love of Virtue which they do for Fear and Interest; they would have no occasion for positive Laws, nor exemplary Punishments: Reason would be the common Law; Men would live in Simplicity without Pride, in mutual Commerce without Propriety, and in Equality without Jealousy: They would know no other Superiority but that of Virtue, nor no other Ambition but that of being generous and disinterested: This is without doubt the Idea of this State so conformable to reasonable Nature, which gave Occasion to all the Poetical Fictions of the Golden Age, and first State of Man' (p. 36): cf. Tacitus, *Annals*, III.xxvi.1 and Grotius, *De Iure Belli et Pacis*, II.ii.2.

37 *some Injustices that had been done me*: see Long note 20. Although the chicane of lawyers is a perennial topic of satire, Temple's fulminations on the subject in 'Of Popular Discontents' may have had a particular force for Swift: 'I know very well how many Arguments will be raised against such an Act [to establish a Land Registry], and chiefly by the Lawyers, whose unreasonable Gains arise from such Suits and Disputes as would be avoided by such an Institution. For this Reason they will ever entangle any such Proposal not only with many Difficulties, but by their nice and subtile Reasonings will pretend even Impossibilities' (Temple, vol. I, pp. 264-5).

38 *a Society of Men among us*: the satire on lawyers is muted in the editions of *GT* published by Motte in 1726: see below, pp. 706-9. Cf. Mandeville's satire on lawyers: 'THE Lawyers, of whose Art the Basis / Was raising Feuds and splitting Cases, / Oppos'd all Registers, that Cheats / Might make more Work with dipt Estates; / As wer't unlawful, that one's own, / Without a Law-Suit, should be known. / They kept off Hearings wilfully, / To finger the refreshing Fee; / And to defend a wicked Cause, / Examin'd and survey'd the Laws, / As Burglars Shops and Houses do, / To find out where they'd best break through' (*Fable*

Black, and *Black is White*,³⁹ according as they are paid. To this Society all the rest of the People are Slaves.

For Example. If my Neighbour hath a mind to my *Cow*, he hires a Lawyer to prove that he ought to have my *Cow* from me.⁴⁰ I must then hire another to defend my Right; it being against all Rules of *Law* that any Man should be allowed to speak for himself.⁴¹ Now in this Case, I who am the true Owner lie under two great Disadvantages. First, my Lawyer being practiced almost from his Cradle in defending Falshood; is quite out of his Element when he would be an Advocate for Justice, which as an Office unnatural, he always attempts with great Awkwardness, if not with Ill-will. The second Disadvantage is, that my Lawyer must proceed with great Caution: Or else he will be reprimanded by the Judges, and abhorred by his Brethren, as one who would lessen the Practice of the Law. And therefore I have but two Methods to preserve my *Cow*. The first is, to gain over my Adversary's Lawyer with a double Fee; who will then betray his

of the Bees, vol. I, p. 20). Note Swift's mischievous précis of Anthony Collins: 'wherever there is no *Lawyer*, *Physician*, or *Priest*, that Country is *Paradise*' (Davis, vol. IV, p. 39); for Hume's comment on the significance of Swift's exemption of priests from his satire on the professions, see Hume, *Letters*, vol. I, p. 153 and above, p. 83, n. 6. Chapter 15 of the *Memoirs of Martinus Scriblerus* depicts the ingenious perversity of lawyers (*Scriblerus*, pp. 154–63).

39 *Black is White*: cf above p. 354, and the Houyhnhnms' contrasting understanding of the purpose of language being 'to receive Information of Facts'; see also Long note 33.

40 *have my Cow from me*: for a similar attack on the rapacity of lawyers see *John Bull*, p. 61: 'In short, it was usual for a parcel of Fellows to meet, and dispose of the whole Estates in their Country: *This lies convenient for me*, Tom; *Thou would do more good with that*, Dick, *than the Old Fellow that has it*. So to Law they went with the true Owners; the Lawyers got well by it, every Body else was undone.' In Swift's day the cow was a standard common law example of a chattel, just as the field (below, p. 371) was a standard common law example of real property: e.g. (*corvus*) William Watson, *The Clergy-Man's Law* (1701), pp. 406, 453–4, 456, 491; Matthew Dutton, *The Office and Authority of a Justice of Peace for Ireland* (Dublin, 1718), p. 74; Knightley D'Anvers, *A General Abridgment of the Common Law*, second edition, 2 vols. (1722–5), vol. I, pp. 72, 654, 655, vol. II, p. 301; Giles Jacob, *The Common Law Common-Placed* (1726), p. 196; William Nelson, *An Abridgment of the Common Law*, 3 vols. (1725–6), vol. I, pp. 86, 102, 123, 154, 382, 549, vol. II, pp. 725, 903, 933, 1070, 1262, 1265, 1280, vol. III, pp. 295, 304, 306, 326, 377, 406, 425; Blackstone, *Commentaries*, vol. I, p. 55; (*fields*) William Nelson, *An Abridgment of the Common Law*, 3 vols. (1725–6), vol. I, pp. 91, 137, 457; Blackstone, *Commentaries*, vol. I, p. 56. Charles Ford reminded Benjamin Motte of the significance of the cow being a standard common law example: 'By that admirable Instance of the Cow it is plain the Satyr is design'd against the Profession in general' (below, p. 756; letter to Motte of 3 January 1727, Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, p. 68).

41 *speak for himself*: lawyers are banned from Utopia, as the Utopians 'think it practical for each man to plead his own case, and say the same thing to the judge that he would tell his lawyer' (*Utopia*, p. 82). For Locke's exclusion of barristers from the state of Carolina, see above, p. 185, n. 40.

Client, by insinuating that he hath Justice on his Side. The second Way is for my Lawyer to make my Cause appear as unjust as he can; by allowing the *Cow* to belong to my Adversary; and this if it be skilfully done, will certainly bespeak the Favour of the Bench.

Now, your Honour is to know, that these Judges are Persons appointed to decide all Controversies of Property, as well as for the Tryal of Criminals; and picked out from the most dextrous Lawyers who are grown old or lazy: And having been byassed all their Lives against Truth and Equity,⁴² lie under such a fatal Necessity of favouring Fraud, Perjury and Oppression,⁴³ that I have known some of them to have refused a large Bribe from the Side where Justice lay, rather than injure the *Faculty*,⁴⁴ by doing any thing unbecoming their Nature or their Office.

It is a Maxim among these Lawyers, that whatever hath been done before, may legally be done again: And therefore they take special Care to record all the Decisions formerly made against common Justice and the general Reason of Mankind.⁴⁵ These, under the Name of *Precedents*,⁴⁶

42 *against Truth and Equity*: equity is the recourse to general principles of justice to correct or supplement the provisions of the law (*OED*, 3). Cf. 'Helter Skelter, or The Hue and Cry after the Attornies, going to ride the Circuit': 'All to murder Equity, / And to take a double Fee; / Till the People all are quiet / And forget to broil and riot' (Williams, *Poems*, p. 574, lines 49–52).

43 *Perjury and Oppression*: cf. Lord Bathurst to Swift, 29 March 1733: 'Doe the Body of Lawyers think of any thing else but to plunder & destroy the rest of mankind?' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, p. 612).

44 *Faculty*: i.e. the profession.

45 *general Reason of Mankind*: Swift saw the common law as an instrument of irrational oppression rather than (as others did) a means for securing the liberties of the subject. In a letter to the Earl of Oxford of 28 April 1730 he deplored 'the vigor and cruelty of the common law' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, p. 306).

46 *the Name of Precedents*: cf. Swift's scorn of the lawyers' reverence for precedents in the third and fourth of *The Drapier's Letters*: 'THERE is nothing hath perplexed me more than this Doctrine of *Precedents*. If a Jobb is to be done, and, upon searching Records, you find it hath been done before, there will not want a Lawyer to justify the Legality of it, by producing his *Precedents*; without ever considering the Motives and Circumstances that first introduced them; the Necessity, or Turbulence, or Iniquity of Times; the Corruptions of Ministers, or the arbitrary Disposition of the Prince then reigning: And I have been told, by Persons eminent in the Law, that the worst Actions which human Nature is capable of, may be justified by the same Doctrine' (Davis, vol. X, p. 40); 'Some Princes have, indeed, extended their *Prerogative* further than the Law allowed them: Wherein, however, the Lawyers of succeeding Ages, as fond as they are of *Precedents*, have never dared to justify them' (Davis, vol. X, p. 54). Cf. the King of Brobdingnag's valuing of 'the general Knowledge of Equity' over 'provincial, national, and other local Customs' in Part II, Chapter 6 (above, pp. 184–85).

they produce as Authorities to justify the most iniquitous Opinions; and the Judges never fail of directing accordingly.

In pleading, they studiously avoid entering into the *Merits* of the Cause; but are loud, violent and tedious in dwelling upon all *Circumstances* which are not to the Purpose.⁴⁷ For Instance, in the Case already mentioned: They never desire to know what Claim or Title my Adversary hath to my *Cow*; but whether the said *Cow* were Red or Black; her Horns long or short; whether the Field I graze her in be round or square; whether she were milked at home or abroad; what Diseases she is subject to, and the like. After which they consult *Precedents*, adjourn the Cause, from Time to Time, and in Ten, Twenty, or Thirty Years come to an Issue.

It is likewise to be observed, that this Society hath a peculiar Cant and Jargon of their own, that no other Mortal can understand, and wherein all their Laws are written, which they take special Care to multiply; whereby they have wholly confounded the very Essence of Truth and Falshood, of Right and Wrong;⁴⁸ so that it will take Thirty Years to decide whether the Field, left me by my Ancestors for six Generations, belong to me, or to a Stranger three Hundred Miles off.

In the Tryal of Persons accused for Crimes against the State, the Method is much more short and commendable: The Judge first sends to sound the Disposition of those in Power; after which he can easily hang or save the Criminal, strictly preserving all the Forms of Law.⁴⁹

Here my Master interposing, said it was a Pity, that Creatures endowed with such prodigious Abilities of Mind as these Lawyers, by the Description I gave of them must certainly be, were not rather encouraged to be Instructors of others in Wisdom and Knowledge. In Answer to which, I assured his Honour, that in all Points out of their own Trade, they were usually the most ignorant and stupid Generation⁵⁰ among us, the most despicable in common Conversation, avowed Enemies to all Knowledge and Learning;⁵¹ and equally disposed to pervert the general Reason of

47 *not to the Purpose*: for Swift's scorn of the impudence of lawyers when they plead, see, e.g., 'Cadenus and Vanessa' (Williams, *Poems*, p. 687, lines 21–4).

48 *Right and Wrong*: another reminder of the contrasting Houyhnhnm understanding of the purpose of language: above, p. 354 and Long note 33.

49 *all the Forms of Law*: for the corruption of judges by political power, see *Utopia*, pp. 31–2.

50 *Generation*: offspring, progeny (*OED*, 3 a).

51 *Knowledge and Learning*: Swift's hatred of lawyers and contempt for the effects of legal study was inveterate. In *Sentiments of a Church-of-England Man* (1708) he disparaged lawyers as

Mankind, in every other Subject of Discourse, as in that of their own Profession.

men 'who of all other Professions seem least to understand the Nature of Government in general; like Underworkmen, who are expert enough at making a single Wheel in a Clock, but are utterly ignorant how to adjust the several Parts, or to regulate the Movement' (Davis, vol. II, p. 23). In his last letter, to Eaton Stannard on 8 June 1741, he says of William Swift that 'I think he hath some learning, although he be just returned from the Study of Law' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. IV, p. 657). Cf. Edmund Burke's suave assessment of the effects of legal study in his speech *On American Taxation* (1774): 'a science which does more to quicken and invigorate the understanding, than all the other kinds of learning put together; but it is not apt, except in persons very happily born, to open and to liberalize the mind exactly in the same proportion' (*WSEB*, vol. II, p. 432).

CHAPTER VI.

*A Continuation of the State of England, under Queen Anne.*¹ *The Character of a first Minister in the Courts of Europe.*²

My Master was yet wholly at a Loss to understand what Motives could incite this Race of Lawyers to perplex, disquiet, and weary themselves by engaging in a Confederacy of Injustice, merely for the Sake of injuring their Fellow-Animals; neither could he comprehend what I meant in saying they did it for *Hire*. Whereupon I was at much Pains to describe to him the Use of *Money*,³ the Materials it was made of, and the Value of the Metals: That when a *Yahoo* had got a great Store of this precious Substance, he was able to purchase whatever he had a mind to; the finest Cloathing, the noblest Houses, great Tracts of Land, the most costly Meats and Drinks; and have his Choice of the most beautiful Females. Therefore since *Money* alone, was able to perform all these Feats, our *Yahoos* thought, they could never have enough of it to spend or to save, as they found themselves inclined from their natural Bent either to Profusion or Avarice. That, the rich Man enjoyed the Fruit of the poor Man's Labour, and the latter were a Thousand to One in Proportion to the former. That the Bulk of our People was forced to live miserably, by labouring every Day for small Wages to make a few live plentifully.⁴ I enlarged myself much on these and many other

1 *under Queen Anne*: Ford's interleaved copy deletes these words: see below, p. 766.

2 *Courts of Europe*: the first readers of *GT* may not have found this chapter's conjunction of the subjects of medicine and politics entirely surprising. In his 'An Essay on Charity and Charity Schools' Mandeville had postulated a metaphorical affinity between the two: 'Sound Politicks are to the Social Body what the Art of Medicine is to the Natural' (*Fable of the Bees*, vol. I, p. 322).

3 *the Use of Money*: financial innocence is a feature of utopian societies: cf. *Utopia*, pp. 60–1. Swift himself, however, paid very close attention to financial matters (Ehrenpreis, vol. III, pp. 324–6).

4 *a few live plentifully*: for a contrasting celebration of a communal way of life, see *Utopia*, pp. 43–4. Cf. also the practices of the early Christians: Acts 2:44–5 and 4:32–5.

Particulars to the same Purpose: But his Honour was still to seek:⁵ For he went upon a Supposition that all Animals had a Title to their Share in the Productions of the Earth;⁶ and especially those who presided over the rest. Therefore he desired I would let him know, what these costly Meats were, and how any of us happened to want them. Whereupon I enumerated as many Sorts as came into my Head, with the various Methods of dressing them, which could not be done without sending Vessels by Sea to every Part of the World, as well for Liquors to drink, as for Sauces, and innumerable other Conveniencies. I assured him, that this whole Globe of Earth must be at least three Times gone round, before one of our better Female *Yahoos* could get her Breakfast, or a Cup to put it in.⁷ He said, That must needs be a miserable Country which cannot furnish Food for its own Inhabitants.⁸ But what he chiefly wondered at, was how such vast Tracts of Ground as I described, should be wholly without *Fresh-water*, and the People put to the Necessity of sending over the Sea for Drink. I replied, that *England* (the dear Place of my Nativity) was computed to produce three Times the Quantity of Food, more than its Inhabitants are able to consume, as well as Liquors extracted from Grain,⁹ or pressed out of the Fruit of certain Trees, which made excellent Drink; and the same Proportion in every other Convenience of Life.¹⁰ But, in order to feed the Luxury

5 *still to seek*: still unable to understand.

6 *their Share in the Productions of the Earth*: cf. Grotius, *De Iure Belli et Pacis*, II.ii.2. The Houyhnhnm attitude is characteristic of a period of primitive simplicity, according to Grotius.

7 *A Cup to put it in*: for contrasting celebrations of global trade, see *The Spectator* 69 (19 May 1711; *Spectator*, vol. I, pp. 292–6) and Pope, *The Rape of the Lock*, I.121–48.

8 *cannot furnish Food for its own Inhabitants*: this was, according to Swift, the predicament of Ireland, as a result of both the policy adopted by England and native Irish fecklessness: see, e.g., *An Answer to a Paper Called A Memorial* (1728) (Davis, vol. XII, pp. 13–22). The Irish dearth of food is also the background of *A Modest Proposal* (1729) (Davis, vol. XII, pp. 107–18). An aggravating feature of this dearth for Swift, as he explained in his sermon 'Causes of the Wretched Condition of Ireland', was that Ireland was 'capable of producing all Things necessary, and most Things convenient for Life, sufficient for the Support of four Times the Number of its Inhabitants' (Davis, vol. IX, p. 199). The Master Houyhnhnm is a mouthpiece for Swift's own preference, namely economic self-sufficiency, or autarchy.

9 *Liquors extracted from Grain*: although Swift consumed considerable amounts of wine, he claimed to do so only for medicinal reasons, his preference being for beer: 'I do not love wine, but take it purely as a medicine and I love Mault liquor, but dare not touch a drop' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, p. 616; cf. p. 370).

10 *Convenience of Life*: Guy Miège had recently praised the variety and quality of England's native beverages: 'As for *Drink*, 'tis true, we have no *Wine* of our own Growth, but what is made out of Curiosity. But by Navigation we have the greatest Variety of *Wines* that can be got. Our common Drink is *Beer* and *Ale*, which is best in *England*, especially in the Northern

and Intemperance of the Males, and the Vanity of the Females, we sent away the greatest Part of our necessary Things to other Countries, from whence in Return we brought the Materials of Diseases, Folly, and Vice, to spend among ourselves.¹¹ Hence it follows of Necessity, that vast Numbers of our People are compelled to seek their Livelihood by Begging, Robbing, Stealing, Cheating, Pimping, Forswearing, Flattering, Suborning,¹² Forging, Gaming, Lying, Fawning, Hectoring, Voting, Scribbling, Stargazing, Poysoning, Whoring, Canting, Libelling, Free-thinking,¹³ and the like Occupations: Every one of which Terms, I was at much Pains¹⁴ to make him understand.

That, *Wine*¹⁵ was not imported among us from foreign Countries, to supply the Want of Water or other Drinks, but because it was a Sort of

Parts. Besides this Liquor, great Quantities of *Cyder, Perry, Mead, Mum, and Punch, Cherry, Goosberry, and Curran-Wines, &c.* are made in *England*' (*The Present State of Great-Britain and Ireland*, third edition (1715), p. 10).

- 11 *to spend among ourselves*: cf. *Paradise Lost*, XI.466–95 and Howard, *Sermon* (1721), pp. 12, 17 and 19. Temple had underlined the relationship between immoderate eating and drinking and disease in his 'Upon the Cure of the Gout': 'Persons in those Posts [high public offices] are usually born of Families Noble and Rich, and so derive a Weakness of Constitution from the Ease and Luxury of their Ancestors, and the Delicacy of their own Education: Or if not, yet the Plenty of their Fortunes from those very employments, and the general Custom of living in them at much expence, engages Men in the constant use of great Tables, and in frequent Excesses of several kinds, which must end in Diseases when the vigour of Youth is past, and the force of Exercise (that served before to spend the Humour) is given over for a sedentary and unactive Life' (Temple, vol. I, p. 135). Mandeville noted the 'many Diseases . . . which are daily and hourly produced' by drunkenness, 'such as Loss of Appetite, Fevers, Black and Yellow Jaundice, Convulsions, Stone and Gravel, Dropsies, and Leucophlegmacies'; but at the same time he recognized that 'if none were to drink Wine but such only as stand in need of it, nor any Body more than his Health requir'd, that Multitude of Wine-Merchants, Vintners, Coopers, &c. that make such a considerable Shew in this flourishing City, would be in a miserable Condition' (*Fable of the Bees*, vol. I, pp. 89 and 85). In his sermon on the 'Causes of the Wretched Condition of Ireland' Swift attributed the ill-health of the Irish people to 'their own Faults' (Davis, vol. IX, p. 206).
- 12 *Suborning*: to bribe or unlawfully procure someone to make accusations or give evidence, to give false testimony or to commit perjury (*OED*, 2).
- 13 *Free-thinking*: the free exercise of reason in matters of religious belief, unrestrained by deference to authority (*OED*). Swift had attacked this tendency in *Mr C—n's Discourse of Free-Thinking* (1713) (Davis, vol. IV, pp. 23–48). See Long note 21.
- 14 *at much Pains*: an ambiguous phrase, meaning both 'took great care to make him understand' and 'had difficulty to make him understand'.
- 15 *Wine*: for Swift's comments on wine and beer, see above, p. 374, n. 9. For details of his consumption, see Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, pp. 285, 292, 470, 638, 708; vol. IV, pp. 15–16, 62, 155, 172, 273–4, 316, 375. Cf. Michael DePorte, '*Vinum Daemonum*: Swift and the Grape', *SStud*, 12 (1997), 56–68. On the prodigious consumption of alcohol by the Irish at this time, see Connolly, *Religion, Law, and Power*, pp. 66–7.

Liquid which made us merry, by putting us out of our Senses; diverted all melancholy Thoughts, begat wild extravagant Imaginations¹⁶ in the Brain, raised our Hopes, and banished our Fears; suspended every Office of Reason for a Time, and deprived us of the Use of our Limbs, untill we fell into a profound Sleep; although it must be confessed, that we always awaked sick and dispirited; and that the Use of this Liquor filled us with Diseases, which made our Lives uncomfortable and short.

But beside all this, the Bulk of our People supported themselves by furnishing the Necessities or Conveniencies of Life to the Rich, and to each other. For Instance, when I am at home and dressed as I ought to be, I carry on my Body the Workmanship of an Hundred Tradesmen;¹⁷ the Building and Furniture of my House employ as many more; and five Times the Number to adorn my Wife.

I was going on to tell him of another Sort of People, who get their Livelihood by attending the Sick;¹⁸ having upon some Occasions informed his Honour that many of my Crew had died of Diseases. But here it was

16 *wild extravagant Imaginations*: a phrase applied a few years earlier by Archibald Hutcheson to the South Sea Bubble (*Four Treatises Relating to the South-Sea Scheme and Stock* (1721), p. 19).

17 *an Hundred Tradesmen*: a topos of seventeenth-century satire: cf. Vindice's scorn for women who 'Walk with a hundred acres on their backs, / Fair meadows cut into green fore-parts' (*The Revenger's Tragedy*, II.i.211–12); and Robert Burton's similar complaint that in the modes of modern folly it is 'an ordinary thing to put a thousand Oakes, or an hundred Oxen into a sute of apparell, to weare a whole Mannor on his backe' (Burton, vol. III, p. 101). An early eighteenth-century thinker such as Mandeville, however, while willing to acknowledge that, 'laying aside all worldly Greatness and Vain-Glory', 'true Happiness' was most likely to be enjoyed by those 'contented to live upon the Natural Product of the Spot they inhabit', nevertheless insisted that economic prosperity depended upon behaviour that scandalized the moralist: 'Vast Numbers throng'd the fruitful Hive; / Yet those vast Numbers made 'em thrive; / Millions endeavouring to supply / Each other's Lust and Vanity; / While other Millions were employ'd, / To see their Handy-works destroy'd; / They furnish'd half the Universe; / Yet had more Work than Labourers' (*Fable of the Bees*, vol. I, pp. 12–13 and 18; cf. also vol. I, pp. 169 and 356). In his 'Answer to Several Letters from Unknown Persons' Swift made clear his own contrasting position on what he saw as the pernicious importation of foreign luxuries (Davis, vol. XII, pp. 79–80). Cf. also his remarks on 'Expence and Extravagance in Dress' amongst particularly 'the weaker Sex' in his sermon on the 'Causes of the Wretched Condition of Ireland' (Davis, vol. IX, p. 200).

18 *attending the Sick*: cf. Mandeville's satire on physicians: 'PHYSICIANS valu'd Fame and Wealth / Above the drooping Patient's Health, / Or their own Skill: The greatest Part / Study'd, instead of Rules of Art, / Grave pensive Looks and dull Behaviour, / To gain th'Apothecary's Favour; / The Praise of Midwives, Priests, and all / That serv'd at Birth or Funeral. / To bear with th'ever-talking Tribe, / And hear my Lady's Aunt prescribe; / With formal Smile, and kind How d'ye, / To fawn on all the Family; / And, which of all the greatest Curse is, / T'endure th'Impertinence of Nurses' (*Fable of the Bees*, vol. I, pp. 20–1). Note again Swift's précis of Anthony Collins (quoted above, p. 369, n. 38; Davis, vol. IV, p. 39).

with the utmost Difficulty, that I brought him to apprehend what I meant. He could easily conceive, that a *Houyhnhnm* grew weak and heavy a few Days before his Death; or by some Accident might hurt a Limb. But that Nature, who worketh all things to Perfection, should suffer any Pains to breed in our Bodies, he thought impossible; and desired to know the Reason of so unaccountable an Evil.¹⁹ I told him, we fed on a Thousand Things which operated contrary to each other; that we eat when we were not hungry, and drank without the Provocation of Thirst: That we sat whole Nights drinking strong Liquors without eating a Bit;²⁰ which disposed us to Sloth, enflamed our Bodies, and precipitated or prevented Digestion. That, prostitute Female *Yahoos* acquired a certain Malady, which bred Rottenness in the Bones²¹ of those, who fell into their Embraces: That this and many other Diseases, were propagated from Father to Son,²² so that great Numbers come into the World with complicated Maladies upon them: That, it would be endless to give him a Catalogue of all Diseases incident to human Bodies; for they could not be fewer than five or six Hundred, spread over every Limb, and Joynt: In short, every Part, external and intestine, having Diseases appropriated to each. To remedy which, there was a Sort of People bred up among us, in the Profession or Pretence

19 *so unaccountable an Evil*: cf. Temple's account in 'Of Ancient and Modern Learning' of the temperance of the 'Brachmans': 'Their Moral Philosophy consisted chiefly in preventing all Diseases or Distempers of the Body, from which they esteemed the perturbation of Mind, in a great measure, to arise. Then, in composing the Mind, and exempting it from all anxious Cares, esteeming the troublesome and solicitous Thoughts, about Past and Future, to be like so many Dreams, and no more to be regarded. They despised both Life and Death, Pleasure and Pain, or at least thought them perfectly indifferent. Their Justice was exact and exemplary; their Temperance so great, that they lived upon Rice and Herbs, and upon nothing that had sensitive Life. If they fell Sick, they counted it such a Mark of Intemperance, that they would frequently Die out of shame and sullenness; but many lived a Hundred and Fifty, and some Two Hundred Years' (Temple, vol. I, p. 155).

20 *Bit*: food to bite; victuals (*OED*, 4).

21 *Rottenness in the Bones*: in early eighteenth-century medicine, an infallible symptom of venereal disease: see Charles Peter, *New Observations on the Venereal Disease* (1704), pp. 15 and 44; John Marten, *A Treatise of all the Degrees and Symptoms of the Venereal Disease*, sixth edition (1708), pp. 71, 77 and 323; J. Sintelaer, *The Scourge of Venus and Mercury* (1709), pp. 180, 182 and 217.

22 *from Father to Son*: cf. Temple on the effects of luxury in Europe: 'Men began to leave their wilder Lives, spent without other Cares or Pleasures, than of Food, or of Lust; and betook themselves to the Ease and Entertainment of Societies: With Order and Labour, Riches began, and Trade followed; and these made way for Luxury, and that for many Diseases or ill Habits of Body, which, unknown to the former and simpler Ages, began to shorten and weaken both Life and Procreation' (Temple, vol. I, p. 11).

of curing the Sick.²³ And because I had some Skill in the Faculty, I would in Gratitude to his Honour, let him know the whole Mystery²⁴ and Method by which they proceed.

Their Fundamental is, that all Diseases arise from *Repletion*;²⁵ from whence they conclude, that a great *Evacuation*²⁶ of the Body is necessary,

23 *curing the Sick*: although Swift numbered physicians such as John Arbuthnot and Richard Mead among his friends, his correspondence often includes complaints about them: see Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, p. 201; vol. IV, pp. 359–60, 372, 391. He included physicians in the list he gave Pope on 29 September 1725 of the ‘Nations professions and Communities’ he ‘ever hated’ (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. II, p. 606). Note that in Part I, Chapter 1 Gulliver attributes his lack of success as a physician to his refusal to adopt the corrupt practices of his professional colleagues: ‘my Business began to fail; for my Conscience would not suffer me to imitate the bad Practice of too many among my Brethren’ (above, p. 31).

24 *Mystery*: an action or practice about which there is, or is reputed to be, some secrecy; especially a highly skilful or technical operation in a trade or art (*OED*, 10). The pejorative connotation of fraud or malpractice is clear. Temple, in his essay ‘Upon the Cure of the Gout’, was sceptical about the claims of physicians: ‘I had past Twenty Years of my Life, and several Accidents of Danger in my Health, without any use of Physicians; and from some Experiments of my own, as well as much Reading and Thought upon that Subject, had reasoned my self into an Opinion, that the use of them and their Methods (unless in some sudden and acute Disease) was it self a very great venture; and that their greatest Practisers practised least upon themselves, or their Friends. I had ever quarrelled with their studying Art more than Nature, and applying themselves to Methods, rather than to Remedies; whereas the knowledge of the last is all that Nine Parts in Ten of the World have trusted to in all Ages’ (Temple, vol. I, pp. 138–9). Swift himself believed that physicians were prone to claim the credit for cures to which they had not contributed: ‘I have heard a Physician pronounce with great Gravity, that he had cured so many Patients of malignant Fevers, and as many more of the Small-Pox; whereas in truth nine parts in ten of those who recovered, owed their Lives to the Strength of Nature and a good Constitution, while such a one happened to be their Doctor’ (Davis, vol. VIII, pp. 79–80).

25 *Repletion*: the action of eating or drinking to excess; surfeit; the condition of body arising from this; also, a full plethoric condition or habit of body (*OED*, 1). The theory that all diseases arise from repletion originated with Hippocrates: see, in a text available to Swift, C. J. Sprengell, *The Aphorisms of Hippocrates* (1708), pp. 25, 27, 171, 195 and 238. It was, however, a theory widely adopted by a broad range of physicians during the early eighteenth century: see, e.g., W. Jones, *Sure and Certain Methods of Attaining a Long and Healthful Life* (1702), pp. 4, 5, 33 and 71; J. Brown, *Institutions in Physick* (1714), p. 223; Edward Strother, *Euodia* (1718), p. 38; *Medicina Flagellata, or, the Doctor Scariyf’d* (1721), p. 171, ‘all Distempers have their Original from Repletion’; ‘Eugenius Philalethes’ [Harcourt de Longeville], *Long Livers* (1722), p. 117, ‘Repletion, the true Cause of all our Distempers’; George Cheyne, *An Essay of Health and Long Life* (1724), p. 35, ‘Most of all the *chronical* Diseases, the *Infirmities* of old Age, and the *short* Periods of the Lives of *Englishmen*, are owing to *Repletion*’, cf. also pp. 74 and 123; ‘Darby Dawne’ [Edward Baynard], *Health, A Poem*, third edition (1724), p. 5. A sane dissenting voice was that of G. Baglivi, who in *The Practice of Physick* (1704) held that ‘the levelling of the Cure of all Diseases at Repletions, is to my Mind a false Method’ (p. 177).

26 *Evacuation*: the action or process of depleting (the body or any organ), or of clearing out (morbid matter, ‘humours’, etc.), by medicine or other artificial means (*OED*, 1 a). In his essay ‘Of Health and Long Life’, Temple commented: ‘Men are apt to play with their Healths

either through the natural Passage, or upwards at the Mouth.²⁷ Their next Business is, from Herbs, Minerals, Gums, Oyls, Shells, Salts, Juices, Sea-weed, Excrements, Barks of Trees,²⁸ Serpents, Toads, Frogs, Spiders, dead Mens Flesh and Bones, Beasts and Fishes,²⁹ to form a Composition for Smell and Taste the most abominable, nauseous and detestable,³⁰ that they can possibly contrive, which the Stomach immediately rejects with Loathing: And this they call a *Vomit*.³¹ Or else from the same Store-house,

and their Lives, as they do with their Cloaths; which may be the better excused, since both are so transitory, so subject to be spoiled with common use, to be torn by Accidents, and at best to be so soon worn out. Yet the usual Practice of Physick among us runs still the same Course, and turns in a manner wholly upon Evacuation, either by Bleeding, Vomits, or some sorts of Purgation; though it be not often agreed among Physicians in what Cases or what Degrees any of these are necessary; nor among other Men, whether any of them are necessary or no' (Temple, vol. I, p. 283).

- 27 *at the Mouth*: on 6 November 1733 Charles Ford complained to Swift that 'physicians . . . are merciless dogs in purging or vomiting to no purpose, when they don't know what to do', to which Swift replied that 'I agree with your notions of Physick and Physicians' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, pp. 698 and 707).
- 28 *Barks of Trees*: a reference to Peruvian bark, or quinine; in Swift's day also referred to as 'Jesuit's bark' or 'chinchona', after the Countess of Chinchón, wife of the governor of Peru in 1638 (when its anti-malarial properties were discovered by Europeans). On 10 June 1721 Swift wrote to Knightley Chetwode to complain that 'I have been this last fortnight as miserable as a Man can possibly be with an Ague, and after vomiting, swe[a]ting and Jesuits Bark, I got out to Day' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. II, p. 382).
- 29 *Bones, Beasts and Fishes*: cf. the similar imagery in the second *Drapier's Letter*, *A Letter to Mr Harding the Printer*, in which Wood's halfpence are compared to a poisonous medicine: 'What then? If a Physician prescribe to a Patient a *Dram* of Physick, shall a Rascal Apothecary cram him with a *Pound*, and mix it up with *Poyson*?' (Davis, vol. X, p. 15). For examples of such medicines, see Robert Boyle, *Medicinal Experiments*, sixth edition (1718), and John Radcliffe, *Dr Radcliffe's Practical Dispensatory*, fourth edition (1721), which is divided into 'Emeticks', 'Catharticks', 'Glysters', 'Suppositories', 'Diaphoreticks' and 'Diureticks'. Note that Ford's list of errata, his own interleaved copy and the Pierpont Morgan and Taylor interleaved copies, all insert 'Birds' into the list of physicians' ingredients (below, p. 766).
- 30 *abominable, nauseous and detestable*: cf. La Rochefoucauld, maxim 182: 'Les vices entrent dans la composition des vertus, comme les poisons entrent dans la composition des remèdes'; 'Vices are to be found in virtues, just as poisons are to be found in medicines.' Patrick Delany used this imagery to describe the operation of Swift's own satires: 'they are the prescriptions of an able physician, who had, in truth, the health of his patients at heart, but laboured to attain that end, not only by strong emeticks, but also, by all the most nauseous, and offensive drugs, and potions, that could be administred. But yet not without a mixture of the finest ingredients that could possibly be imagined, and contrived, to take off the offence, which the rest so justly gave' (*Observations*, p. 198).
- 31 *a Vomit*: in his 'Of Health and Long Life' Temple was sceptical about the efficacy and even safety of such violent measures: 'Nature knows her own Wants and Times so well, and so easily finds her own Relief that way, as to need little Assistance, and not well to receive the common Violences that are offered her. I remember three in my Life and Observation who were as downright killed with Vomits as they could have been with Daggers; and I can say for my self, upon an Accident very near mortal, when I was young, that sending for the two

with some other poysonous Additions, they command us to take in at the Orifice *above* or *below*, (just as the Physician then happens to be disposed) a Medicine equally annoying and disgusting to the Bowels; which relaxing the Belly, drives down all before it: And this they call a *Purge*, or a *Clyster*.³² For Nature (as the Physicians alledge) having intended the superior anterior Orifice only for the *Intromission*³³ of Solids and Liquids, and the inferior Posterior for Ejection; these Artists ingeniously considering that in all Diseases Nature is forced out of her Seat; therefore to replace her in it, the Body must be treated in a Manner directly contrary,³⁴ by interchanging the Use of each Orifice; forcing Solids and Liquids in at the *Anus*, and making Evacuations at the Mouth.³⁵

But, besides real Diseases, we are subject to many that are only imaginary, for which the Physicians have invented imaginary Cures; these have their several Names, and so have the Drugs that are proper for them; and with these our Female *Yahoos* are always infested.³⁶

One great Excellency in this Tribe is their Skill at *Prognosticks*,³⁷ wherein they seldom fail; their Predictions in real Diseases, when they rise to any

best Physicians of the Town, the first prescribed me a Vomit, and immediately sent it me: I had the Grace or Sense to refuse it till the other came, who told me if I had taken it I could not have lived Half an Hour' (Temple, vol. I, p. 283). Nevertheless, in an attempt to alleviate his giddiness, Swift took 'Vomits and other Medicines prescribed for me by some Physicians who happen to be my Friends', as he told John Blachford on 17 December 1734 (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. IV, p. 27). For examples, see Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. II, pp. 282 and 475; vol. III, pp. 330–1. Pope wrote to Swift on 17 May 1739 that 'a strong Vomit w[oul]d kill me: I have never taken one, nor had a natural Motion that way, in fifteen Years' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. IV, p. 581). Dr John Woodward, Professor of Physic at Gresham College and a frequent target of Swift's satire, was a staunch advocate of vomits (*Scriblerus*, pp. 274–5).

32 *a Clyster*: an enema. On 31 March 1712 Swift wrote to Stella that 'I must purge & clyster after this' (Williams, *JSt*, p. 529).

33 *Intromission*: insertion, introduction (*OED*, 1); but note also its secondary sense of intermeddling, interference (*OED*, 2).

34 *directly contrary*: another Hippocratic principle: '*Contraries are the Remedies of Contraries*' (C. J. Sprengell, *The Aphorisms of Hippocrates* (1708), p. 27).

35 *at the Mouth*: reminiscent of the experiments of Lagado in Part III, Chapter 6; see above, p. 280.

36 *always infested*: for a valuable discussion of early eighteenth-century theories of the powerful operation of the imagination, particularly in women, see Dennis Todd, *Imagining Monsters: Miscreations of the Self in Eighteenth-Century England* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1995), pp. 49–63.

37 *Prognosticks*: the determination of the course and termination of an illness (*OED*). For its currency as a term amongst physicians of Swift's day, see James Hervey, *Presagium Medicum, or the Prognostick Signs of Acute Diseases* (1706); Philip Woodman, *Medicus Novissimus; or, the Modern Physician: Shewing the Principal Signs, Causes, and most Material Prognosticks* (1712).

Degree of Malignity, generally portending *Death*, which is always in their Power,³⁸ when Recovery is not: And therefore, upon any unexpected Signs of Amendment, after they have pronounced their Sentence, rather than be accused as false Prophets, they know how to approve their Sagacity to the World by a seasonable Dose.³⁹

They are likewise of special Use to Husbands and Wives, who are grown weary of their Mates; to eldest Sons, to great Ministers of State, and often to Princes.⁴⁰

Cf. 'Verses on the Death of Dr Swift': 'My good Companions, never fear, / For though you may mistake a Year; / Though your Prognosticks run too fast, / They must be verif'd at last' (Williams, *Poems*, p. 558, lines 143–6). Robert Boyle shared Swift's distaste for prognostics: 'truly, he who struggles long with difficult cases, has a much greater share of my esteem than he who would raise a reputation on the success of his prognostics: it lessens my value even for the great *Hippocrates*, that his talent lay chiefly this way. Who had not much rather have his friend's life preserv'd by powerful remedies, than be told, for certain, the time he shall lose it; or be shewn in the open'd corpse, the cause of his death?' (*Philosophical Works*, vol. I, p. 55). Note Swift's mock-prognostic of the death of Partridge the astrologer (Davis, vol. II, p. 145). The term could also be applied metaphorically to politics, which provides an associative bridge into Swift's final satiric target in this chapter, the character of a Minister of State: cf. Charles Hornby, *A Third Part of the Caveat Against the Whiggs*, second edition (1712), p. 62, 'our Desperate Condition under King *James*, was rather guess'd at by prognostics than proved by diagnosis'.

38 *always in their Power*: cf. 'On Dreams': 'The kind Physician grants the Husband's Prayers, / Or gives Relief to long-expecting Heirs' (Williams, *Poems*, p. 364, lines 27–8). Compare Swift's sardonic comments on the performance of the physician who attended Theophilus Harrison in his letter to Thomas Sheridan of 2 March 1735: 'It proved a spotted fever, which is near as ruinous as a Plague – The Doct^r found no bad symptoms, then, out came the Spots then says the Doctr, He does not *lose ground*, and so on till he *got ground*, which was a Grave' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. IV, p. 270).

39 *a seasonable Dose*: cf. 'Verses on the Death of Dr Swift': 'He'd rather chuse that I should dye, / Than his Prediction prove a Lye' and 'The Doctors tender of their Fame, / Wisely on me lay all the Blame: / "We must confess his Case was nice; / "But he would never take Advice: / "Had he been rul'd, for ought appears, / "He might have live'd these Twenty Years: / "For when we open'd him we found, / "That all his vital Parts were sound' (Williams, *Poems*, pp. 557 and 558–9, lines 131–2 and 169–76). However, Swift had associated physicians with killing rather than curing as early as 1692, when in his 'Ode to Dr. William Sancroft' he had compared the actions of those who meddled with the Church of England to the harmful and self-interested attentions of doctors: 'Religion now does on her death-bed lie, / Heart-sick of a high fever and consuming atrophy; / How the physicians swarm to shew their mortal skill, / And by their college-arts methodically kill: / Reformers and physicians differ but in name, / One end in both, and the design the same; / Cordials are in their talk, whilst all they mean / Is but the patient's death, and gain —' (Williams, *Poems*, p. 42, lines 251–8). Cf. also the account of Laetitia Pilkington saving the life of her father against the advice of physicians (Pilkington, vol. I, pp. 188–91).

40 *often to Princes*: cf. Lord Bathurst to Swift, 29 March 1733: 'I know Phisitians who if you take them out of their Practice are very good sort of men, but was there ever in the world a Consultation of them that tended to any thing else than Robbery & murder?' (Woolley,

I had formerly upon Occasion discoursed with my Master upon the Nature of *Government* in general, and particularly of our own *excellent Constitution*, deservedly the Wonder and Envy of the whole World.⁴¹ But having here accidentally mentioned a *Minister of State*; he commanded me some Time after to inform him, what Species of *Yahoo* I particularly meant by that Appellation.⁴²

I told him, that a *First* or *Chief Minister of State*, whom I intended to describe,⁴³ was a Creature wholly exempt from Joy and Grief, Love and Hatred, Pity and Anger; at least makes use of no other Passions but a violent Desire of Wealth, Power, and Titles.⁴⁴ That he applies his Words

Corr., vol. III, p. 612). Cf. also the deadly course of treatment prescribed by 'Signior Cavallo, an Italian Quack' on the first Mrs Bull (*John Bull*, pp. 14–15).

- 41 *the Wonder and Envy of the whole World*: panegyrics on the British Constitution post-1688 were a staple of Whig political writing: see, e.g., *A Collection of State Tracts* (1705), 'The Preface', 'Tis an antient and true Observation, That the Government of this Kingdom is one of the best in the Universe'; see also, e.g., Thomas Gordon, *Three Political Letters to a Noble Lord* (1721), p. 29, and Anon., *A Noble Peer Vindicated* (1724), p. 39. However, praise of the British Constitution was also a Tory topos, with the distinction that Tories maintained that the events of 1688 had imperilled the constitution rather than securing it. The trial of Henry Sacheverell had revealed the contrasting foundations of Whig and Tory praise of the constitution with particular clarity: see Abel Boyer, *An Essay Towards the History of the Last Ministry and Parliament* (1710), pp. 15–16. In *A Trip to the Moon* (Dublin, 1728), an inhabitant of the moon praises British politics for 'that excellent Constitution, where the interests of the King and the People are so blended, that it is impossible for the one to subsist without the other' (p. 21). For a later example, see Blackstone, *Commentaries*, vol. I, pp. 50–1. It was a durable prejudice. In August 1793 Lord Braxfield, sentencing Thomas Muir to fourteen years' transportation, instructed the jury that no proof was required for the contention that 'the British Constitution is the best that ever was since the creation of the world, and it is not possible to make it better' (quoted in E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1984), p. 136).
- 42 *that Appellation*: cf. 'To Mr. Gay': 'In ev'ry Court the Parallel will hold; / And Kings, like private Folks, are bought and sold: / The ruling Rogue, who dreads to be cashier'd; / Contrives, as he is *hated*, to be *fear'd*: / *Confounds Accounts, perplexes all Affairs*; / For, *Vengeance* more *embroils*, than *Skill repairs*. / So, Robbers (and their Ends are just the same) / 'To 'scape Enquiries, *leave the House in Flame*' (Williams, *Poems*, p. 536, lines 135–42). Cf. also 'The Character of Sir Robert Walpole' (Williams, *Poems*, pp. 539–40).
- 43 *intended to describe*: for the important variant here in 1726, see below, pp. 710–11. Cf. also above, p. 8, for Gulliver's discussion of this in his letter to Sympson, and Ford's letter to Motte of 3 January 1727, which voices the same sentiments (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, p. 66).
- 44 *Power and Titles*: cf. Swift's remark to Gay and Pope in a letter of 23 November 1727: 'A Minister is always seventy' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, p. 141). According to Mandeville, 'When a Covetous Statesman is gone, who spent his whole Life in fat'ning himself with the Spoils of the Nation, and had by pinching and plundering heap'd up an immense Treasure, it ought to fill every good Member of the Society with Joy, to behold the uncommon Profuseness of his Son. This is refunding to the Publick what was robb'd from it' (*Fable of the Bees*, vol. I, pp. 103–4).

to all Uses, except to the Indication of his Mind; That he never tells a *Truth*, but with an Intent that you should take it for a *Lye*; nor a *Lye*, but with a Design that you should take it for a *Truth*; That those he speaks worst of behind their Backs, are in the surest way to Preferment; and whenever he begins to praise you to others or to your self, you are from that Day forlorn.⁴⁵ The worst Mark you can receive is a *Promise*, especially when it is confirmed with an Oath;⁴⁶ after which every wise Man retires, and gives over all Hopes.⁴⁷

There are three Methods by which a Man may rise to be Chief Minister:⁴⁸ The first is, by knowing how with Prudence to dispose of

45 *from that Day forlorn*: lost, or doomed to destruction. Swift assured Pope and Gay on 23 November 1727 that a constant feature of all courts was 'the insincerities of those who would be thought the best Friends' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, p. 141). Sheridan noted that Swift 'had been too conversant with Courts, not to look upon the most favourable appearances there, with distrust' (Sheridan, p. 237). In early life Swift had been disappointed in the promise of a royal prebend (Landa, pp. 4–5).

46 *with an Oath*: cf. *The Examiner* 14 (9 November 1710), in which Swift accuses the Earl of Wharton of enforcing his lies by means of oaths (Davis, vol. III, p. 11).

47 *gives over all Hopes*: on the emptiness of court promises, cf. Swift's comments to Lady Elizabeth Germain in a letter of 8 June 1735 on the letter of Lord Halifax's which he kept 'as a most admirable original of Court promises and professions' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. IV, p. 119). In 1709, when a promise on the part of the Earl of Pembroke concerning the Irish First Fruits had been given but not performed, Swift had marvelled in a letter to Archbishop King of 26 March 1709 at the unreliability of the great: 'It is wonderful, a great Minister should make no Difference, between a Grant, and the Promise of a Grant' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. I, p. 249).

48 *Chief Minister*: the character of a minister is a minor literary genre in the early eighteenth century. For an example, see Anon., *The Art of Governing* (1722), p. 20: 'I am here naturally led to the Character of a Statesman, odious to the People, and hateful to himself. The Character runs thus: He is a Creature train'd up in a Court, and all the Vanities and Luxuries of Life; one by Nature inclin'd to Hypocrisy, and Double-Dealing; one who is cunning and designing, never speaks as he thinks, and never thinks as he acts; one that is proud, haughty, and imperious, dissolute in his Manners, and abandon'd to Honesty; a Stranger to his Friends, and a Friend to Sharpers; one of a narrow Soul, but in Self-Opinion above all Things; and as Power is his Pursuit, who makes every Thing subservient to it.' Compare Swift's own later portrait of the type in 'To Mr Gay' (1731): 'AND first: To make my Observation right, / I place a ST*****AN full before my Sight. / A bloated M—r in all his Geer, / With shameless Visage, and perfidious Leer, / Two Rows of Teeth arm each devouring Jaw; / And, Ostrich-like, his all-digesting Maw. / My Fancy drags this Monster to my View, / To show the World his chief Reverse in you. / Of loud unmeaning Sounds, a rapid Flood / Rolls from his Mouth in plenteous Streams of Mud; / With these, the Court and Senate-house he plies, / Made up of Noise, and Impudence, and Lies' (Williams, *Poems*, p. 532, lines 31–42). Cf. also 'The Beasts Confession' (Williams, *Poems*, pp. 605–7, lines 141–86) and 'On Poetry: A Rapsody' (Williams, *Poems*, p. 656, lines 441–64).

a Wife, a Daughter, or a Sister: The second, by betraying or undermining his Predecessor: And the third is, by a *furious Zeal* in publick Assemblies against the Corruptions of the Court. But a wise Prince would rather chuse to employ those who practise the last of these Methods; because such Zealots prove always the most obsequious and subservient to the Will and Passions of their Master. That, these *Ministers* having all Employments at their Disposal, preserve themselves in Power by bribing the Majority of a Senate or great Council; and at last by an Expedient called an *Act of Indemnity*⁴⁹ (whereof I described the Nature to him) they secure themselves from After-reckonings, and retire from the Publick, laden with the Spoils of the Nation.⁵⁰

The Palace of a *Chief Minister*, is a Seminary to breed up others in his own Trade: The Pages, Lacquies, and Porter,⁵¹ by imitating their Master, become *Ministers of State* in their several Districts, and learn to excel in the three principal *Ingredients*, of *Insolence*, *Lying*, and *Bribery*. Accordingly, they have a *Subaltern* Court paid to them by Persons of the best Rank; and sometimes by the Force of Dexterity and Impudence, arrive through several Gradations to be Successors to their Lord.

49 *Act of Indemnity*: an act of Parliament or other authority granting exemption from the penalties attaching to any unconstitutional or illegal proceeding (*OED*, 2 b); the most pertinent example being the Act of Indemnity and Oblivion of 1660, which pardoned all but a few of those who had engaged on the Parliamentary side during the Civil War and had served the several governments of the interregnum. In *The Examiner* 38 (26 April 1711) Swift wrote against the 1708 Act of Indemnity which protected Whig ministers from prosecution: 'we cannot refuse the late Ministry their due Praises; who foreseeing a Storm, provided for their own Safety by two admirable Expedients, by which, with great Prudence, they have escaped the Punishments due to pernicious Councils and corrupt Management. The first, was to procure, under Pretences hardly specious, a general Act of Indemnity, which cuts off all Impeachments' (Davis, vol. III, pp. 139–40).

50 *Spoils of the Nation*: cf. Swift's comments to William Pulteney in a letter of 12 May 1735, in which he puzzles over the motivation of a rapacious chief minister: 'But let me suppose a chief minister, from a scanty fortune, almost eaten up with debts, acquiring by all methods a monstrous overgrown estate, why he will still go on to endeavour making his master absolute, and thereby in the power of seizing all his possessions at his pleasure, and hanging or banishing him into the bargain. Therefore, if I were such a minister, I would act like a prudent gamester, and cut, as the sharper calls it, before luck began to change' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. IV, p. 107).

51 *Pages, Lacquies, and Porter*: in *Three Hours After Marriage* Fossile bemoans the fact that his wife's footman is 'as mercenary as the Porter of a First Minister' (II.2; Gay, *Dramatic Works*, vol. I, p. 229).

He is usually governed by a decayed Wench, or favourite Footman, who are the Tunnels through which all Graces are conveyed, and may properly be called, *in the last Resort*,⁵² the Governors of the Kingdom.

One Day, my Master, having heard me mention the *Nobility* of my Country, was pleased to make me a Compliment which I could not pretend to deserve: That, he was sure, I must have been born of some Noble Family, because I far exceeded in Shape, Colour, and Cleanliness, all the *Yahoos* of his Nation, although I seemed to fail in Strength, and Agility, which must be imputed to my different Way of Living from those other Brutes; and besides, I was not only endowed with the Faculty of Speech, but likewise with some Rudiments of Reason, to a Degree, that with all his Acquaintance I passed for a Prodigy.

He made me observe, that among the *Houyhnhnms*, the *White*, the *Sorrel*, and the *Iron-grey*, were not so exactly shaped as the *Bay*, the *Dapple grey*, and the *Black*; nor born with equal Talents of Mind, or a Capacity to improve them; and therefore continued always in the Condition of Servants, without ever aspiring to match out of their own Race, which in that Country would be reckoned monstrous and unnatural.⁵³

I made his Honour my most humble Acknowledgements for the good Opinion he was pleased to conceive of me; but assured him at the same Time, that my Birth was of the lower Sort, having been born of plain, honest Parents, who were just able to give me a tolerable Education:⁵⁴ That, *Nobility* among us was altogether a different Thing from the Idea he had of it;⁵⁵ That, our young *Noblemen* are bred from their Childhood

52 *in the last Resort*: a judge or court from which there is no appeal; hence, a supreme court (*OED*, 'resort', 2 c). For a lofty statement of the status of the House of Lords as 'the *High-Court of Judicature* of the Nation', cf. [Lord Somers?], *The Judgment of Whole Kingdoms and Nations* (1710), p. 8. William Blackstone would later describe the English nobility as 'arbiters of the property of all their fellow-subjects, and that in the last resort' (Blackstone, *Commentaries*, vol. I, p. 11).

53 *monstrous and unnatural*: the hierarchy of colours amongst the *Houyhnhnms* matches early eighteenth-century ideas of their comparative merits: see Richard Nash, 'Of Sorrels, Bays, and Dapple Greys', *SStud*, 15 (2000), 110–15.

54 *a tolerable Education*: for Gulliver's education, see above, pp. 29–30.

55 *the Idea he had of it*: cf. Swift's comments on the natural degeneration of aristocracy in a letter to Charles Ford of 8 December 1719 concerning the Peerage Bill: 'I remember to have agreed many years ago with some very great men, who thought a Bill for limiting the Prerogative in making Peers would mend the Constitution, but as much as I know of this it was wholly naught, and there is one invincible obvious Argum[en]t which Steel lightly touches; That

in Idleness and Luxury;⁵⁶ that, as soon as Years will permit, they consume their Vigour, and contract odious Diseases among lewd Females; and when their Fortunes are almost ruined, they marry some Woman of mean Birth, disagreeable Person, and unsound Constitution, merely for the sake of Money, whom they hate and despise. That, the Productions of such Marriages are generally scrophulous, rickety or deformed Children;⁵⁷ by which Means the Family seldom continues above three Generations, unless the Wife take Care to provide a healthy Father among her Neighbours, or Domesticks, in order to improve and continue the Breed. That, a weak diseased Body, a meager Countenance, and sallow Complexion, are the true Marks of *noble Blood*; and a healthy robust Appearance is so disgraceful in a Man of Quality, that the World concludes his real Father to have been a Groom or a Coachman.⁵⁸ The Imperfections of his Mind run parallel with those of his Body; being a Composition of Spleen, Dulness, Ignorance, Caprice, Sensuality and Pride.

the Lords degenerate by Luxury Idleness &c and the Crown is always forced to govern by new Men. I think Titles should fall with Estates' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. II, pp. 310–11).

56 *Idleness and Luxury*: for comments in Swift's correspondence concerning the corruption of nobility by luxury, see Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, pp. 296 and 747; vol. IV, p. 235. It is a frequent topic in *The Intelligencer*, in which Swift bemoans 'so many great Families coming to an End by the Sloth, Luxury, and abandoned Lusts, which enervated their Breed through every Succession, producing gradually a more effeminate Race, wholly unfit for Propagation' (Davis, vol. XII, p. 53; cf. also p. 48).

57 *rickety or deformed Children*: cf. the vision of the decay of noble houses in Part III, Chapter 8 (above, pp. 297–98). In *An Argument Against Abolishing Christianity* (1708) Swift had deplored the 'scrophulous consumptive Productions furnished by our Men of Wit and Pleasure', in the context of silyly praising the clergy, kept healthy by 'a low Diet, and moderate Exercise', as the 'great Restorers of our Breed' (Davis, vol. II, pp. 30–1). In *A Vindication of his Excellency John, Lord Carteret* (1730), Swift would note that 'the Heirs to Titles and large Estates, have a Weakness in their Eyes, a Tenderness in their Constitutions; are not able to bear the Pain and Indignity of whipping' (Davis, vol. XII, p. 161). Cf. also Howard, *Sermon* (1721), p. 18.

58 *a Groom or a Coachman*: note the innuendo in the conclusion to *The Humble Petition of the Footmen in and about the City of Dublin*, who argue that their 'Honourable Calling' has been brought into disrepute 'with a *seditious* Design, to render us less capable of serving the *Publick* in any great Employments, as several of our *Fraternity*, as well as our *Ancestors* have done' (Davis, vol. XII, pp. 236–7). Cf. also Gulliver's vision of base interpolations into noble lineages in Part III, Chapter 8: 'I saw such an Interruption of Lineages by Pages, Lacqueys, Valets, Coachmen, Gamesters, Fiddlers, Players, Captains, and Pick-pockets' (above, p. 298). There are Defoeian parallels: cf. *The True-Born Englishman*, lines 312–17 (Defoe, *Selected Writings*, p. 63) and *Jure Divino* (1706), IX.21–8, p. 194. Cf. also *Fable of the Bees*, p. 221.

Without the Consent of this illustrious Body, no Law can be enacted, repealed, or altered:⁵⁹ And these Nobles have likewise the Decision of all our Possessions without Appeal.⁶⁰

59 *repealed, or altered*: cf. Swift's reproach to William Graham in a letter of 26 April 1737 for his neglect of what is due from those 'who have a Vote in making Laws, or sitting at a Council Board' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. IV, p. 427).

60 *without Appeal*: cf. Gulliver's Whiggish eulogy of the House of Lords in Part II, Chapter 6 (above, pp. 180–81).

CHAPTER VII.

The Author's great Love of his Native Country. His Master's Observations upon the Constitution and Administration of England, as described by the Author, with parallel Cases and Comparisons. His Master's Observations upon human Nature.

The Reader may be disposed to wonder how I could prevail on my self to give so free a Representation of my own Species, among a Race of Mortals who were already too apt to conceive the vilest Opinion of Human Kind, from that entire Congruity betwixt me and their *Yahoos*. But I must freely confess, that the many Virtues of those excellent *Quadrupeds* placed in opposite View to human Corruptions, had so far opened mine Eyes, and enlarged my Understanding, that I began to view the Actions and Passions of Man in a very different Light; and to think the Honour of my own Kind not worth managing; which, besides, it was impossible for me to do before a Person of so acute a Judgment as my Master, who daily convinced me of a thousand Faults in my self, whereof I had not the least Perception before, and which with us would never be numbered even among human Infirmities. I had likewise learned from his Example an utter Detestation of all Falsehood or Disguise; and *Truth* appeared so amiable¹ to me, that I determined upon sacrificing every thing to it.

Let me deal so candidly with the Reader, as to confess, that there was yet a much stronger Motive for the Freedom I took in my Representation of Things. I had not been a Year in this Country, before I contracted such a Love and Veneration for the Inhabitants, that I entered on a firm Resolution never to return to human Kind, but to pass the rest of my Life among these admirable *Houyhnhnms* in the Contemplation and Practice of every Virtue; where I could have no Example or Incitement to Vice. But

1 *Truth appeared so amiable*: cf. the saying traditionally attributed to Aristotle, 'Amicus Plato, sed magis amica veritas'; 'Plato is my friend, but truth is more my friend'. Like Aristotle, Gulliver is now willing to place allegiance to truth above more merely personal attachments.

it was decreed by Fortune, my perpetual Enemy,² that so great a Felicity should not fall to my Share. However, it is now some Comfort to reflect, that in what I said of my Countrymen, I *extenuated* their Faults as much as I durst before so strict an Examiner; and upon every Article, gave as *favourable* a Turn as the Matter would bear. For, indeed, who is there alive that will not be swayed by his Byass and Partiality to the Place of his Birth?³

I have related the Substance of several Conversations I had with my Master, during the greatest Part of the Time I had the Honour to be in his Service; but have indeed for Brevity sake omitted much more than is here set down.

When I had answered all his Questions, and his Curiosity seemed to be fully satisfied; he sent for me one Morning early, and commanding me to sit down at some Distance, (an Honour which he had never before conferred upon me) He said, he had been very seriously considering my whole Story, as far as it related both to my self and my Country:⁴ That, he looked upon us as a Sort of Animals to whose Share, by what Accident he could not conjecture, some small Pittance of *Reason* had fallen, whereof we made no other Use than by its Assistance to aggravate our *natural* Corruptions, and to acquire new ones which Nature had not given us. That, we disarmed our selves of the few Abilities she had bestowed; had been very successful in multiplying our original Wants, and seemed to spend our whole Lives in vain Endeavours to supply them by our own Inventions. That, as to my self, it was manifest I had neither the Strength or Agility of a common *Yahoo*; that I walked infirmly on my hinder Feet; had found out a Contrivance to

2 *Fortune, my perpetual Enemy*: proverbial: cf. Ambrose Philips, *The Distrest Mother* (1712), p. 27; [John Toland tr.], *Spaccio della Bestia Trionfante* (1713), p. 18.

3 *Byass and Partiality to the Place of his Birth*: Swift seems to have been free of this particular bias: 'As to my Native Country, (as you call it) I happened indeed by a perfect Accident to be born here, my Mother being left here from returning to her House at Leicester, and I was a year old before I was sent to England; and thus I am a Teague, [or] an Irishman, or what People please, although the best Part of my Life was in England' (Swift to Francis Grant, 23 March 1734; Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, p. 730).

4 *my self and my Country*: as he had done with the King of Brobdingnag in Part II, Chapter 6 (above, pp. 182–89), Swift here casts Gulliver's Houyhnhnm master in the role of the wise foreigner who speaks the dispassionate truth about Christian Europe. For earlier examples, see the comments of the Sultan of Cairo in *Mandeville's Travels*, ed. M. C. Seymour (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), pp. 100–1 and Montesquieu's *Lettres Persanes* (1721). Later eighteenth-century examples include Oliver Goldsmith's *Citizen of the World* (1762; first published in serial form, 1760–1).

make my Claws of no Use or Defence, and to remove the Hair from my Chin, which was intended as a Shelter from the Sun and the Weather.⁵ Lastly, That I could neither run with Speed, nor climb Trees like my *Brethren* (as he called them) the *Yahoos* in this Country.

That, our Institutions of *Government* and *Law* were plainly owing to our gross Defects in *Reason*, and by consequence, in *Virtue*; because *Reason* alone is sufficient to govern a *Rational* Creature;⁶ which was therefore a Character we had no Pretence to challenge,⁷ even from the Account I had given of my own People; although he manifestly perceived, that in order to favour them, I had concealed many Particulars, and often *said the Thing which was not*.

He was the more confirmed in this Opinion, because he observed, that as I agreed in every Feature of my Body with other *Yahoos*, except where it was to my real Disadvantage in point of Strength, Speed and Activity, the Shortness of my Claws, and some other Particulars where Nature had no Part; so, from the Representation I had given him of our Lives, our Manners, and our Actions, he found as near a Resemblance in the Disposition of our Minds.⁸ He said, the *Yahoos* were known to hate one another more than they did any different Species of Animals; and the Reason usually assigned, was, the Odiousness of their own Shapes, which

5 *Shelter from the Sun and the Weather*: cf. *The Most Wonderful Wonder That Ever Appear'd to the Wonder of the British Nation* (1726), 'Written by the Copper-Farthing Dean', in which a bear comments as follows on the inherent weakness of man: 'I find he is but a very silly Animal. Let him consult Experience (for Reason I suppose he has none) and see which has most Claim to Superiority, the Two-leg'd or the Four-leg'd Beast. Turn a Man loose to me, to a Tyger, or a Lyon, and let him shew his Excellence. He seems to me the most imperfect Piece of the Creation; for the Sun has given him neither Hair to cover him, nor Teeth nor Claws to defend him' (p. 8). For earlier comments on the imbecility of men, see Part II, Chapter 7 (above, p. 198), and Part IV, Chapters 4 and 5 (above, pp. 357–58 and 365–66).

6 *Rational Creature*: see Long note 34.

7 *Pretence to challenge*: assert one's title to, lay claim to (*OED*, 5).

8 *in the Disposition of our Minds*: cf. Pufendorf's account of man in a state of nature in *De Officio Hominis*: 'Many other passions and desires are found in the human race unknown to the beasts, as, greed for unnecessary possessions, avarice, desire of glory and of surpassing others, envy, rivalry and intellectual strife . . . There is moreover in many men a kind of extraordinary petulance, a passion for insulting others, at which others cannot fail to be offended and to gird themselves to resist' (I.iii.4); '[man in the state of nature is] a naked dumb animal, without resources, seeking to satisfy his hunger with roots and grasses and his thirst with whatever water he can find, to shelter himself from the inclemencies of the weather in caves, at the mercy of wild beasts, fearful of every chance encounter' (II.i.9). The remainder of this chapter is a translation into the idiom of the Houyhnhnms, and an application to the Yahoos, of what Gulliver has told his Master about European humans.

all could see in the rest, but not in themselves.⁹ He had therefore begun to think it not unwise in us to *cover* our Bodies, and by that Invention, conceal many of our Deformities from each other, which would else be hardly supportable. But, he now found he had been mistaken; and that the Dissentions of those Brutes in his Country were owing to the same Cause with ours, as I had described them. For, if (said he) you throw among five *Yahoos* as much Food as would be sufficient for fifty, they will, instead of eating peaceably, fall together by the Ears, each single one impatient to *have all to it self*; and therefore a Servant was usually employed to stand by while they were feeding abroad, and those kept at home were tied at a Distance from each other. That, if a Cow died of Age or Accident, before a *Houyhnhnm* could secure it for his own *Yahoos*, those in the Neighbourhood would come in Herds to seize it,¹⁰ and then would ensue such a Battle as I had described, with terrible Wounds made by their Claws on both Sides, although they seldom were able to kill one another, for want of such convenient Instruments of Death as we had invented. At other Times the like Battles have been fought between the *Yahoos* of several Neighbourhoods without any visible Cause: Those of one District watching all Opportunities to surprise the next before they are prepared. But if they find their Project hath miscarried, they return home, and for want of Enemies, engage in what I call a *Civil War* among themselves.

9 *but not in themselves*: cf. Swift's famous definition of satire, in 'The Preface of the Author' to *The Battle of the Books*, as 'a sort of Glass, wherein Beholders do generally discover every body's Face but their Own' (*CWJS*, vol. I, p. 142; Davis, vol. I, p. 140).

10 *come in Herds to seize it*: cf. Swift's description of the degradation of the savage Irish: 'I could heartily wish some public thoughts were employed to reduce this uncultivated people from that idle, savage, beastly, thievish manner of life, in which they continue sunk to a degree, that it is almost impossible for a country gentleman to find a servant of human capacity, or the least tincture of natural honesty; or who does not live among his own tenants in continual fear of having his plantations destroyed, his cattle stolen, and his goods pilfered' (Davis, vol. XII, p. 89). In June 1721 Bishop Nicolson had described how the native Irish had scavenged the carcass of one of his horses: 'One of my coach-horses, by accident, was killed in a field within view of my house. Before the skin could be taken off, my servants were surrounded with fifty or sixty of the neighbouring cottagers, who brought axes and cleavers, and immediately divided the carcase, every man carrying home his proper dividend, for food to their respective families' (Ehrenpreis, vol. III, pp. 117–18); compare the proposed treatment of the cadaver of Gulliver by the Lilliputians (above, p. 102). A Dublin pamphlet of 1729, the Swift-inspired *A Letter to the People of Ireland*. By M. B. Draper, described the plight of the Irish poor in terms which recall the *Yahoos*: 'Such is the Misery of these poor Creatures . . . [that] if they happen to hear of the Death of a Horse, they run to it as to a Feast, and often quarrel for the just partition of their Booty' (p. 4).

That, in some Fields of his Country, there are certain *shining Stones* of several Colours, whereof the *Yahoos* are violently fond;¹¹ and when Part of these *Stones* are fixed in the Earth, as it sometimes happeneth, they will dig with their Claws for whole Days to get them out, and carry them away, and hide them by Heaps in their Kennels; but still looking round with great Caution, for fear their Comrades should find out their Treasure. My Master said, he could never discover the Reason of this unnatural Appetite, or how these *Stones* could be of any Use to a *Yahoo*; but now he believed it might proceed from the same Principle of *Avarice*, which I had ascribed to Mankind. That he had once, by way of Experiment, privately removed a Heap of these *Stones* from the Place where one of his *Yahoos* had buried it:¹² Whereupon, the sordid¹³ Animal missing his Treasure, by his loud lamenting brought the whole Herd to the Place, there miserably howled, then fell to biting and tearing the rest; began to pine away, would neither eat nor sleep, nor work, till he ordered a Servant privately to convey the *Stones* into the same Hole, and hide them as before; which when his *Yahoo* had found, he presently recovered his Spirits and good Humour; but took Care to remove them to a better hiding Place; and hath ever since been a very serviceable Brute.¹⁴

My Master farther assured me, which I also observed my self; That in the Fields where these *shining Stones* abound, the fiercest and most frequent

11 *violently fond*: cf. the Utopians' indifference towards precious stones, which they use as baubles for children until even they become tired of them (*Utopia*, pp. 61 and 63); cf. also Voltaire, *Candide* (1759), Chapters 17 and 18, where jewels are disregarded in Eldorado. European travellers reported savages collecting coloured stones: e.g. *John Huyghen Van Linschoten. His discours of Voyages into ye Easte and West Indies* (1598), p. 222; cf. Higgins, 'Hints'. In a letter of [1]7 November 1726 Swift teased Mrs Howard that she was 'a mercenary Yahoo fond of shining Pebbles' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, p. 54).

12 *had buried it*: cf. the young Jack in Defoe's *Colonel Jack* (1722), who, when he fears that he has lost some money that he has carefully hidden, is bitterly distressed: 'I cry'd, nay, I roar'd out, I was in such a Passion, then I got down the Tree again, then up again, and thrust in my Hand again till I scratch'd my Arm and made it bleed, and cry'd all the while most violently'; and is wildly overjoyed when he discovers that after all it has not been stolen: 'I hollow'd quite out aloud, when I saw it; then I run to it, and snatch'd it up, hug'd and kiss'd the dirty Ragg a hundred Times; then danc'd and jump'd about, run from one End of the Field to the other' (Defoe, *Colonel Jack*, pp. 25 and 26).

13 *sordid*: dirty or sluttish in habits or appearance (*OED*, 3 a); but with also the etymological meaning from the Latin *sordidus*, meaning miserly or avaricious.

14 *very serviceable Brute*: in *Utopia* Hythloday shakes his head over the irrationality of those who bury their gold in the ground: 'when you've hidden your treasure away, you are overjoyed, as if your mind were now at ease' (*Utopia*, p. 70).

Battles are fought, occasioned by perpetual Inroads of the neighbouring *Yahoos*.

He said, it was common when two *Yahoos* discovered such a *Stone* in a Field, and were contending which of them should be the Proprietor, a third would take the Advantage, and carry it away from them both; which my Master would needs contend to have some Resemblance with our *Suits at Law*; wherein I thought it for our Credit not to undeceive him; since the Decision he mentioned was much more equitable than many Decrees among us: Because the Plaintiff and Defendant there lost nothing beside the *Stone* they contended for; whereas our *Courts of Equity*,¹⁵ would never have dismissed the Cause while either of them had any thing left.

My Master continuing his Discourse, said, There was nothing that rendered the *Yahoos* more odious, than their undistinguishing Appetite¹⁶ to devour every thing that came in their Way, whether Herbs, Roots, Berries, corrupted Flesh of Animals, or all mingled together: And it was peculiar in their Temper, that they were fonder of what they could get by Rapine or Stealth at a greater Distance, than much better Food provided for them at home. If their Prey held out, they would eat till they were ready to burst, after which Nature had pointed out to them a certain *Root* that gave them a general Evacuation.

There was also another Kind of *Root* very juicy, but something rare and difficult to be found, which the *Yahoos* sought for with much Eagerness, and would suck it with great Delight: It produced the same Effects that Wine hath upon us. It would make them sometimes hug, and sometimes tear one another; they would howl and grin, and chatter, and roul, and tumble, and then fall asleep in the Mud.

I did indeed observe, that the *Yahoos* were the only Animals in this Country subject to any Diseases; which however, were much fewer than Horses have among us, and contracted not by any ill Treatment they meet with, but by the Nastiness and Greediness of that sordid Brute. Neither has

¹⁵ *Courts of Equity*: see above, p. 370, n. 42.

¹⁶ *undistinguishing Appetite*: in contemporary travel literature a characteristic of savage peoples: cf., e.g., the 'ancient Spaniards . . . [who were] more like Wild-Beasts than Men' and whose diet was 'much in Quantity, but not nice' (*Atlas Geographus: or, A Compleat System of Geography*, six volumes [1711–17], vol. II, p. 1215). In Mandeville's *The Fable of the Bees*, Remark 'P', the Lion informs the Merchant of the violence of a beast's appetite: 'Oft have I tried with Roots and Herbs to allay the Violence of it, but in vain; nothing but large Quantities of Flesh can in any ways appease it' (*Fable of the Bees*, vol. I, p. 179).

their Language¹⁷ any more than a general Appellation for those Maladies; which is borrowed from the Name of the Beast, and called *Hnea Yahoo*, or the *Yahoo's-Evil*; and the Cure prescribed is a Mixture of *their own Dung* and *Urine*, forcibly put down the *Yahoo's* Throat.¹⁸ This I have since often known to have been taken with Success: And do here freely recommend it to my Countrymen, for the publick Good,¹⁹ as an admirable Specifick against all Diseases produced by Repletion.

As to Learning, Government, Arts, Manufactures, and the like; my Master confessed he could find little or no Resemblance between the *Yahoos* of that Country and those in ours. For, he only meant to observe what Parity there was in our Natures. He had heard indeed some curious *Houyhnhnms* observe, that in most Herds²⁰ there was a Sort of ruling *Yahoo*, (as among us there is generally some leading or principal Stag in a Park) who was always more *deformed* in Body, and *mischievous* in *Disposition*, than any of the rest. That, this *Leader* had usually a Favourite as *like himself* as he could get, whose Employment was to *lick his Master's Feet and Posteriors*, and *drive the Female Yahoos to his Kennel*, for which he was now and then rewarded with a Piece of Ass's Flesh. This *Favourite* is hated by the whole Herd; and therefore to protect himself, keeps always *near the Person of his Leader*.²¹ He usually continues in Office till a worse can be found; but the

17 *their Language*: i.e. the language of the *Houyhnhnms*.

18 *the Yahoo's Throat*: cf. above, pp. 376–81, for Swift's satire on the nauseous practices and medicines of European physicians. This Yahoo medicine, however, can also be viewed as a metaphor for the composition and operation of Swift's own satire. James II's Catholic chaplain, Father Petre, had notoriously said in relation to the Second Declaration of Indulgence (April, 1688), which provoked the resistance of the seven bishops to the religious policy of the Crown and so paved the way for the Glorious Revolution of 1688, that '*the Church of England shall be made to eat its own Dung*' (Gilbert Burnet, *A Censure of M. de Meaux's History of the Variations of the Protestant Churches* (1688), in *A Second Collection of Several Tracts and Discourses* (1689), p. 57).

19 *for the publick Good*: cf. above, p. 10 and Long note 6.

20 *in most Herds*: cf. 'The Life and Character of Dr Swift': "Supposing these Reflections just; / 'We shou'd indulge the *Dean's* disgust, / 'Who saw this *Faction's* Tribe caress'd, / 'And *Lovers* of the *Church* distress'd —: / 'The *Patrons* of the *good old Cause*, / 'In *Senates* sit, at making Laws; / 'The most *malignant* of the *Herd*, / 'In surest way to be prefer'd —; / 'And *Preachers*, find the better *quarter*, / For railing at the *Royal Martyr*' (Williams, *Poems*, p. 549, lines 158–67). Cf. also the note on 'herd' in the annotation to Gulliver's letter to Sympson (above, p. 9, n. 25).

21 *near the Person of his Leader*: on the deliberate aloofness of a minister, see Swift's directions to the porter in *Directions to Servants* (1745): 'If your Master be a Minister of State, let him be at Home to none but his Pimp, or Chief Flatterer, or one of his Pensionary Writers, or his

very Moment he is discarded, his Successor, at the Head of all the *Yahoos* in that District, Young and Old, Male and Female, come in a Body, and discharge their Excrements upon him from Head to Foot.²² But how far this might be applicable to our *Courts* and *Favourite*s, and *Ministers of State*, my Master said I could best determine.

I durst make no Return to this malicious Insinuation, which debased human Understanding below the Sagacity²³ of a common *Hound*, who hath Judgment enough to distinguish and follow the Cry²⁴ of the *ablest Dog in the Pack*, without being ever mistaken.²⁵

My Master told me, there were some Qualities remarkable in the *Yahoos*, which he had not observed me to mention, or at least very slightly, in the Accounts I had given him of human Kind. He said, those Animals, like other Brutes, had their Females in common;²⁶ but in this they differed, that the She-*Yahoo* would admit the Male, while she was pregnant;²⁷ and that the Hees would quarrel and fight with the Females as fiercely as with

hired Spy, and Informer, or his Printer in ordinary, or his City Solicitor, or a Land-Jobber, or his Inventor of new Funds, or a Stock-Jobber' (Davis, vol. XIII, p. 52).

22 *from Head to Foot*: cf. the general opinion in Laputa, that 'the Office of a Favourite hath a very uncertain Tenure' (Part II, Chapter 3, above, p. 246).

23 *Sagacity*: here meaning both acuity of sense of smell (*OED*, 1) and acuity of judgement (*OED*, 2); cf. above, p. 204, n. 11.

24 *follow the Cry*: cf. *Othello*, II.iii.354–5: 'I do follow here in the chase, not like a hound that hunts, but one that fills up the cry.' In Charles Davenant's *The True Picture of a Modern Whig*, second edition (1701), the 'pretended Neuters' are claimed by the Tory Mr Double to be 'the Tools and Engines with which we work; they are the full-mouth'd Hounds that help to make up the Cry' (pp. 35–6). In his *A Letter to Sir William Windham* (1753), Bolingbroke reminded Windham of the nature of the Commons: 'You know the nature of that assembly: they grow, like hounds, fond of the man who shews them game, and by whose halloo they are used to be encouraged' (p. 33).

25 *without being ever mistaken*: cf. *The Most Wonderful Wonder That Ever Appear'd to the Wonder of the British Nation* (1726), 'Written by the Copper-Farthing Dean', in which the Bear observes that 'one Man I see is follow'd and attended by a Number of others who obey his Orders. Is that Man stronger or wiser than than his Fellow Beasts, that he has so many Jackals about him?', to which the Boy replies, 'Not at all: 'Tis very probable he is the weakest of the Pack' (p. 10).

26 *Females in common*: community of women is a feature of savage nations in contemporary travel literature, but also a feature of utopian societies: Plutarch, 'Lycurgus', XV.6–8 and Plato, *Republic*, V.vii, 457 C–D. In *Utopia* More specifies community of children and goods, but stops short of community of women (*Utopia*, pp. 54–5).

27 *while she was pregnant*: sexual intercourse during pregnancy was discouraged in early eighteenth-century sexual manuals: see, e.g., *Aristotle's Compleat Master-Piece*, eleventh edition (1715?), p. 55; *Aristotle's Compleat and Experienc'd Midwife*, second edition (1711), p. 31.

each other. Both which Practices were such Degrees of infamous Brutality, that no other sensitive²⁸ Creature ever arrived at.

Another Thing he wondered at in the *Yahoos*, was their strange Disposition to Nastiness and Dirt; whereas there appears to be a natural Love of Cleanliness in all other Animals. As to the two former Accusations, I was glad to let them pass without any Reply, because I had not a Word to offer upon them in Defence of my Species, which otherwise I certainly had done from my own Inclinations. But I could have easily vindicated human Kind from the Imputation of Singularity upon the last Article, if there had been any *Swine* in that Country, (as unluckily for me there were not) which although it may be a *sweeter Quadruped* than a *Yahoo*, cannot I humbly conceive in Justice pretend to more Cleanliness; and so his Honour himself must have owned, if he had seen their filthy Way of feeding,²⁹ and their Custom of wallowing and sleeping in the Mud.

My Master likewise mentioned another Quality, which his Servants had discovered in several *Yahoos*, and to him was wholly unaccountable. He said, a Fancy would sometimes take a *Yahoo*, to retire into a Corner, to lie down and howl, and groan, and spurn away all that came near him, although he were young and fat, and wanted neither Food nor Water; nor did the Servants imagine what could possibly ail him. And the only Remedy they found was to set him to hard Work, after which he would infallibly come to himself. To this I was silent out of Partiality to my own Kind; yet here I could plainly discover the true Seeds of *Spleen*,³⁰ which only seizeth on the *Lazy*, the *Luxurious*, and the *Rich*; who, if

28 *sensitive*: having sense or perception, but not reason (*OED*, 2).

29 *their filthy Way of feeding*: cf. Pope, 'Epilogue to the Satires: Dialogue II': 'Let Courtly Wits to Wits afford supply, / As Hog to Hog in Huts of *Westphaly*; / If one, thro' Nature's Bounty or his Lord's, / Has what the frugal, dirty soil affords, / From him the next receives it, thick or thin, / As pure a Mess almost as it came in; / The blessed Benefit, not there confin'd, / Drops to the third who nuzzles close behind; / From tail to mouth, they feed, and they carouse; / The last, full fairly gives it to the *House*' (*TE*, vol. IV, p. 323, lines 171–80). For a later eighteenth-century satiric comparison between men and swine, see Edward Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Chapter 9, n. 11 (*Decline and Fall*, vol. I, p. 233).

30 *Spleen*: at this time a fashionable complaint, of which the symptoms were excessive dejection or depression of spirits; gloominess and irritability; moroseness; melancholia (*OED*, 7 c, citing this passage). Sir Richard Blackmore had published *A Treatise of the Spleen and Vapours* in 1725. Swift maintained that he was not naturally prone to spleen (Williams, *JSt*, p. 303); but note Hazlitt's judgement on Swift, that 'His better genius was his spleen' (*Lectures on English Poets*, Lecture 6, in Hazlitt, *Complete Works*, vol. V, p. 112).

they were forced to undergo the *same Regimen*, I would undertake for the Cure.

His Honour had farther observed, that a Female-Yahoo would often stand behind a Bank or a Bush, to gaze on the young Males passing by, and then appear, and hide, using many antick Gestures and Grimaces; at which time it was observed, that she had a most *offensive Smell*; and when any of the Males advanced, would slowly retire,³¹ looking often back, and with a counterfeit Shew of Fear, run off into some convenient Place where she knew the Male would follow her.³²

At other times, if a Female Stranger came among them, three or four of her own Sex would get about her, and stare and chatter, and grin, and smell her all over; and then turn off with Gestures that seemed to express Contempt and Disdain.

Perhaps my Master might refine a little in these Speculations, which he had drawn from what he observed himself, or had been told him by others: However, I could not reflect without some Amazement, and much Sorrow, that the Rudiments of *Lewdness*, *Coquetry*, *Censure*, and *Scandal*, should have Place by Instinct in Womankind.

I expected every Moment, that my Master would accuse the *Yahoos* of those unnatural Appetites in both Sexes, so common among us.³³ But Nature it seems hath not been so expert a School-mistress; and these politer Pleasures are entirely the Productions of Art and Reason, on our Side of the Globe.³⁴

31 *slowly retire*: cf. *Hudibras*, III.iii, 'Hudibras to his Lady', lines 173–6: 'You wound, like Parthians, while you fly, / And kill, with a *Retreating Eye*, / Retire the more, the more we press, / To draw us into Ambushes.' The behaviour of the female Yahoo is a parodic inversion of the 'coy submission' and 'sweet reluctant amorous delay' of Milton's pre-lapsarian Eve (*Paradise Lost*, IV.310–11).

32 *would follow her*: cf. Virgil, *Eclogues*, III.64–5 for a classical example of female coquetry.

33 *so common among us*: in *The Intelligencer* 3 Swift associated unnatural sexuality with Italianate influence: 'This *Comedy* likewise exposeth with great Justice, that unnatural Taste for *Italian Musick* among us, which is wholly unsuitable to our Northern *Climate*, and the *Genius* of the *People*, whereby we are over-run with *Italian Effeminacy*, and *Italian Nonsense*. An old Gentleman said to me, that many Years ago, when the Practice of an unnatural Vice grew frequent in *London*, and many were prosecuted for it, he was sure it would be a Fore-runner of *Italian Opera's* and *Singers*; and then we should want nothing but *Stabbing* or *Poisoning*, to make us perfect *Italians*' (Davis, vol. XII, pp. 36–7). In 'The Preface' to *A Tale of a Tub* Swift had mockingly stipulated the inclusion of 'a large *Pederastick School*, with *French* and *Italian Masters*' in his proposed Academy of Wits (*CWJS*, vol. I, p. 26; Davis, vol. I, p. 25).

34 *on our Side of the Globe*: Juvenal also saw unnatural sexual appetites as the result of civilization, rather than nature (II.162–70).

CHAPTER VIII.

The Author relateth several Particulars of the Yahoos. The great Virtues of the Houyhnhnms. The Education and Exercise of their Youth. Their general Assembly.

As I ought to have understood human Nature much better than I supposed it possible for my Master to do, so it was easy to apply the Character he gave of the *Yahoos* to myself and my Countrymen; and I believed I could yet make farther Discoveries from my own Observation. I therefore often begged his Honour to let me go among the Herds of *Yahoos* in the Neighbourhood; to which he always very graciously consented, being perfectly convinced that the Hatred I bore those Brutes would never suffer me to be corrupted by them; and his Honour ordered one of his Servants, a strong Sorrel Nag,¹ very honest and good-natured, to be my Guard; without whose Protection I durst not undertake such Adventures. For I have already told the Reader how much I was pestered by those odious Animals upon my first Arrival. I afterwards failed very narrowly three or four times of falling into their Clutches, when I happened to stray at any Distance without my Hanger.² And I have Reason to believe, they had some Imagination that I was of their own Species, which I often assisted myself, by stripping up my Sleeves,³ and shewing my naked Arms and Breast in their Sight, when my Protector was with me: At which times they would approach as near as they durst, and imitate my Actions after the Manner of Monkeys, but ever with great Signs of Hatred; as a tame *Jack Daw* with Cap and

1 *Sorrel Nag*: the horse that threw William III, and thereby led to his death, was called Sorrel: see Michael DePorte, 'Avenging Naboth: Swift and Monarchy', *PQ*, 69 (1990), 419–33. In *The Battel of the Books* Dryden rides 'a sorrel Gelding of a monstrous Size' (*CWJS*, vol. I, p. 157; Davis, vol. I, p. 157).

2 *Hanger*: a heavy short sword, hung from the belt (*OED*).

3 *stripping up my Sleeves*: cf. *Henry V*, IV.ii.47–8.

Stockings,⁴ is always persecuted by the wild ones, when he happens to be got among them.

They are prodigiously nimble from their Infancy; however, I once caught a young Male of three Years old, and endeavoured by all Marks of Tenderness to make it quiet; but the little Imp fell a squalling, and scratching, and biting with such Violence, that I was forced to let it go; and it was high time, for a whole Troop of old ones came about us at the Noise; but finding the Cub was safe, (for away it ran) and my Sorrel Nag being by, they durst not venture near us. I observed the young Animal's Flesh to smell very rank,⁵ and the Stink was somewhat between a *Weasel* and a *Fox*, but much more disagreeable. I forgot another Circumstance, (and perhaps I might have the Reader's Pardon, if it were wholly omitted) that while I held the odious Vermin⁶ in my Hands, it voided its filthy Excrements of a yellow liquid Substance, all over my Cloaths; but by good Fortune there was a small Brook hard by, where I washed myself as clean as I could; although I durst not come into my Master's Presence, until I were sufficiently aired.

By what I could discover, the *Yahoos* appear to be the most unteachable of all Animals, their Capacities never reaching higher than to draw or carry Burthens. Yet I am of Opinion, this Defect ariseth chiefly from a perverse, restive Disposition. For they are cunning, malicious, treacherous and revengeful. They are strong and hardy, but of a cowardly Spirit, and by Consequence insolent, abject, and cruel. It is observed, that the *Red-haired* of both Sexes⁷ are more libidinous and mischievous than the rest, whom yet they much exceed in Strength and Activity.

4 *a tame Jack Daw with Cap and Stockings*: the common name of *Corvus monedula*, one of the smallest of the crow family; easily tamed and taught to imitate the sound of words, and noted for its loquacity and thievish propensities (*OED*, 1).

5 *smell very rank*: cf. the maids of honour in Part II, Chapter 5 and the 'very offensive Smell [that] came from their Skins' (above, p. 167).

6 *the odious Vermin*: cf. the verdict of the King of Brobdingnag on the Europeans in Part II, Chapter 6, that they are 'the most pernicious Race of little odious Vermin that Nature ever suffered to crawl upon the Surface of the Earth' (above, p. 189). For Swift's opinion on vermin, see 'The Life and Character of Dr Swift': "*Vice* is a *Vermin*; *Sportsmen* say / "No *Vermin* can demand *fair Play*, / "But, ev'ry Hand may justly slay' (Williams, *Poems*, p. 548, lines 124–6).

7 *the Red-haired of both Sexes*: red hair was traditionally a sign of a lecherous disposition: see Paul-Gabriel Boucé, 'The Rape of Gulliver Reconsidered', *SSud*, 11 (1996), 98–114. There may be a particular Irish dimension to the tradition. In Gaelic the words for red (*basc*) and lechery (*basbruidheachd*) are close (William Shaw, *A Galic and English Dictionary*, 2 vols. (1780), vol. I, *sv*). In *The Irish Miscellany, or Teagueland Jests* (1746), we are told that 'Red-hair is the Nation's Lechery' (p. 80). The 'Phequewell' family, in Thomas Stelzer's pornographic

The *Houyhnhnms* keep the *Yahoos* for present⁸ Use in Huts not far from the House; but the rest are sent abroad to certain Fields, where they dig up Roots,⁹ eat several Kinds of Herbs, and search about for Carrion, or sometimes catch *Weasels* and *Luhimuhs* (a Sort of *wild Rat*) which they greedily devour. Nature hath taught them to dig deep Holes with their Nails on the Side of a rising Ground, wherein they lie by themselves; only the Kennels of the Females are larger, sufficient to hold two or three Cubs.

They swim from their Infancy like Frogs, and are able to continue long under Water, where they often take Fish, which the Females carry home to their Young. And upon this Occasion, I hope the Reader will pardon my relating an odd Adventure.

Being one Day abroad with my Protector the Sorrel Nag, and the Weather exceeding hot, I entreated him to let me bathe in a River that was near. He consented, and I immediately stripped myself stark naked, and went down softly into the Stream. It happened that a young Female *Yahoo* standing behind a Bank, saw the whole Proceeding; and inflamed by Desire, as the Nag and I conjectured, came running with all Speed, and leaped into the Water within five Yards of the Place where I bathed.¹⁰ I was never in my Life so terribly frightened; the Nag was grazing at some Distance, not suspecting any Harm: She embraced me after a most fulsome¹¹ Manner; I roared as loud as I could, and the Nag came galloping towards me, whereupon she quitted her Grasp, with the utmost Reluctancy, and

A New Description of Merryland, second edition ('Bath', 1741), are said to be 'an ancient Family in Ireland, remarkable for their being Red-Headed, of great Note, and of long standing in that Country' (pp. i-ii). Note also the medieval tradition that Judas Iscariot had red hair and beard (*OED*, 'Judas', 4).

8 *present*: immediate.

9 *dig up Roots*: perhaps reminiscent of the project of Lagado in Part III, Chapter 5, to make pigs plough land (above, p. 262).

10 *Place where I bathed*: for commentary on this episode, see Boucé, 'The Rape of Gulliver Reconsidered', 98-114; and Rawson, *GFG*, pp. 92-182. As Gulliver is forced to acknowledge, the implication of the episode is that he is himself recognizably a Yahoo. The scene is a re-writing of Actaeon's peeping at the bathing Diana, for which he was torn to pieces by his own hounds; an episode from Greek mythology which had recently been re-written by Delarivier Manley in *The New Atalantis* (1709) as the arranged scene whereby Duchess L'Inconstant sees Count Germanicus rising from the bath (Manley, *New Atalantis*, pp. 20-1).

11 *fulsome*: a word combining several pejorative senses, all of which are in play here, including lustful (*OED*, 2 c), gross (*OED*, 3), nauseating (*OED*, 3 b), foul-smelling (*OED*, 4), offensive to the senses (*OED*, 5), and morally foul (*OED*, 6 b).

leaped upon the opposite Bank, where she stood gazing and howling all the time I was putting on my Cloaths.

This was Matter of Diversion to my Master and his Family, as well as of Mortification to my self. For now I could no longer deny, that I was a real *Yahoo*, in every Limb and Feature, since the Females had a natural Propensity to me as one of their own Species: Neither was the Hair of this Brute of a Red Colour, (which might have been some Excuse for an Appetite a little irregular) but black as a Sloe,¹² and her Countenance did not make an Appearance altogether so hideous as the rest of the Kind; for, I think, she could not be above Eleven Years old.¹³

Having already lived three Years in this Country, the Reader I suppose will expect, that I should, like other Travellers, give him some Account of the Manners and Customs of its Inhabitants, which it was indeed my principal Study to learn.

As these noble *Houyhnhnms* are endowed by Nature with a general Disposition to all Virtues, and have no Conceptions or Ideas of what is evil in a rational Creature; so their grand Maxim is, to cultivate *Reason*, and to be wholly governed by it.¹⁴ Neither is *Reason* among them a Point problematical as with us, where Men can argue with Plausibility on both Sides of a Question;¹⁵ but strikes you with immediate Conviction; as it must needs do where it is not mingled, obscured, or discoloured by Passion

12 *black as a Sloe*: in contemporary popular verse and ballads a sign of sexual attractiveness: cf. *A Collection of Old Ballads* (1723); 'Tut, tut, quoth he, no Goods I want; / But I want, I want in sooth, / A fair Maid of Sixteen, that's brisk, / And smiles about the Mouth; / Hair black as Sloe, both above and below, / With Blushes her Cheeks adorning' (p. 40): cf. also *Wit and Mirth: or Pills to Purge Melancholy*, vol. I (1719), p. 13.

13 *above Eleven Years old*: Irish law made intercourse with a girl younger than twelve years old a capital offence: see James Kelly, "A Most Inhuman and Barbarous Piece of Villany": An Exploration of the Crime of Rape in Eighteenth-Century Ireland', *Eighteenth-Century Ireland*, 10 (1995), 78–107.

14 *wholly governed by it*: in a letter of 12 September 1724 Bolingbroke defended himself against Swift's suspicion that he was an 'esprit fort' by distinguishing a socially pernicious kind of free-thinking (which he disowned) from a milder form, to which he subscribed: 'if indeed by Esprit fort, or free thinker, you only mean a Man who makes a free use of his Reason, who searches after truth wth out passion, or prejudice, & adheres inviolably to it, you mean a wise & honest Man, and such an one as I labour to be. the faculty of distinguishing between right & wrong, true & false, w^{ch} we call Reason or common Sense, which is given to Every Man by our bountiful Creator, and w^{ch} most Men lose by neglect, is the light of the mind, and ought to guide all the operations of it' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. II, p. 514).

15 *on both Sides of a Question*: a reference to the principle of humanist education, in which pupils were trained to argue 'in utramque partem', against either side.

and Interest.¹⁶ I remember it was with extreme Difficulty that I could bring my Master to understand the Meaning of the Word *Opinion*,¹⁷ or how a Point could be disputable; because *Reason* taught us to affirm or deny only where we are certain; and beyond our Knowledge we cannot do either. So that Controversies, Wranglings, Disputes, and Positiveness in false or dubious Propositions, are Evils unknown among the *Houyhnhnms*.¹⁸ In the like Manner when I used to explain to him our several Systems of *Natural Philosophy*, he would laugh that a Creature pretending to *Reason*, should value itself upon the Knowledge of other Peoples Conjectures, and in Things, where that Knowledge, if it were certain, could be of no

16 *Passion and Interest*: cf. Locke's definition of 'intuitive Knowledge' as when 'the Mind is at no pains of proving or examining, but perceives the Truth, as the Eye doth light . . . This Part of Knowledge is irresistible, and like the bright Sun-shine, forces it self immediately to be perceived, as soon as ever the Mind turns its view that way; and leaves no room for Hesitation, Doubt, or Examination, but the Mind is presently filled with the clear Light of it' (*Human Understanding*, IV.ii.1). Cf. Locke's similar statement in *A Letter Concerning Toleration* that truth has no need to rely on force, which might have caught Swift's eye because it follows on closely from Locke's denial of a position advocated by Swift in *A Project for the Advancement of Religion* (1709), namely that feigned conformity is better than open dissent (Locke, *Toleration*, pp. 45 and 44; note also p. 144, and Locke's comments about those parts of the Bible 'most necessary to salvation' being so clear that 'to hear is to understand them'; Davis, vol. II, pp. 56–7). For commentary, see A. D. Nuttall, 'Gulliver Among the Horses', *Yearbook of English Studies*, 18 (1988), 62–6.

17 *the Meaning of the Word Opinion*: cf. 'Ode to Dr William Sancroft': 'But foolish Man still judges what is best / In his own balance, false and light, / Foll'wing Opinion, dark, and blind, / That vagrant leader of the mind, / Till Honesty and Conscience are clear out of sight' (Williams, *Poems*, p. 36, lines 54–8).

18 *unknown among the Houyhnhnms*: for Swift's vigorous but troubled thoughts on liberty of opinion and liberty of conscience, see his 'Thoughts on Religion': 'Liberty of conscience, properly speaking, is no more than the liberty of possessing our own thoughts and opinions, which every man enjoys without fear of the magistrate: But how far he shall publicly act in pursuance of those opinions, is to be regulated by the laws of the country. Perhaps, in my own thoughts, I prefer a well-instituted commonwealth before a monarchy; and I know several others of the same opinion. Now, if, upon this pretence, I should insist upon liberty of conscience, form conventicles of republicans, and print books, preferring that government, and condemning what is established, the magistrate would, with great justice, hang me and my disciples. It is the same case in religion, although not so avowed, where liberty of conscience, under the present acceptance, equally produces revolutions, or at least convulsions and disturbances in a state . . . Cromwell's notion upon this article, was natural and right; when, upon the surrender of a town in Ireland, the Popish governor insisted upon an article for liberty of conscience, Cromwell said, he meddled with no man's conscience; but, if by liberty of conscience, the governor meant the liberty of the Mass, he had express orders from the parliament of England against admitting any such liberty at all' (Davis, vol. IX, p. 263); cf. the similar views of the King of Brobdingnag (above, p. 187). See Long note 21.

Use. Wherein he agreed entirely with the Sentiments of *Socrates*, as *Plato* delivers them; which I mention as the highest Honour I can do that Prince of Philosophers.¹⁹ I have often since reflected what Destruction such a Doctrine would make in the Libraries of *Europe*,²⁰ and how many Paths to Fame would be then shut up in the Learned World.

Friendship and *Benevolence*²¹ are the two principal Virtues among the *Houyhnhnms*; and these not confined to particular Objects, but universal to the whole Race.²² For, a Stranger from the remotest Part, is equally treated with the nearest Neighbour, and where-ever he goes, looks upon himself as at home.²³ They preserve *Decency* and *Civility* in the highest Degrees, but are altogether ignorant of *Ceremony*. They have no Fondness for their Colts or Foles; but the Care they take in educating them proceedeth entirely from the Dictates of *Reason*.²⁴ And, I observed my Master to shew the same

19 *that Prince of Philosophers*: for the scepticism of Socrates concerning the pretensions of philosophers to knowledge of the material world, see Plato, *Apology*, 19C–D; and Xenophon, *Memorabilia*, I.i.11 ff. and IV.vii.6. Cf. also Plato, *The Republic*, V.xx–xxii, 475E–480A. It was a sentiment cherished by later writers important to Swift; e.g. Montaigne (*Essays*, p. 555) and Robert Burton (Burton, vol. I, p. 364).

20 *in the Libraries of Europe*: a measure proposed later in the eighteenth century by the French philosopher Jean Le Rond d'Alembert, who in his *Mémoires et réflexions sur Christine, Reine de Suède* recommended periodical purges of libraries: 'Il seroit à souhaiter que tous les cent ans on fit un extrait des faits historiques réellement utiles et qu'on brûlât le reste. Ce seroit le moyen d'éviter à notre postérité l'inondation dont elle est menacée, si on continue d'abuser de l'imprimerie pour apprendre aux siècles futurs les choses dont on ne s'embarrasse guère dans les siècles où elles se passent'; 'It would be desirable if every hundred years a selection were made of really useful historical facts, and the rest burnt. That would be the way to free our descendants from the deluge which threatens them, if the printing press continues to be abused to teach future centuries the things about which men scarcely worry in the centuries when they occur' (Alembert, *Mélanges*, vol. V, p. 229).

21 *Friendship and Benevolence*: cf. Bolingbroke's comment to Swift, in a letter of August 1723, that he knew 'no vows so solemn as those of friendship', immediately after claiming a Houyhnhnm-like inner emotional poise: 'I am neither afflicted nor rejoic'd, angry nor pleased at w^t happens in it [the World]'. . . Perfect Tranquillity is the general tenor of my Life' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. II, pp. 465–66).

22 *but universal to the whole Race*: here Swift fell short of, and perhaps did not aspire to, the practice of the Houyhnhnms, as he explained to Pope in a letter of 29 September 1725: 'I have ever hated all Nations professions and Communities and all my love is towards individualls' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. II, p. 606).

23 *as at home*: cf. the similar point More makes about the Utopians: 'Wherever they go, though they take nothing with them, they never lack for anything, because they are at home everywhere' (*Utopia*, p. 58).

24 *Dictates of Reason*: note Swift's own resolution 'Not to be fond of Children' (Davis, vol. I, p. xxxvii). In 'Of Friendship', Montaigne noted those 'philosophers who held such natural bonds in contempt – witness Aristippus: when he was being pressed about the affection

Affection to his Neighbour's Issue that he had for his own. They will have it that *Nature* teaches them to love the whole Species, and it is *Reason* only that maketh a Distinction of Persons, where there is a superior Degree of Virtue.²⁵

When the Matron *Houyhnhnms* have produced one of each Sex, they no longer accompany with their Consorts, except they lose one of their Issue by some Casualty, which very seldom happens: But in such a Case they meet again; or when the like Accident befalls a Person, whose Wife is past bearing, some other Couple bestows on him one of their own Colts, and then go together a second Time, until the Mother be pregnant.²⁶ This Caution is necessary to prevent the Country from being overburthened with Numbers. But the Race of inferior *Houyhnhnms* bred up to be Servants is not so strictly limited upon this Article; these are allowed to produce three of each Sex, to be Domesticks in the Noble Families.

In their Marriages they are exactly careful to chuse such Colours as will not make any disagreeable Mixture in the Breed.²⁷ *Strength* is chiefly valued in the Male, and *Comeliness* in the Female; not upon the Account of *Love*, but to preserve the Race from degenerating: For, where a Female happens to excel in *Strength*, a Consort is chosen with regard to *Comeliness*. Courtship, Love, Presents, Joyntures, Settlements,²⁸ have no Place in their

which he owed to his children since they had sprung from him, he began to spit, saying that that sprang from him too, and that we also engender lice and worms' (*Essays*, p. 208). Cf. above, p. 88, n. 21.

25 *a superior Degree of Virtue*: William Godwin incorporated this principle into his *Enquiry Concerning Political Justice* (1793): cf. particularly Book II, Chapter 2, 'Of Justice'.

26 *until the Mother be pregnant*: a utilitarian attitude towards sexuality is a feature of certain kinds of utopia: see Frank Kermode, 'Yahoos and Houyhnhnms', *N&Q*, 195 (1950), 318. Aristotle attributed a similar practice to the ancient Cretans (*Politics*, 1272 A); and it was a regime of abstinence recommended by the Roman Stoics (Musonius, *Lectures*, XII.2). A similar attitude on the part of Zenobia, the Queen of Palmyra, is recorded in the *Augustan History*: 'Cuius ea castitas fuisse dicitur ut ne virum suum quidem scierit nisi temptandis conceptionibus. nam cum semel concubuisset, expectatis menstruis continebat se, si praegnans esset, sin minus, iterum potestatem quarendis liberis dabat'; 'Such was her continence, it is said, that she would not sleep even with her own husband except to conceive. For when she had slept with him, she would be celibate until her period to see if she were pregnant. If not, she would once again give him the chance to sire children' (*Tyranni Triginta*, XXX.12). Swift owned an annotated copy of this work (*Catalogue*, p. 3, lot 105).

27 *Mixture in the Breed*: cf. the similar eugenics practised in Lycurgan Sparta (Plutarch, 'Lycurgus', XV.7–9).

28 *Joyntures, Settlements*: respectively, a sole estate limited to the wife, being 'a competent livelihood of freehold for the wife of lands and tenements, to take effect upon the death of

Thoughts; or Terms whereby to express them in their Language. The young Couple meet and are joined, merely because it is the Determination of their Parents and Friends: It is what they see done every Day; and they look upon it as one of the necessary Actions in a reasonable Being.²⁹ But the Violation of Marriage, or any other Unchastity, was never heard of:³⁰ And the married Pair pass their Lives with the same Friendship, and mutual Benevolence that they bear to all others of the same Species, who come in their Way; without Jealousy, Fondness, Quarrelling, or Discontent.

In educating the Youth of both Sexes,³¹ their Method is admirable, and highly deserveth our Imitation. These are not suffered to taste a Grain of *Oats*, except upon certain Days, till Eighteen Years old; nor *Milk*, but very rarely; and in Summer they graze two Hours in the Morning, and as many in the Evening, which their Parents likewise observe; but the Servants are not allowed above half that Time; and a great Part of the Grass is brought home, which they eat at the most convenient Hours, when they can be best spared from Work.

Temperance, Industry, Exercise and Cleanliness, are the Lessons equally enjoyed to the young ones of both Sexes: And my Master thought it monstrous in us to give the Females a different Kind of Education from the Males,³² except in some Articles of Domestick Management; whereby, as he truly observed, one Half of our Natives were good for nothing but bringing Children into the World: And to trust the Care of their Children to such useless Animals, he said was yet a greater Instance of Brutality.

But the *Houyhnhnms* train up their Youth to Strength, Speed, and Hardiness, by exercising them in running Races up and down steep Hills,

the husband for the life of the wife at least' (*OED*, 4 b); and the act of settling property upon a person or persons (*OED*, 8).

29 *reasonable Being*: for Swift's own perception that marriage should be 'a Match of Prudence, and common Good-liking, without any Mixture of that ridiculous Passion which hath no Being, but in Play-Books and Romances', see his *A Letter to a Young Lady, on her Marriage* (composed 1723) (Davis, vol. IX, p. 89).

30 *was never heard of*: cf. the universal chastity of Lycurgan Sparta (Plutarch, 'Lycurgus', XV.9–10).

31 *Youth of both Sexes*: cf. the similar principle followed in Lilliputian education in Part I, Chapter 6 (above, pp. 89–91).

32 *from the Males*: another common feature of utopias: cf. Plato, *The Republic*, V.iii–vi, 451E–457; Plutarch, 'Lycurgus', XIV; *Utopia*, pp. 50 and 63–4. For the utilitarian motives which governed Swift's own attitude towards female education, see his 'Of the Education of Ladies' (Davis, vol. IV, pp. 223–8).

or over hard stony Grounds; and when they are all in a Sweat, they are ordered to leap over Head and Ears into a Pond or a River.³³ Four times a Year the Youth of certain Districts meet to shew their Proficiency in Running, and Leaping, and other Feats of Strength or Agility; where the Victor is rewarded with a Song made in his or her Praise.³⁴ On this Festival the Servants drive a Herd of *Yahoos* into the Field, laden with Hay, and Oats, and Milk for a Repast to the *Houyhnhnms*; after which, these Brutes are immediately driven back again, for fear of being noisome to the Assembly.

Every fourth Year, at the *Vernal Equinox*, there is a Representative Council of the whole Nation, which meets in a Plain about twenty Miles from our House, and continueth about five or six Days.³⁵ Here they inquire into the State and Condition of the several Districts; whether they abound or be deficient in Hay or Oats, or Cows or *Yahoos*? And where-ever there is any Want (which is but seldom) it is immediately supplied by unanimous Consent and Contribution.³⁶ Here likewise the Regulation of Children is

33 *Pond or a River*: for Swift's own faith in the virtue of regular physical exercise, see his recommendation, in a letter of 28 August 1730 to the Earl of Oxford, of 'my onely remedy, which I take twice a day in fair weather, and once in fowl; I mean Exercise, which although it be the cheapest of all drugs, yet you great people are seldom rich enough to purchase' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, p. 322: cf. also pp. 312, 326, 368 and 382); for Laetitia Pilkington's account of Swift's commitment to exercise, see Pilkington, pp. 80–1. Temple also believed that 'hard Exercise . . . strengthens healthy Bodies' (Temple, vol. II, p. 39: cf. vol. I, p. 305), and that 'in the course of common Life, a Man must either often Exercise, or Fast, or take Physick, or be sick; and the choice seems left to every one as he likes' ('Of Health and Long Life', Temple, vol. I, p. 279). Numanus's bragging speech about the toughness of the Rutulians, who 'bring [their] new-born sons to the river, and harden them with the water's cruel cold' ('*durum a stirpe genus natos ad flumina primum / deferimus saevoque gelu duramus et undis*') provides a classical parallel for these paragraphs on the raising of the Houyhnhnms, and perhaps a source for some of their details (*Aeneid*, IX.598–620, esp. lines 603–4). Cf. also Plutarch's account of the arduous physical education of women in ancient Sparta ('Lycurgus', XIV.2).

34 *his or her Praise*: such poems were composed by Pindar (c. 522–442 BC), upon whom Swift modelled some of his own earliest poems (Williams, *Poems*, pp. 3–42). Cf. *The Examiner* 16 (23 November 1710) for the hold that the austerity of ancient rewards had on Swift's moral imagination (Davis, vol. III, pp. 19–24).

35 *five or six Days*: for the similar practice of the Utopians, see *Utopia*, pp. 48 and 59.

36 *Consent and Contribution*: an institution of the Houyhnhnms praised by William Godwin, who attributed to Swift 'a more profound insight into the true principles of political justice than any preceding or contemporary author' (Godwin, *Enquiry*, pp. 552–3). In *A Discourse of the Contests and Dissensions* (1701) Swift excepted from his general censure of popular assemblies only 'such Assemblies, who act by *universal Concert, upon publick Principles, and for publick Ends*; such as proceed upon Debates without *unbecoming Warmths, or Influence*

settled: As for instance, if a *Houyhnhnm* hath two Males, he changeth one of them with another who hath two Females: And when a Child hath been lost by any Casualty, where the Mother is past Breeding, it is determined what Family shall breed³⁷ another to supply the Loss.

from particular Leaders and Inflamers; such whose Members, instead of canvassing to procure Majorities for their private Opinions, are ready to comply with general sober Results, although contrary to their own Sentiments' (Davis, vol. I, pp. 231–2).

- 37 *what Family shall breed*: note the affinity of this language, in its lack of affect, with the idiom of the *A Modest Proposal*: 'whose Wives are Breeders'; 'an Hundred and Seventy Thousand Breeders'; 'may be reserved for Breed'; 'become Breeders themselves'; 'the constant Breeders' (Davis, vol. XII, pp. 110, 111, 113 and 115). Cf. the arrangements for supplying children to mismatched parents in Lycurgan Sparta (Plutarch, 'Lycurgus', XV.7).

CHAPTER IX.

A grand Debate at the General Assembly of the Houyhnhnms; and how it was determined. The Learning of the Houyhnhnms. Their Buildings. Their Manner of Burials. The Defectiveness of their Language.

One of these Grand Assemblies was held in my time, about three Months before my Departure, whither my Master went as the Representative of our District. In this Council was resumed their old Debate, and indeed, the only Debate that ever happened in their Country; whereof my Master after his Return gave me a very particular Account.

The Question to be debated, was, Whether the *Yahoos* should be exterminated from the Face of the Earth.¹ One of the *Members* for the Affirmative offered several Arguments of great Strength and Weight; alledging, That, as the *Yahoos* were the most filthy, noisome, and deformed Animal which Nature ever produced, so they were the most restive and indocible,² mischievous and malicious: They would privately suck the Teats of the

1 *exterminated from the Face of the Earth*: a deliberately shocking proposal, adumbrated earlier in *GT* by the King of Brobdingnag's judgement in Part II, Chapter 6 that Europeans are 'the most pernicious Race of little odious Vermin that Nature ever suffered to crawl upon the Surface of the Earth' (above, p. 189 and n. 56). Precedents for such genocidal policies include Genesis 6:7 (where the words of God are close to those of the Houyhnhnms: 'I will destroy man whom I have created from the face of the earth'); the periodic massacres of the helots in ancient Sparta by the κρυπτεῖα or secret police (Plutarch, 'Lycurgus', XXVIII.1–4); and the attitude of the Utopians towards the Zapoletes, whom they employ as mercenaries: 'they think they would deserve very well of mankind if they could sweep from the face of the earth all the dregs of that vicious and disgusting race' (*Utopia*, p. 89). Cf. also the Melian Dialogue in Thucydides (V.84–116; cf. Long note 9, n. 10). Other examples of Swift's attraction to 'the simplifying resolutions of mass-extermination' (Rawson *GGG*, p. 262) include *A Proposal for Giving Badges to the Beggars* (1737), where beggars are stigmatized as 'a profligate Clan of Thieves, Drunkards, Heathens, and Whoremongers, fitter to be rooted out off the Face of the Earth' (Davis, vol. XIII, p. 139). In *A Letter to a Young Gentleman* (1721) Swift said of clergymen who endeavoured to deploy wit in their sermons 'I heartily wish the Brood were at an End' (Davis, vol. IX, pp. 72–3). Swift referred to himself as 'I who hate the world', and expressed the wish to 'Drown the World' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, p. 63 and vol. II, p. 623).

2 *indocible*: unwilling or unapt to be taught; not readily submitting to instruction or guidance; intractable (*OED*).

Houyhnhnms Cows; kill and devour their Cats, trample down their Oats and Grass, if they were not continually watched; and commit a Thousand other Extravagancies. He took Notice of a general Tradition, that *Yahoos* had not been always in their Country: But, that many Ages ago, two of these Brutes appeared together upon a Mountain;³ whether produced by the Heat of the Sun upon corrupted Mud and Slime, or from the Ooze and Froth of the Sea,⁴ was never known. That these *Yahoos* engendered, and their Brood in a short time grew so numerous as to over-run and infest the whole Nation. That the *Houyhnhnms* to get rid of this Evil, made a general Hunting,⁵ and at last inclosed the whole Herd; and destroying the Older, every *Houyhnhnm* kept two young Ones in a Kennel, and brought them to such a Degree of Tameless, as an Animal so savage by Nature can be capable of acquiring; using them for Draught and Carriage. That, there seemed to be much Truth in this Tradition, and that those Creatures could not be *Ylnhniamsy* (or *Aborigines*⁶ of the Land) because of the violent Hatred the *Houyhnhnms* as well as all other Animals, bore them; which although their evil Disposition sufficiently deserved, could never have arrived at so high a Degree, if they had been *Aborigines*, or else they would have long since been rooted out. That, the Inhabitants taking a Fancy to use the Service of the *Yahoos*, had very imprudently neglected to cultivate the Breed of *Asses*,⁷ which were a comely Animal, easily kept, more tame and orderly, without any offensive Smell, strong enough for Labour, although they yield to the other in Agility of Body; and if their Braying be no agreeable Sound, it is far preferable to the horrible Howlings of the *Yahoos*.

3 *upon a Mountain*: Noah's ark comes to rest on the 'mountains of Ararat' (Genesis 8:4). In *Paradise Lost* the Garden of Eden is located on a mountain (IV.226). The possibility that the *Yahoos* derive from European stock would imply that they are a degenerate, rather than merely primitive, race.

4 *Ooze and Froth of the Sea*: see Long note 35.

5 *a general Hunting*: in Advice XCVII of Boccalini's *I ragguagli di Parnaso* (1612–13) 'APOLLO appoints a general Hunting, to destroy, if possible, the Species of Ants and Tortoises, as Animals of ill Example to Mankind' (Boccalini, *Advices*, pp. 181–2).

6 *Aborigines*: both the original inhabitants of a country (*OED*, 1), and, more restrictedly, those found in possession by a European colonizing power (*OED*, 2). The location of the aboriginal *Yahoos* on a mountain is a transposed echo of the situation of the Ancients on the hill of Parnassus in *The Battel of the Books*, who claim to be '*Aborigines*' of 'their own Seat', and who regard the Moderns as 'a Colony . . . admitted out of their own Free Grace' (*CWJS*, vol. I, p. 144; Davis, vol. I, p. 143). The theme of colonialism recurs more explicitly below, pp. 440–41.

7 *Asses*: for an example of Swift's satiric use of the ass, see the encounter between Wotton and Boyle in *The Battel of the Books* (*CWJS*, vol. I, p. 163; Davis, vol. I, pp. 163–4).

Several others declared their Sentiments to the same Purpose; when my Master proposed an Expedient to the Assembly, whereof he had indeed borrowed the Hint from me.⁸ He approved of the Tradition, mentioned by the *Honourable Member*, who spoke before; and affirmed, that the two *Yahoos* said to be first seen among them, had been driven thither over the Sea; that coming to Land, and being forsaken by their Companions, they retired to the Mountains, and degenerating by Degrees, became in Process of Time, much more savage than those of their own Species in the Country from whence these two Originals came. The Reason of his Assertion was, that he had now in his Possession, a certain wonderful *Yahoo*, (meaning myself) which most of them had heard of, and many of them had seen. He then related to them, how he first found me; that, my Body was all covered with an artificial Composure of the Skins and Hairs of other Animals: That, I spoke in a Language of my own, and had thoroughly learned theirs: That, I had related to him the Accidents which brought me thither: That, when he saw me without my Covering, I was an exact *Yahoo* in every Part, only of a whiter Colour, less hairy, and with shorter Claws. He added, how I had endeavoured to persuade him, that in my own and other Countries the *Yahoos* acted as the governing, rational Animal, and held the *Houyhnhnms* in Servitude: That, he observed in me all the Qualities of a *Yahoo*, only a little more civilized by some Tincture of Reason; which however was in a Degree as far inferior to the *Houyhnhnm* Race, as the *Yahoos* of their Country were to me: That, among other things, I mentioned a Custom we had of *castrating Houyhnhnms* when they were young, in order to render them tame; that the Operation was easy and safe; that it was no Shame to learn Wisdom from Brutes, as Industry is taught by the Ant,⁹ and Building by the Swallow.¹⁰ (For so I translate the

8 *borrowed the Hint from me*: here the Houyhnhnms seem to be engaging with the 'Controversies, Wranglings, Disputes' from which Gulliver has claimed that they abstain (above, p. 402).

9 *Industry is taught by the Ant*: cf. Proverbs 6:6: 'Go to the ant, thou sluggard; / Consider her ways, and be wise.'

10 *Building by the Swallow*: cf. Psalms 84:3: 'Yea, the sparrow hath found an house, / And the swallow a nest for herself, where she may lay her young.' Cf. also, however, the less happy instance of learning from animals in Part III, Chapter 5, when Gulliver meets in the Academy of Lagado a 'most ingenious Architect, who had contrived a new Method for building Houses, by beginning at the Roof, and working downwards to the Foundation; which he justified to me by the Practice of those two prudent Insects the Bee and the Spider' (above, p. 261).

Word *Lyhannh*, although it be a much larger Fowl.) That, this Invention might be practiced upon the younger *Yahoos* here, which, besides rendering them tractable and fitter for Use, would in an Age put an End to the whole Species without destroying Life.¹¹ That, in the mean time the *Houyhnhnms* should be *exhorted* to cultivate the Breed of Asses,¹² which, as they are in all respects more valuable Brutes; so they have this Advantage, to be fit for Service at five Years old, which the others are not till Twelve.

This was all my Master thought fit to tell me at that Time, of what passed in the Grand Council. But he was pleased to conceal one Particular,¹³ which related personally to myself, whereof I soon felt the unhappy Effect, as the Reader will know in its proper Place, and from whence I date all the succeeding Misfortunes of my Life.

The *Houyhnhnms* have no Letters,¹⁴ and consequently, their Knowledge is all traditional. But there happening few Events of any Moment¹⁵

11 *without destroying Life*: in Swift's day castration was entertained as a practical instrument of social engineering, particularly in Ireland; e.g. *Reasons Humbly Offer'd to both Houses of Parliament, for a Law to Enact the Castration or, Gelding of Popish Ecclesiastics* (Dublin, 1710) and *Some Reasons Humbly offer'd, why the Castration of Persons found Guilty of Robbery and Theft, May be the best Method of Punishment for those Crimes* (Dublin, 1725); cf. Rawson GGG, pp. 230–1 and Higgins, 'Hints'. In his *Two Treatises of Government* (1689) Locke had included a right to castrate in his bitter analysis of the abuses characteristic of absolute Filmerian sovereignty: 'he may take or alienate their Estates, sell, castrate, or use their Persons as he pleases, they being all his Slaves, and he Lord or Proprietor of every Thing, and his unbounded Will their Law' (Book I, ch. 2, § 9; *Two Treatises*, p. 148). Later, in his 'A Third Letter for Toleration', the imposition of castration to control lust is compared to the denial of religious freedom, on the grounds of its being similarly oppressive and unreasonable (John Locke, *Letters Concerning Toleration* (1765), p. 341). In the context of Swift's own beliefs, Locke's implicit association of castration with religious authoritarianism is suggestive.

12 *the Breed of Asses*: for other Swiftian comparisons of asses with men, see Sections 3 and 11 of *A Tale of a Tub* (CWJS, vol. I, pp. 63–4 and 129; Davis, vol. I, pp. 60 and 128), *Polite Conversation* (Davis, vol. IV, p. 194) and *Thoughts on Various Subjects* (Davis, vol. IV, p. 247). The author of *A Discourse Concerning the Mechanical Operation of the Spirit* proclaims his 'very singular Respect' to the ass, 'by whom I take human Nature to be most admirably held forth in all its Qualities as well as Operations' (CWJS, vol. I, p. 171; Davis, vol. I, p. 173).

13 *conceal one Particular*: an example, if not of direct lying, then certainly of deliberate suppression on the part of the Houyhnhnm Master.

14 *have no Letters*: cf. Defoe, *Literature*, pp. 5–6 for allegations of the notorious illiteracy of the inhabitants of the Americas. Plutarch cites an aversion to writing as one of the utopian features of Lycurgan Sparta: 'Lycurgus did not put his laws in writing . . . Instead he reckoned that the guiding principles of most importance for the happiness and excellence of a state would remain securely fixed if they were embedded in the citizens' character and training' ('Lycurgus', XIII.1).

15 *few Events of any Moment*: the eventlessness of the history of Houyhnhnm society is the obverse of the not uncommon eighteenth-century view, most memorably expressed by

among a People so well united, naturally disposed to every Virtue, wholly governed by Reason, and cut off from all Commerce with other Nations; the historical Part is easily preserved without burthening their Memories. I have already observed, that they are subject to no Diseases, and therefore can have no Need of Physicians. However, they have excellent Medicines composed of Herbs,¹⁶ to cure accidental Bruises and Cuts in the Pastern or Frog of the Foot by sharp Stones, as well as other Maims and Hurts in the several Parts of the Body.

They calculate the Year by the Revolution of the Sun and the Moon, but use no Subdivisions into Weeks. They are well enough acquainted with the Motions of those two Luminaries, and understand the Nature of *Eclipses*; and this is the utmost Progress of their *Astronomy*.

In *Poetry* they must be allowed to excel all other Mortals;¹⁷ wherein the Justness of their Similes, and the Minuteness, as well as Exactness of their Descriptions, are indeed inimitable. Their Verses abound very much in both of these; and usually contain either some exalted Notions of Friendship and Benevolence, or the Praises of those who were Victors in Races, and other bodily Exercises. Their Buildings, although very rude and simple, are not inconvenient, but well contrived to defend them from all Injuries of Cold and Heat. They have a Kind of Tree, which at Forty Years old loosens in the Root, and falls with the first Storm; it grows very strait, and being pointed like Stakes with a sharp Stone, (for the *Houyhnhnms* know not the Use of Iron)¹⁸ they stick them erect in the Ground about

Gibbon, that human history was 'little more than the register of the crimes, follies, and misfortunes of mankind' (*Decline and Fall*, vol. I, p. 102). Cf. also Johnson's comment: 'This is my history; like all other histories, a narrative of misery' (Boswell, *Life*, vol. IV, p. 362).

16 *composed of Herbs*: cf. Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*, II.50 and Virgil, *Aeneid*, XII.411–15 for descriptions of the healing powers of dittany.

17 *excel all other Mortals*: Swift again models the society of the Houyhnhnms on that of ancient Sparta, which had no written literature but which did enjoy a flourishing oral poetic tradition (Plutarch, 'Lycurgus', XXI.1). Cf. Swift's rebuke to Laetitia Pilkington, that she 'had neither Taste nor Judgment, and knew no more of Poetry than a Horse' (Pilkington, p. 135). In the probably spurious *A Letter of Advice to a Young Poet* (1721), the author insists that 'History, Ancient or Modern, cannot furnish you an instance of one Person, Eminent in any Station, who was not in some measure vers'd in Poetry, or at least a Well-wisher to the Professors of it' (Davis, vol. IX, p. 327).

18 *know not the Use of Iron*: the Houyhnhnms' ignorance of iron again suggests that they have remained in a golden age without declining into an age of iron; cf. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*: 'de duro est ultima ferro. / protinus inrupit venae peioris in aevum / omne nefas: fugere pudor verumque fidesque; / in quorum subiere locum fraudesque dolusque / insidiaeque et vis et

ten Inches asunder, and then weave in Oat-straw, or sometimes Wattles betwixt them. The Roof is made after the same Manner, and so are the Doors.

The *Houyhnhnms* use the hollow Part between the Pastern and the Hoof of their Fore-feet, as we do our Hands, and this with greater Dexterity, than I could at first imagine. I have seen a white Mare of our Family thread a Needle (which I lent her on Purpose) with that Joynt. They milk their Cows, reap their Oats, and do all the Work which requires Hands, in the same Manner. They have a Kind of hard Flints, which by grinding against other Stones, they form into Instruments, that serve instead of Wedges, Axes, and Hammers. With Tools made of these Flints, they likewise cut their Hay, and reap their Oats, which there groweth naturally in several Fields:¹⁹ The *Yahoos* draw home the Sheaves in Carriages, and the Servants tread them in certain covered Hutts, to get out the Grain, which is kept in Stores. They make a rude Kind of earthen and wooden Vessels, and bake the former in the Sun.

If they can avoid Casualties, they die only of old Age, and are buried in the obscurest Places that can be found,²⁰ their Friends and Relations expressing neither Joy nor Grief at their Departure; nor does the dying Person discover the least Regret that he is leaving the World, any more than if he were upon returning home from a Visit to one of his Neighbours:²¹ I

amor sceleratus habendi'; 'The age of hard iron came last. Straightway all evil burst forth into this baser age: modesty and truth and faith fled the earth, and in their place came tricks and plots and snares, violence and cursed love of gain' (I.127–31). More's Utopians also have no indigenous iron (*Utopia*, p. 77). Cf. also Plutarch, 'Lycurgus', XIII.iii.

19 *naturally in several Fields*: another feature of the Ovidian golden age: cf. *Metamorphoses*, I.101–6.

20 *in the obscurest Places that can be found*: Swift's will stipulated that he should be buried 'as privately as possible, and at Twelve o'Clock at Night' (Davis, vol. XIII, p. 149).

21 *to one of his Neighbours*: precedents for this composure before death are to be found in the self-possession of Socrates before taking poison in Plato's *Phaedo*; in *Utopia* (p. 96); and in Montaigne (*Essays*, p. 547, speaking of the natives of Brazil). The *Key* cites a maxim of Cornelius Nepos: 'Non è Vita, sed ex domo in domum videntur migrare'; 'they seemed not to be taking leave of life, but moving from one home to another' (*Key*, Pt IV, p. 22). Cf. also Swift's comment to Knightley Chetwode in a letter of October 1724, that 'such a thing as Parting, if it be agreed on, may be done without Noise, as if it were only going to visit a Friend' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. II, p. 524). In his 'Thoughts on Religion' Swift laid it down as a principle that 'It is impossible that any thing so natural, so necessary, and so universal as death, should ever have been designed by providence as an evil to mankind' (Davis, vol. IX, p. 263). But confronted by the imminent death of Esther Johnson ('Stella'), Swift was unable to conform himself to this pattern of composure. On 15 July 1726 he wrote to John Worrall

remember, my Master having once made an Appointment with a Friend and his Family to come to his House upon some Affair of Importance; on the Day fixed, the Mistress and her two Children came very late; she made two Excuses, first for her Husband, who, as she said, happened that very Morning to *Lhnwunh*. The Word is strongly expressive in their Language, but not easily rendered into *English*; it signifies, *to retire to his first Mother*.²² Her Excuse for not coming sooner, was, that her Husband dying late in the Morning, she was a good while consulting her Servants about a convenient Place where his Body should be laid; and I observed she behaved herself at our House, as chearfully as the rest: She died about three Months after.

They live generally to Seventy or Seventy-five Years, very seldom to Fourscore: Some Weeks before their Death they feel a gradual Decay, but without Pain. During this time they are much visited by their Friends, because they cannot go abroad with their usual Ease and Satisfaction. However, about ten Days before their Death, which they seldom fail in computing, they return the Visits that have been made them by those who are nearest in the Neighbourhood, being carried in a convenient Sledge drawn by *Yahoos*; which Vehicle they use, not only upon this Occasion, but when they grow old, upon long Journeys, or when they are lamed by any Accident. And therefore when the dying *Houyhnhnms* return those Visits, they take a solemn Leave of their Friends, as if they were going to some remote Part of the Country, where they designed to pass the rest of their Lives.

I know not whether it may be worth observing, that the *Houyhnhnms* have no Word in their Language to express any thing that is *evil*, except what they borrow from the Deformities or ill Qualities of the *Yahoos*. Thus they denote the Folly of a Servant, an Omission of a Child, a Stone

that he intended to absent himself during her final illness, 'which time I will spend in some Retirement far from London till I can be in a Disposition of appearing after an Accident that must be so fatal to my Quiet . . . I would not for the Universe be present at such a Tryal of seeing her depart' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. II, p. 656). Cf. his similar comments to Thomas Sheridan on 27 July 1726 (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, p. 2).

22 *retire to his first Mother*: cf. Temple's report of the death of the Inca ruler Mango Copac, in 'Of Heroick Virtue': 'At the end of a long and adored Reign, *Mango Copac* fell into the last Period of his Life; upon the approach whereof, he called together all his Children and Grand-Children, with his eldest Son to whom he left his Kingdom; and told them, That for his own part he was going to repose himself with his Father the *Sun*, from whom he came' (Temple, vol. I, p. 210).

that cuts their Feet,²³ a Continuance of foul or unseasonable Weather, and the like, by adding to each the Epithet of *Yahoo*. For Instance, *Hhnm Yahoo*, *Whnaholm Yahoo*, *Ynlhmna-wihlma Yahoo*, and an ill contrived House, *Ynholmhnmrohlnw Yahoo*.

I could with great Pleasure enlarge farther upon the Manners and Virtues of this excellent People; but intending in a short time to publish a Volume by itself expressly upon that Subject, I refer the Reader thither.²⁴ And in the mean time, proceed to relate my own sad Catastrophe.

23 *a Stone that cuts their Feet*: cf. the Master Houyhnhnm's protestation that he no more blamed the Yahoos for their viciousness than he blamed 'a sharp Stone for cutting his Hoof' (above, p. 367).

24 *I refer the Reader thither*: another of the advertised books which does not materialize (cf. above, pp. 68 and 82), and which therefore further underlines the 'mock-book' character of *GT*.

CHAPTER X.

The Author's Oeconomy¹ and happy Life among the Houyhnhnms. His great Improvement in Virtue, by conversing with them. Their Conversations. The Author hath Notice given him by his Master that he must depart from the Country. He falls into a Swoon for Grief, but submits. He contrives and finishes a Canoo, by the Help of a Fellow-Servant, and puts to Sea at a Venture.²

I had settled my little Oeconomy to my own Heart's Content. My Master had ordered a Room to be made for me after their Manner, about six Yards from the House; the Sides and Floors of which I plaistered with Clay, and covered with Rush-mats of my own contriving: I had beaten Hemp, which there grows wild, and made of it a Sort of Ticking;³ This I filled with the Feathers of several Birds I had taken with Springes made of *Yahoos* Hairs; and were excellent Food. I had worked two Chairs with my Knife, the Sorrel Nag helping me in the grosser and more laborious Part. When my Cloaths were worn to Rags, I made my self others with the Skins of Rabbits, and of a certain beautiful Animal about the same Size, called *Nnuhnob*, the Skin of which is covered with a fine Down. Of these I likewise made very tolerable Stockings. I soaled my Shoes with Wood which I cut from a Tree, and fitted to the upper Leather, and when this was worn out, I supplied it with the Skins of *Yahoos*, dried in the Sun.⁴ I often got Honey out of hollow Trees, which I mingled with Water,⁵ or eat it with my Bread. No Man could more verify the Truth of these

1 *Oeconomy*: the rules which govern a person's mode of living; regimen, diet (*OED*, 1 d).

2 *at a Venture*: at random, by chance, without due consideration or thought (*OED*).

3 *a Sort of Ticking*: strong hard linen or cotton material used for making mattress or pillow cases (*OED*, *sv* 'tick', a).

4 *dried in the Sun*: notwithstanding Swift's scorn of Defoe (Davis, vol. II, p. 113), cf. the self-sufficiency and improvisation of Robinson Crusoe noted above, p. 351, n. 13.

5 *mingled with Water*: a drink evocative of the Ovidian golden age (*Metamorphoses*, I.111–12): cf. also Virgil, *Georgics*, IV.1, where honey is referred to as 'caelestia dona', the gift of heaven. Water boiled with honey or liquorice is a drink of the Utopians (*Utopia*, p. 44).

two Maxims, *That, Nature is very easily satisfied*;⁶ and, *That, Necessity is the Mother of Invention*.⁷ I enjoyed perfect Health of Body, and Tranquility of Mind;⁸ I did not feel the Treachery or Inconstancy of a Friend, nor the Injuries of a secret or open Enemy. I had no Occasion of bribing, flattering or pimping, to procure the Favour of any great Man, or of his Minion. I wanted no Fence⁹ against Fraud or Oppression: Here was neither Physician to destroy my Body, nor Lawyer to ruin my Fortune: No Informer¹⁰ to watch my Words and Actions, or forge Accusations against me for Hire: Here were no Gibbers, Censurers, Backbiters, Pickpockets, Highwaymen, House-breakers, Attorneys, Bawds, Buffoons, Gamesters, Politicians, Wits, Spleneticks, tedious Talkers,¹¹ Controvertists,¹² Ravishers, Murderers, Robbers, Virtuoso's;¹³ no Leaders or Followers of Party and Faction; no Encouragers to Vice, by Seducement or Examples: No Dungeon, Axes, Gibbets, Whipping-posts, or Pillories; No cheating Shop-keepers or Mechanicks:¹⁴ No Pride, Vanity or Affectation: No Fops, Bullies, Drunkards, strolling Whores, or Poxes:¹⁵ No ranting, lewd,

6 *Nature is very easily satisfied*: for Gulliver's first invocation of this proverb, see above, p. 345. See Long note 31.

7 *Necessity is the Mother of Invention*: again, proverbial. For a classical parallel, see Theocritus's illustration that poverty is the begetter of skills and crafts (XXI.1–2). For more recent invocations, see Molesworth, *Denmark*, p. 233 and Woodes Rogers, *Providence Display'd* (1712), p. 10. On the subject of proverbs, see above, p. 84, n. 8.

8 *perfect Health of Body, and Tranquility of Mind*: cf. Lucretius, *De Rerum Natura*, II.16–19: 'nonne videre / nil aliud sibi naturam latrare, nisi utqui / corpore seiunctus dolor absit, mensque fruatur / iucundo sensu cura semota metuque?'; 'do you not see that all nature requires is that the body be free from pain, and that the mind, protected from fear and care, should enjoy a feeling of delight?' More's Utopians particularly value 'the calm and harmonious state of the body, its state of health when undisturbed by any disorder' (*Utopia*, p. 72). For Michael's explanation to Adam of the benefits of temperance, cf. *Paradise Lost*, XI.530–7.

9 *Fence*: see above, p. 358, n. 18.

10 *Informer*: see above, p. 281, n. 24.

11 *tedious Talkers*: always a matter of concern to Swift: see his 'Hints Towards an Essay on Conversation' (Davis, vol. IV, pp. 85–95) and his anthology of bad conversation, *Polite Conversation* (1738) (Davis, vol. IV, pp. 97–201).

12 *Controvertists*: those who engage in controversies.

13 *Virtuoso's*: generally, a learned person; a scientist, savant, or scholar (*OED*, 1), but with a secondary meaning of one who has a special interest in, or taste for, the fine arts, but who carries on such pursuits in a dilettante or trifling manner (*OED*, 2). Virtuoso's were a particular satirical target of the Scriblerians: see, e.g., *An Essay of the Learned Martinus Scriblerus Concerning the Origine of Sciences* (1732).

14 *Mechanicks*: manual workers.

15 *Poxes*: those suffering from syphilis.

expensive Wives:¹⁶ No stupid, proud Pedants:¹⁷ No importunate, overbearing, quarrelsome, noisy, roaring, empty, conceited, swearing Companions: No Scoundrels raised from the Dust upon the Merit of their Vices; or Nobility thrown into it on account of their Virtues: No Lords, Fiddlers,¹⁸ Judges or Dancing-Masters.¹⁹

I had the Favour of being admitted to several *Houyhnhnms*, who came to visit or dine with my Master; where his Honour graciously suffered me to wait in the Room, and listen to their Discourse. Both he and his Company would often descend to ask me Questions, and receive my Answers. I had also sometimes the Honour of attending my Master in his Visits to others. I never presumed to speak, except in answer to a Question; and then I did it with inward Regret, because it was a Loss of so much Time for improving my self: But I was infinitely delighted with the Station of an humble Auditor in such Conversations, where nothing passed but what was useful, expressed in the fewest and most

16 *expensive Wives*: cf. Swift's expostulation on the excesses of Irish wives in 'Answer to Several Letters from Unknown Persons': 'Is it not the highest Indignity to human nature, that men should be such poltrons as to suffer the Kingdom and themselves to be undone, by the Vanity, the Folly, the Pride, and Wantonness of their Wives, who under their present Corruptions seem to be a kind of animal suffered for our sins to be sent into the world for the Destruction of Families, Societies, and Kingdoms; and whose whole study seems directed to be as expensive as they possibly can in every useless article of living, who by long practice can reconcile the most pernicious foreign Drugs to their health and pleasure, provided they are but expensive; as Starlings grow fat with henbane: who contract a Robustness by meer practice of Sloth and Luxury: who can play deep several hours after midnight, sleep beyond noon, revel upon Indian poisons, and spend the revenue of a moderate family to adorn a nauseous unwholesome living Carcase' (Davis, vol. XII, p. 80). In Remark 'T' to *The Fable of the Bees* Mandeville identifies the vanity of wives as one of the most powerful motors of economic activity: 'The variety of Work that is perform'd, and the number of Hands employ'd to gratify the Fickleness and Luxury of Women is prodigious' (*Fable of the Bees*, vol. I, p. 226).

17 *Pedants*: cf. Swift's definitions of pedantry: 'Pedantry is the too frequent or unseasonable obtruding our own Knowledge in common Discourse, and placing too great a Value upon it' (Davis, vol. IV, p. 90); 'Pedantry is properly the overrating any kind of knowledge we pretend to' (Davis, vol. IV, p. 215). Note also, however, his observation that 'THE Fear of being thought Pedants hath been of pernicious Consequence to young Divines' (Davis, vol. IX, p. 67). On 30 March 1698 Temple had dismissed Wotton as 'a Mean, Dull, Unmannerly Pedant' (Davis, vol. I, p. xviii).

18 *Fiddlers*: cf. Swift's grounds for hindering the pardon of a man convicted of rape: 'he was a fiddler, and consequently a rogue, and deserved hanging for something else; and so he shall swing' (Williams, *JSt*, p. 320).

19 *Dancing-Masters*: cf. Swift's identification of fiddlers and dancing-masters as 'greater pedants, than LIPSIUS, or the elder SCALIGER' (Davis, vol. IV, pp. 215–16).

significant Words:²⁰ Where (as I have already said) the greatest *Decency* was observed, without the least Degree of Ceremony; where no Person spoke without being pleased himself, and pleasing his Companions: Where there was no Interruption, Tediousness, Heat, or Difference of Sentiments. They have a Notion, That when People are met together, a short Silence doth much improve Conversation:²¹ This I found to be true; for during those little Intermissions of Talk, new Ideas would arise in their Minds, which very much enlivened the Discourse. Their Subjects²² are generally on Friendship and Benevolence;²³ on Order and Oeconomy; sometimes upon the visible Operations of Nature, or ancient Traditions; upon the Bounds and Limits of Virtue; upon the unerring Rules of Reason; or upon some Determinations, to be taken at the next great Assembly; and often upon the various Excellencies of *Poetry*. I may add, without Vanity, that my Presence often gave them sufficient Matter for Discourse, because it afforded my Master an Occasion of letting his Friends into²⁴ the History of me and my Country, upon which they were all pleased to discant²⁵ in a Manner not very advantageous to human Kind; and for that Reason I shall not repeat what they said: Only I may be allowed to observe, That his Honour, to my great Admiration, appeared to understand the Nature of *Yahoos*²⁶ much better than my self. He went through all our Vices and

20 *fewest and most significant Words*: cf. the laconic disposition of the ancient Spartans (Plutarch, 'Lycurgus', XIX). Swift's definition of good prose style is 'Proper Words in proper Places' (Davis, vol. IX, p. 65).

21 *improve Conversation*: a sentiment paralleled in Temple's 'Heads, Designed for an Essay on Conversation': 'Silence in Company, (if not Dulness or Modesty) is Observation or Discretion' (Temple, vol. I, p. 310). In *Polite Conversation* (1738), however, 'Simon Wagstaff' insists that 'the Ball of Discourse' must be 'kept up' without interruption: 'How often do we see at Court, at publick visiting Days, or great Men's Levees, and other Places of general Meeting, that the Conversation falls and drops to nothing, like a Fire without supply of Fuel. This is what we all ought to lament; and against this dangerous Evil, I take upon me to affirm, that I have in the following Papers provided an infallible Remedy' (Davis, vol. IV, pp. 99–100).

22 *Their Subjects*: cf. Horace, who in *Satires*, II.vi.70–6, provides a similar list of the topics of the conversation of the wise.

23 *Friendship and Benevolence*: these are also their principal virtues (above, p. 403) and the subjects of their poetry (above, p. 412).

24 *letting his Friends into*: introduce to the knowledge of, make acquainted with, inform about (*OED*, 'let', 11 a).

25 *discant*: to comment on, discourse about, discuss (*OED*, 3); perhaps also with overtones of to work with intricate variation (*OED*, 4).

26 *the Nature of Yahoos*: notable as the first occasion on which Gulliver applies the term 'Yahoo' to Europeans.

Follies, and discovered many which I had never mentioned to him; by only supposing what Qualities a *Yahoo* of their Country, with a small Proportion of Reason,²⁷ might be capable of exerting: And concluded, with too much Probability, how vile as well as miserable such a Creature must be.

I freely confess, that all the little Knowledge I have of any Value, was acquired by the Lectures I received from my Master, and from hearing the Discourses of him and his Friends; to which I should be prouder to listen, than to dictate to the greatest and wisest Assembly in *Europe*. I admired the Strength, Comeliness and Speed of the Inhabitants; and such a Constellation of Virtues in such amiable Persons produced in me the highest Veneration. At first, indeed, I did not feel that natural Awe which the *Yahoos* and all other Animals bear towards them; but it grew upon me by Degrees, much sooner than I imagined, and was mingled with a respectful Love and Gratitude, that they would condescend to distinguish me from the rest of my Species.

When I thought of my Family, my Friends, my Countrymen, or human Race in general, I considered them as they really were, *Yahoos* in Shape and Disposition, perhaps a little more civilized, and qualified with the Gift of Speech; but making no other Use of Reason, than to improve and multiply those Vices, whereof their Brethren in this Country had only the Share that Nature allotted them. When I happened to behold the Reflection of my own Form in a Lake or Fountain, I turned away my Face in Horror and detestation of my self; and could better endure the Sight of a common *Yahoo*, than of my own Person.²⁸ By conversing with the *Houyhnhnms*, and looking upon them with Delight, I fell to imitate their Gait and Gesture, which is now grown into a Habit; and my Friends often tell me in a blunt Way, that *I trot like a Horse*;²⁹ which, however, I take for a great

27 *a small Proportion of Reason*: cf. the similar phrasing above, p. 410: 'a little more civilized by some Tincture of Reason'.

28 *than of my own Person*: a rueful re-writing of the myth of Narcissus, who fell in love with his own reflection (Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, III.402–36); cf. Milton's application of this myth to Eve (*Paradise Lost*, IV.460–71). Other poetic parallels include Theocritus, VI.34–8, Virgil, *Eclogues*, II.25–6, and Pope, *Pastorals*, II.27–30.

29 *trot like a Horse*: cf. Laetitia Pilkington's recollection of Swift's odd manner of walking, which illustrates how even in his own lifetime *GT* was a lens through which people viewed its author: 'I seated myself, and away the Dean walked, or rather trolled, as hard as ever he could drive. I could not help smiling at his odd Gait, for I thought to myself, he had written so much in Praise of Horses, that he was resolved to imitate them as nearly as he

Compliment: Neither shall I disown, that in speaking I am apt to fall into the Voice and manner of the *Houyhnhnms*, and hear my self ridiculed on that Account without the least Mortification.

In the Midst of this Happiness, when I looked upon my self to be fully settled for Life, my Master sent for me one Morning a little earlier than his usual Hour. I observed by his Countenance that he was in some Perplexity, and at a Loss how to begin what he had to speak. After a short Silence, he told me, he did not know how I would take what he was going to say: That, in the last general Assembly, when the Affair of the *Yahoos* was entered upon, the Representatives had taken Offence³⁰ at his keeping a *Yahoo* (meaning my self) in his Family more like a *Houyhnhnm* than a Brute Animal. That, he was known frequently to converse with me, as if he could receive some Advantage or Pleasure in my Company: That, such a Practice was not agreeable to Reason or Nature, or a thing ever heard of before among them. The Assembly did therefore *exhort*³¹ him, either to employ me like the rest of my Species, or command me to swim back to the Place from whence I came. That, the first of these Expedients was utterly rejected by all the *Houyhnhnms*, who had ever seen me at his House or their own:³² For, they alledged, That because I had some Rudiments of Reason, added to the natural Pravity of those Animals, it was to be feared, I might be able to seduce them into the woody and mountainous Parts of the Country, and bring them in Troops by Night to destroy the

could' (Pilkington, vol. I, p. 79). On 11 August 1729 Swift reported to Pope that 'I have been without a fit of deafness this half year; so I am like a horse which though off his mettle, can trot on tolerably' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, p. 245). Cf. also James Drake's lines on Sir Richard Blackmore: 'Let lumpish *Bl—re* his dull Hackney freight, / And break his Back with heavy Folio's Weight; / His *Pegasus* is of the *Flanders* Breed, / And limb'd for Draught or Burthen, not for Speed, / With Cart-horse trot, he sweats beneath the Pack / Of rhiming Prose and Knighthood on his Back' (*The Fourth and Last Volume of the Works of Mr Thomas Brown* (1715), p. 87).

30 *Representatives had taken Offence*: possibly an echo of the illiberal pressure applied to Lord Munodi by his fellow Balnibarbian to desert traditional practices and embrace speculative modernity in Part III, Chapter 4 (above, pp. 255–58). Swift had deplored the Athenian institution of ostracism in *A Discourse of the Contests and Dissensions* (1701) (Davis, vol. I, p. 225).

31 *exhort*: cf. the explanation below, p. 422, of why this is the only mode of instruction possible in the land of the *Houyhnhnms*.

32 *or their own*: this baits a characteristically Swiftian trap for the reader; we are led to expect a sentimental reason for the rejection, and instead are given a coolly rational one.

Houyhnhnms Cattle,³³ as being naturally of the ravenous Kind, and averse from Labour.

My Master added, That he was daily pressed by the *Houyhnhnms* of the Neighbourhood to have the Assembly's *Exhortation* executed, which he could not put off much longer. He doubted, it would be impossible for me to swim to another Country; and therefore wished I would contrive some Sort of Vehicle resembling those I had described to him, that might carry me on the Sea;³⁴ in which Work I should have the Assistance of his own Servants, as well as those of his Neighbours. He concluded, that for his own Part he could have been content to keep me in his Service as long as I lived; because he found I had cured myself of some bad Habits and Dispositions, by endeavouring, as far as my inferior Nature was capable, to imitate the *Houyhnhnms*.

I should here observe to the Reader, that a Decree of the general Assembly in this Country, is expressed by the Word *Hnhloayn*, which signifies an *Exhortation*; as near as I can render it: For they have no Conception how a rational Creature can be *compelled*, but only advised, or *exhorted*; because no Person can disobey Reason, without giving up his Claim to be a rational Creature.

I was struck with the utmost Grief and Despair at my Master's Discourse; and being unable to support the Agonies I was under, I fell into a Swoon at his Feet: When I came to myself, he told me, that he concluded I had been dead. (For these People are subject to no such Imbecillities of Nature.) I answered, in a faint Voice, that Death would have been too great an Happiness;³⁵ that although I could not blame the Assembly's *Exhortation*, or the Urgency of his Friends; yet in my weak and corrupt Judgment, I thought it might consist with Reason to have been less rigorous. That, I could not swim a League, and probably the nearest Land to theirs might be distant above an Hundred: That, many Materials, necessary for making

33 *destroy the Houyhnhnms Cattle*: for Swift's condemnation of cattle rustling by the savage Irish, see Davis, vol. XII, p. 89.

34 *carry me on the Sea*: note the Homeric parallel in *Odyssey*, V.105–261, where Calypso helps Odysseus make a boat.

35 *too great an Happiness*: a disconcerting introduction of an erotic idiom, which prepares the way for the sexual inversion of Gulliver's eventual way of life once he has returned to England: cf. *Letters of Abelard and Heloise*, fourth edition (1722), p. 163: 'Life, without my Abelard, is an unsupportable Punishment, and Death a most exquisite Happiness, if by that Means I can be united with him.'

a small Vessel to carry me off, were wholly wanting in this Country, which however, I would attempt in Obedience and Gratitude to his Honour, although I concluded the thing to be impossible, and therefore looked on myself as already devoted³⁶ to Destruction. That, the certain Prospect of an unnatural Death, was the least of my Evils: For, supposing I should escape with Life by some strange Adventure, how could I think with Temper,³⁷ of passing my Days among *Yahoos*, and relapsing into my old Corruptions, for want of Examples to lead and keep me within the Paths of Virtue. That, I knew too well upon what solid Reasons all the Determinations of the wise *Houyhnhnms* were founded, not to be shaken by Arguments of mine, a miserable *Yahoo*; and therefore after presenting him with my humble Thanks for the Offer of his Servants Assistance in making a Vessel, and desiring a reasonable Time for so difficult a Work, I told him, I would endeavour to preserve a wretched Being; and, if ever I returned to *England*, was not without Hopes of being useful to my own Species, by celebrating the Praises of the renowned *Houyhnhnms*, and proposing their Virtues to the Imitation of Mankind.

My Master in a few Words made me a very gracious Reply, allowed me the Space of two *Months* to finish my Boat; and ordered the Sorrel Nag, my Fellow-Servant, (for so at this Distance I may presume to call him) to follow my Instructions, because I told my Master, that his Help would be sufficient, and I knew he had a Tenderness for me.

In his Company my first Business was to go to that Part of the Coast, where my rebellious Crew had ordered me to be set on Shore. I got upon a Height, and looking on every Side into the Sea, fancied I saw a small Island, towards the *North-East*: I took out my Pocket-glass, and could then clearly distinguish it about five Leagues off, as I computed; but it appeared to the Sorrel Nag to be only a blue Cloud: For, as he had no Conception of any Country beside his own, so he could not be as expert in distinguishing remote Objects at Sea, as we who so much converse in that Element.

After I had discovered this Island, I considered no farther; but resolved, it should, if possible, be the first Place of my Banishment, leaving the Consequence to Fortune.

36 *devoted*: formally or surely consigned to evil or destruction; doomed (*OED*, 3).

37 *with Temper*: mental balance or composure (*OED*, 3).

I returned home, and consulting with the Sorrel Nag, we went into a Copse at some Distance, where I with my Knife, and he with a sharp Flint fastened very artificially, after their Manner, to a wooden Handle, cut down several Oak Wattles about the Thickness of a Walking-staff, and some larger Pieces. But I shall not trouble the Reader with a particular Description of my own Mechanicks: Let it suffice to say, that in six Weeks time, with the Help of the Sorrel Nag, who performed the Parts that required most Labour, I finished a Sort of *Indian Canoo*, but much larger, covering it with the Skins of *Yahoos*³⁸ well stitched together, with hempen Threads of my own making. My Sail was likewise composed of the Skins of the same Animal; but I made use of the youngest I could get,³⁹ the older being too tough and thick: and I likewise provided myself with four Paddles. I laid in a Stock of boiled Flesh, of Rabbits and Fowls; and took with me two Vessels, one filled with Milk, and the other with Water.

I tried my Canoo in a large Pond near my Master's House, and then corrected in it what was amiss; stopping all the Chinks with *Yahoos* Tallow, till I found it stanch,⁴⁰ and able to bear me, and my Freight. And when it was as compleat as I could possibly make it, I had it drawn on a Carriage⁴¹ very gently by *Yahoos*, to the Sea-side, under the Conduct of the Sorrel Nag, and another Servant.

When all was ready, and the Day came for my Departure, I took Leave of my Master and Lady, and the whole Family, mine Eyes flowing with Tears, and my Heart quite sunk with Grief. But his Honour, out of Curiosity, and perhaps (if I may speak it without Vanity) partly out of Kindness, was determined to see me in my Canoo; and got several of his neighbouring Friends to accompany him. I was forced to wait above an Hour for the Tide, and then observing the Wind very fortunately bearing towards the Island, to which I intended to steer my Course, I took a second Leave of my

38 *the Skins of Yahoos*: cf. Gulliver's earlier remark to his Houyhnhnm master concerning the treatment of the skins of horses in Europe (above, p. 355).

39 *the youngest I could get*: perhaps a hint towards the imaginative world of *A Modest Proposal*: 'THOSE who are more thrifty (*as I must confess the Times require*) may flay the Carcase; the Skin of which, artificially dressed, will make admirable *Gloves for Ladies*, and *Summer Boots for fine Gentlemen*' (Davis, vol. XII, p. 112).

40 *stanch*: watertight (*OED*, 1).

41 *drawn on a Carriage*: an echo of the manner in which Gulliver was transported in Part I, Chapter 1 (above, pp. 39–40).

Master: But as I was going to prostrate myself⁴² to kiss his Hoof, he did me the Honour to raise it gently to my Mouth.⁴³ I am not ignorant how much I have been censured for mentioning this last Particular.⁴⁴ Detractors are pleased to think it improbable, that so illustrious a Person should descend to give so great a Mark of Distinction to a Creature so inferior as I. Neither have I forgot, how apt some Travellers are to boast of extraordinary Favours they have received. But, if these Censurers were better acquainted with the noble and courteous Disposition of the *Houyhnhnms*, they would soon change their Opinion.

I paid my Respects to the rest of the *Houyhnhnms* in his Honour's Company; then getting into my Canoo, I pushed off from Shore.

42 *prostrate myself*: cf. Gulliver's involuntary prostration before the King of Luggnagg in Part III, Chapter 9 (above, pp. 306–8).

43 *gently to my Mouth*: cf. *A Tale of a Tub*, Section 4: 'whoever went to take him by the Hand in the way of Salutation, *Peter* with much Grace like a well educated Spaniel, would present them with his *Foot*, and if they refused his Civility, then he would raise it as high as their Chops, and give them a damn'd Kick on the Mouth, which hath ever since been call'd a *Salute*' (*CWJS*, vol. I, p. 73; Davis, vol. I, p. 71). Cf. Swift's reported resentment expressed on 27 May 1730 to the Lord Mayor and aldermen of Dublin against those whom he had helped and 'who were afterwards the first to lift up their heels against him' (Davis, vol. XII, p. 147; Ehrenpreis, vol. III, pp. 650–5). Swift was so taken with this expression (derived from the Bible: see Psalms 41:9 and John 13:18) that he returned to it the following year when composing 'Verses on the Death of Dr Swift': '*ev'n his own familiar Friends / Intent upon their private Ends; / Like Renegadoes now he feels, / Against him lifting up their Heels*' (Williams, *Poems*, p. 569, lines 403–6; for the letter to Gay placing the poem's composition in December 1731, see Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, p. 443). Note also Swift's resolution, in a letter of July 1733 to Bishop Stearne, 'to have no more commerce with persons of such prodigious grandeur, who I feared, in a little time, would expect me to kiss their slipper' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, p. 675). Cf. also the note on 'yerks' (below, p. 439, n. 18).

44 *this last Particular*: since these words are found in the first edition of 1726 and thus precede any possible response to *GT*, this is another instance of a 'bite' against the reader on Swift's part.

CHAPTER XI.

The Author's dangerous Voyage. He arrives at New-Holland,¹ hoping to settle there. Is wounded with an Arrow by one of the Natives. Is seized and carried by Force into a Portugueze Ship. The great Civilities of the Captain. The Author arrives at England.

I began this desperate Voyage on *February* 15, 1714/5,² at 9 o'Clock in the Morning. The Wind was very favourable; however, I made use at first only of my Paddles; but considering I should soon be weary, and that the Wind might probably chop about,³ I ventured to set up my little Sail; and thus, with the Help of the Tide, I went at the Rate of a League and a Half an Hour, as near as I could guess. My Master and his Friends continued on the Shoar, till I was almost out of Sight; and I often heard the Sorrel Nag (who always loved me) crying out, *Hnuy illa nyha maiah Yahoo*, Take Care of thy self, gentle *Yahoo*.

My Design was, if possible, to discover some small Island uninhabited, yet sufficient by my Labour to furnish me with Necessaries of Life, which I would have thought a greater Happiness than to be first Minister in the politest Court of *Europe*; so horrible was the Idea I conceived of returning to live in the Society and under the Government of *Yahoos*.⁴ For in such a

1 *New-Holland*: Australia.

2 1714/5: until 1752 the new year in England officially began on 25 March. So for dates between 1 January and 24 March both years were often given. It is suggestive that the period of Gulliver's departure from the land of the Houyhnhnms broadly corresponds to the period following the death of Queen Anne, which forced Swift to leave England for Ireland, as he remarked in a letter of 15 August 1714 to Oxford: 'This great Event of the Queen's death, as it has broken your Measures of retiring, and called you back again into Affairs, so it has affected me so far as to force me into Ireland to take the Oaths' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. II, pp. 74-5).

3 *chop about*: change direction suddenly or veer (*OED*, 6).

4 *the Government of Yahoos*: Alexander Selkirk experienced a similar reluctance to re-enter society after a period of over four years of solitude on an island, and 'frequently bewailed his Return to the World, which could not, he said, with all its Enjoyments, restore him to the Tranquility of his Solitude'; although in the case of Selkirk this solitary disposition wore off after 'a few

Solitude as I desired, I could at least enjoy my own Thoughts, and reflect with Delight on the Virtues of those inimitable *Houyhnhnms*, without any Opportunity of degenerating into the Vices and Corruptions of my own Species.

The Reader may remember what I related when my Crew conspired against me, and confined me to my Cabin. How I continued there several Weeks, without knowing what Course we took; and when I was put ashore in the Long-boat, how the Sailors told me with Oaths, whether true or false, that they knew not in what Part of the World we were. However, I did then believe us to be about ten Degrees *Southward* of the *Cape of Good Hope*, or about 45 Degrees *Southern* Latitude,⁵ as I gathered from some general Words I overheard among them, being I supposed to the *South-East* in their intended Voyage to *Madagascar*. And although this were but little better than Conjecture, yet I resolved to steer my Course *Eastward*, hoping to reach the *South-West* Coast of *New-Holland*, and perhaps some such Island as I desired, lying *Westward* of it. The Wind was full *West*, and by six in the Evening I computed I had gone *Eastward* at least eighteen Leagues; when I spied a very small Island about half a League off, which I soon reached. It was nothing but a Rock with one Creek, naturally arched by the Force of Tempests. Here I put in my Canoo, and climbing a Part of the Rock, I could plainly discover Land to the *East*, extending from *South* to *North*. I lay all Night in my Canoo; and repeating my Voyage early in the Morning, I arrived in seven Hours to the *South-East* Point of *New-Holland*.⁶ This confirmed me in the Opinion I have long entertained, that the *Maps* and *Charts* place this Country at least three Degrees more to the *East* than it really is;⁷ which Thought I communicated many Years

Months' in London (*The Englishman*, 26 (3 December, 1713), in *The Englishman: Being the Sequel of The Guardian* (1714), p. 173).

5 *Southern Latitude*; cf. 'I knew pretty well that the Houyhnhnms Land was situated between 43 and 46 Degrees of Southern Latitude, in the Indian Sea' (*Travels into Several Remote Nations of the World. By Capt Lemuel Gulliver, vol. III* (1727), p. 25).

6 *the South-East Point of New-Holland*: the southern point of Tasmania.

7 *more to the East than it really is*: in correcting public opinion concerning the position of Australia, Gulliver is following the guidance for travellers prescribed by the Royal Society. The first of Robert Boyle's instructions to voyagers was that they should make public precise information about position: 'Under the first kind may be reckon'd the Longitude and Latitude of the Place, and that in respect to the Changes made in the Air; the Climate, together with the Length of the longest and shortest Days, and the Parallels come here to be considered; the Retrogradation of the Sun upon Dials, within the Tropicks, and that naturally; what fixt

ago to my worthy Friend Mr. *Herman Moll*,⁸ and gave him my Reasons for it, although he hath rather chosen to follow other Authors.

I saw no Inhabitants in the Place where I landed; and being unarmed, I was afraid of venturing far into the Country. I found some Shell-Fish on the Shore, and eat them raw, not daring to kindle a Fire, for fear of being discovered by the Natives. I continued three Days feeding on Oysters and Limpits, to save my own Provisions; and I fortunately found a Brook of excellent Water, which gave me great Relief.

On the fourth Day, venturing out early a little too far, I saw twenty or thirty Natives upon a Height, not above five hundred Yards from me. They were stark naked, Men, Women and Children round a Fire, as I could discover by the Smoke. One of them spied me, and gave Notice to the rest; five of them advanced towards me, leaving the Women and Children at the Fire. I made what haste I could to the Shore, and getting into my Canoo, shoved off: The Savages observing me retreat, ran after me; and before I could get far enough into the Sea, discharged an Arrow, which wounded me deeply on the Inside of my left Knee (I shall carry the Mark to my Grave.)⁹ I apprehended the Arrow might be poisoned; and paddling out of the Reach of their Darts (being a calm Day) I made a shift to suck the Wound, and dress it as well as I could.

I was at a Loss what to do, for I durst not return to the same Landing-place, but stood to¹⁰ the *North*, and was forced to paddle; for the Wind,

Stars, and what not seen there, &c' (Robert Boyle, *General Heads for the Natural History of a Country* (1692), pp. 2–3).

8 *Herman Moll*: the celebrated Dutch cartographer, whose *A New & Correct Map of the Whole World* (1719) was a principal source for the maps in *GT*: see Frederick Bracher, 'The Maps in *Gulliver's Travels*', *HLQ*, 8 (1944–5), 59–74, and *Four Essays*, pp. 50–2.

9 *Mark to my Grave*: perhaps, given the general context of a return after wanderings, an echo of Odysseus's scar 'above the knee' which allows the servant Eurycleia to recognize him on his return to Ithaca (*Odyssey*, XIX.392–6); an allusion which would, given the joyful and loving reunion of Odysseus and Penelope (*Odyssey*, XXIII.205–99), add poignancy to the estrangement of Gulliver from his wife. For an actual parallel, cf. the mishap of Francis de Ulloa during a skirmish with Indians in Mexico: 'the Capitaine and *Haro* turned themselves to the Indians and made head against them, and the Indians assailed them with such numbers of stones, arrows, & iauelins (which was a very strange thing) that they brake in pieces the target which the Capitaine had on his arme, and besides that wounded him with an arrow in the bending of his knee, and though the wound was not great, yet was it very painefull vnto him' (Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Nauigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoueries of the English Nation*, vol. I (1599), pp. 408–9; cf. Lionel Wafer, *A New Voyage and Description of the Isthmus of America*, ed. L. E. Elliott Joyce (Oxford: Hakluyt Society, 1934), pp. 4–6).

10 *stood to*: steered towards.

although very gentle, was against me, blowing *North-West*. As I was looking about for a secure Landing-place, I saw a Sail to the *North North-East*, which appearing every Minute more visible, I was in some Doubt, whether I should wait for them or no; but at last my Detestation of the *Yahoo* Race prevailed; and turning my Canoo, I sailed and paddled together to the *South*, and got into the same Creek from whence I set out in the Morning; choosing rather to trust my self among these *Barbarians*, than live with *European Yahoos*. I drew up my Canoo as close as I could to the Shore, and hid my self behind a Stone by the little Brook, which, as I have already said, was excellent Water.

The Ship came within half a League of this Creek, and sent out her Long-Boat with Vessels to take in fresh Water (for the Place it seems was very well known) but I did not observe it until the Boat was almost on Shore; and it was too late to seek another Hiding-Place. The Seamen at their landing observed my Canoo, and rummaging it all over, easily conjectured that the Owner could not be far off. Four of them well armed searched every Cranny and Lurking-hole, till at last they found me flat on my Face behind the Stone. They gazed a while in Admiration at my strange uncouth Dress; my Coat made of Skins, my wooden-soled Shoes, and my furred Stockings; from whence, however, they concluded I was not a Native of the Place, who all go naked. One of the Seamen in *Portugueze* bid me rise, and asked who I was. I understood that Language very well, and getting upon my Feet, said, I was a poor *Yahoo*, banished from the *Houyhnhnms*, and desired they would please to let me depart. They admired to hear me answer them in their own Tongue, and saw by my Complexion I must be an European; but were at a Loss to know what I meant by *Yahoos* and *Houyhnhnms*, and at the same Time fell a laughing at my strange Tone in speaking, which resembled the Neighing of a Horse. I trembled all the while betwixt Fear and Hatred:¹¹ I again desired Leave to depart, and was gently moving to my Canoo; but they laid hold on me, desiring to know what Country I was of? whence I came? with many other Questions. I told them, I was born in *England*, from whence I came about five Years ago, and then their Country and ours were at Peace. I therefore hoped they would not treat me as an Enemy, since I meant them no Harm, but was a

11 *betwixt Fear and Hatred*: see Long note 36.

poor *Yahoo*, seeking some desolate Place where to pass the Remainder of his unfortunate Life.

When they began to talk, I thought I never heard or saw any thing so unnatural; for it appeared to me as monstrous as if a Dog or a Cow should speak in *England*, or a *Yahoo* in *Houyhnhnm-Land*. The honest *Portugueze* were equally amazed at my strange Dress, and the odd Manner of delivering my Words, which however they understood very well. They spoke to me with great Humanity, and said they were sure their Captain would carry me *gratis* to *Lisbon*, from whence I might return to my own Country; that two of the Seamen would go back to the Ship, to inform the Captain of what they had seen, and receive his Orders; in the mean Time, unless I would give my solemn Oath not to fly, they would secure me by Force. I thought it best to comply with their Proposal. They were very curious to know my Story, but I gave them very little Satisfaction; and they all conjectured, that my Misfortunes had impaired my Reason. In two Hours the Boat, which went laden with Vessels of Water, returned with the Captain's Commands to fetch me on Board. I fell on my Knees to preserve my Liberty; but all was in vain, and the Men having tied me with Cords, heaved me into the Boat, from whence I was taken into the Ship, and from thence into the Captain's Cabbin.

His Name was *Pedro de Mendez*;¹² he was a very courteous and generous Person; he entreated me to give some Account of my self, and desired to know what I would eat or drink; said, I should be used as well as himself, and spoke so many obliging Things, that I wondered to find such Civilities from a *Yahoo*. However, I remained silent and sullen; I was ready to faint at the very Smell of him and his Men. At last I desired something to eat out of my own Canoo; but he ordered me a Chicken and some excellent Wine, and then directed that I should be put to Bed in a very clean Cabbin. I would not undress my self, but lay on the Bed-cloaths; and in half an Hour stole out, when I thought the Crew was at Dinner; and getting to the Side of the Ship, was going to leap into the Sea, and swim for my Life, rather

12 *Pedro de Mendez*: in *Utopia* Raphael Hythloday is Portuguese (*Utopia*, pp. 10–11). Robinson Crusoe repeatedly experiences the humanity of the Portuguese (e.g. Defoe, *Crusoe*, pp. 32 and 35). The name Mendez may suggest that the captain is either a Sephardim (a Jew living in Spain or Portugal) or a Marrano (either a Jew who has converted to Christianity, or, more often, a Jew who merely professes to be Christian in order to avoid persecution): see Maurice A. Géraucht, 'Pedro De Mendez: Marrano Jew and Good Samaritan in Swift's *Voyages*', *SSStud*, 5 (1990), 39–52. In the *Key*, Pedro de Mendez is identified as Swift's friend the Earl of Peterborough (p. 26).

than continue among *Yahoos*. But one of the Seamen prevented me, and having informed the Captain, I was chained to my Cabbin.

After Dinner *Don Pedro* came to me, and desired to know my Reason for so desperate an Attempt; assured me he only meant to do me all the Service he was able; and spoke so very movingly, that at last I descended to treat him like an Animal which had some little Portion of Reason.¹³ I gave him a very short Relation of my Voyage; of the Conspiracy against me by my own Men; of the Country where they set me on Shore, and of my five Years Residence there. All which he looked upon as if it were a Dream or a Vision; whereat I took great Offence: For I had quite forgot the Faculty of Lying, so peculiar to *Yahoos* in all Countries where they preside, and consequently the Disposition of suspecting Truth in others of their own Species. I asked him, Whether it were the Custom of his Country to *say the Thing that was not*? I assured him I had almost forgot what he meant by Falshood; and if I had lived a thousand Years in *Houyhnhnmland*, I should never have heard a Lie from the meanest Servant. That I was altogether indifferent whether he believed me or no; but however, in return for his Favours, I would give so much Allowance to the Corruption of his Nature, as to answer any Objection he would please to make; and he might easily discover the Truth.

The Captain, a wise Man, after many Endeavours to catch me tripping in some Part of my Story, at last began to have a better Opinion of my Veracity.¹⁴ But he added, that since I professed so inviolable an Attachment to Truth, I must give him my Word of Honour to bear him Company in this Voyage without attempting any thing against my Life; or else he would continue me a Prisoner till we arrived at *Lisbon*. I gave him the Promise he required; but at the same time protested that I would suffer the greatest Hardships rather than return to live among *Yahoos*.

Our Voyage passed without any considerable Accident. In Gratitude to the Captain I sometimes sate with him at his earnest Request, and strove to conceal my Antipathy against human Kind, although it often broke out; which he suffered to pass without Observation. But the greatest Part of

13 *little Portion of Reason*: Gulliver behaves towards Pedro de Mendez as the Houyhnhnm Master had behaved towards him: cf. above, p. 350.

14 *better Opinion of my Veracity*: for the significant variant in 1726, see below, p. 717. The elision in 1735 may have been prompted by a desire to remove the apparent contradiction with the Houyhnhnms' assertion that Gulliver was the first European to visit them (above, p. 349). For a discussion, see the 'Introduction', above, pp. xcvi–xcvii.

the Day, I confined myself to my Cabbin, to avoid seeing any of the Crew. The Captain had often intreated me to strip myself of my savage Dress, and offered to lend me the best Suit of Cloaths he had. This I would not be prevailed on to accept, abhorring to cover myself with any thing that had been on the Back of a *Yahoo*. I only desired he would lend me two clean Shirts, which having been washed since he wore them, I believed would not so much defile me. These I changed every second Day, and washed them myself.

We arrived at *Lisbon*, Nov. 5, 1715. At our landing, the Captain forced me to cover myself with his Cloak, to prevent the Rabble from crouding about me. I was conveyed to his own House; and at my earnest Request, he led me up to the highest Room backwards. I conjured him to conceal from all Persons what I had told him of the *Houyhnhnms*; because the least Hint of such a Story would not only draw Numbers of People to see me, but probably put me in Danger of being imprisoned, or burnt by the *Inquisition*.¹⁵ The Captain persuaded me to accept a Suit of Cloaths newly made; but I would not suffer the Taylor to take my Measure; however, Don *Pedro* being almost of my Size, they fitted me well enough. He accoutred me with other Necessaries all new, which I aired for Twenty-four Hours before I would use them.

The Captain had no Wife, nor above three Servants, none of which were suffered to attend at Meals; and his whole Deportment was so obliging, added to very good *human* Understanding, that I really began to tolerate his Company. He gained so far upon me, that I ventured to look out of the back Window. By Degrees I was brought into another Room, from whence I peeped into the Street, but drew my Head back in a Fright. In a Week's Time he seduced me down to the Door. I found my Terror gradually lessened, but my Hatred and Contempt seemed to increase. I was at last bold enough to walk the Street in his Company, but kept my Nose well stopped with Rue,¹⁶ or sometimes with Tobacco.

15 *by the Inquisition*: an ecclesiastical tribunal (officially styled the Holy Office) for the suppression of heresy and punishment of heretics, organized in the thirteenth century under Innocent III, under a central governing body at Rome called the Congregation of the Holy Office (*OED*, 3). Swift was assured by Sir Paul Methuen, the English ambassador to Portugal, that his *Predictions for the Year 1708* had been burned by the Inquisition there (Davis, vol. II, p. 160 and n*).

16 *well stopped with Rue, or sometimes with Tobacco*: for the opinion of Temple on the uses of rue and tobacco, see Temple, vol. I, pp. 284 and 286. Rue was said to clarify the sight: *Paradise*

In ten Days, Don *Pedro*, to whom I had given some Account of my domestick Affairs, put it upon me as a Point of Honour and Conscience, that I ought to return to my native Country, and live at home with my Wife and Children. He told me, there was an *English* Ship in the Port just ready to sail, and he would furnish me with all things necessary. It would be tedious to repeat his Arguments, and my Contradictions. He said, it was altogether impossible to find such a solitary Island¹⁷ as I had desired to live in; but I might command in my own House, and pass my time in a Manner as recluse as I pleased.

I complied at last, finding I could not do better. I left *Lisbon* the 24th Day of *November*, in an *English* Merchant-man, but who was the Master I never inquired.¹⁸ Don *Pedro* accompanied me to the Ship, and lent me Twenty Pounds. He took kind Leave of me, and embraced me at parting; which I bore as well as I could. During this last Voyage I had no Commerce with the Master, or any of his Men; but pretending I was sick kept close in my Cabbin. On the Fifth of *December*, 1715, we cast Anchor in the *Downs*¹⁹ about Nine in the Morning, and at Three in the Afternoon I got safe to my House at *Redriff*.

My Wife and Family received me with great Surprize and Joy, because they concluded me certainly dead; but I must freely confess, the Sight of

Lost, XI.414–15. Tobacco (along with almost every other herb) was said by Robert Burton to be a cure for melancholy (Burton, vol. II, p. 218); for other associations, see *Richard II*, III.iv.105 and *Hamlet*, IV.v.177–8. Rue, together with thyme, was also a Jacobite code for grief at the death of Queen Anne and dismay at the accession of George I (Smith, *Georgian Monarchy*, pp. 177–8). However, in the years immediately following the plague of Marseilles in 1720, rue and tobacco were also thought to be prophylactics against plague: see, e.g., Joseph Browne, *A Practical Treatise of the Plague* (1720), who advises that 'It is useful for such as go Abroad to . . . stop their Nostrils with green Rue or Tobacco Leaves of the largest Cut' (p. 59); 'Eugenius Philalethes', *A Treatise of the Plague* (1721), p. 9; Anon., *The Late Dreadful Plague at Marseilles* (1721), p. 15; Anon., *The Great Bill of Mortality* (Bristol, ?1721), p. 15; and [Daniel Defoe], *A Journal of the Plague Year* (1722), p. 105. Gulliver's recourse to rue and tobacco both re-introduces the theme of plague from Part I (above, p. 48 and Long note 9 below), and strengthens the misanthropy of the end of Part IV. At this point in *GT*, Gulliver believes humanity to be literally (in the words of the King of Brobdingnag) a 'pernicious Race of little odious Vermin' from which he may contract a mortal disease (above, p. 189).

17 *such a solitary Island*: together with Gulliver's desire for 'some desolate place' (above, p. 430) to live out his remaining days, possibly a final dismissive glance at the plot of *Robinson Crusoe* (1719).

18 *I never inquired*: contrast Gulliver's previous meticulousness in noting the masters of the various vessels in which he sailed.

19 *Downs*: see above, p. 112, n. 14.

them filled me only with Hatred, Disgust and Contempt; and the more, by reflecting on the near Alliance I had to them. For, although since my unfortunate Exile from the *Houyhnhnm* Country, I had compelled myself to tolerate the Sight of *Yahoos*, and to converse with Don *Pedro de Mendez*; yet my Memory and Imaginations were perpetually filled with the Virtues and Ideas of those exalted *Houyhnhnms*. And when I began to consider, that by copulating with one of the *Yahoo*-Species, I had become a Parent of more;²⁰ it struck me with the utmost Shame, Confusion and Horror.²¹

As soon as I entered the House, my Wife took me in her Arms, and kissed me; at which, having not been used to the Touch of that odious Animal for so many Years, I fell in a Swoon for almost an Hour.²² At the Time I am writing, it is five Years since my last Return to *England*.²³ During the first Year I could not endure my Wife or Children in my Presence, the very Smell of them was intolerable: much less could I suffer them to eat in the same Room. To this Hour they dare not presume to touch my Bread, or drink out of the same Cup;²⁴ neither was I ever able

20 *a Parent of more*: Gulliver had left his 'poor Wife big with Child' at the beginning of Part IV (above, p. 330). Gulliver's indifference towards the child born in his absence and whom he has never seen demonstrates his misanthropy. Cf. the advice Swift gave to Mrs Swanton on 12 July 1733, on how to deal with a refractory daughter; 'you are to suppose that you never had such a daughter, and that her children will have no more title to your charity, than the bratts and bastards of any other common beggar' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, p. 670). For a comparable example of Stoic detachment, see Marcus Aurelius, *Meditations*, X.19.

21 *Shame, Confusion and Horror*: compare Gulliver's repudiation of his former way of life with Swift's comment in 'Thoughts on Various Subjects' that the 'latter Part of a wise Man's Life is taken up in curing the Follies, Prejudices, and false Opinions he had contracted in the former' (Davis, vol. I, p. 242). At the end of *The Examiner* 44 (7 June 1711) Swift had snarled at 'those little barking Pens which have so constantly pursued me' with the reflection that 'nothing can well be more mortifying, than to reflect, that I am of the same Species with Creatures capable of uttering so much Scurrility, Dulness, Falshood and Impertinence, to the Scandal and Disgrace of Human Nature' (Davis, vol. III, pp. 171–2). Adam Smith censured Swift for his 'insolent contempt of all the ordinary decorums of life and conversation' (Smith, *TMS*, VI.i.11, pp. 214–15).

22 *almost an Hour*: for the poetic response to this behaviour which Pope composed for Gulliver's wife, see below pp. 582–86.

23 *last Return to England*: this would date the composition of *GT* to 1720. For what we know about the actual date of composition, see above, p. xli and below, pp. 627–28.

24 *out of the same Cup*: a startling echo of the language of the Bible (cf. e.g. Matthew 19:14, Mark 10:14 and Luke 18:16) and of the language of the prayer preceding the taking of communion in *The Book of Common Prayer*: 'We do not presume to come to this thy Table, O merciful Lord, trusting in our own righteousness, but in thy manifold and great mercies. We are not worthy so much as to gather up the crumbs under thy Table.' Swift himself occasionally liked to speak in the accents of God, as when he wrote to Pope on 29 September 1725 that 'if the

to let one of them take me by the Hand. The first Money I laid out was to buy two young Stone-Horses,²⁵ which I keep in a good Stable, and next to them²⁶ the Groom is my greatest Favourite; for I feel my Spirits revived by the Smell he contracts in the Stable. My Horses understand me tolerably well; I converse with them at least four Hours every Day.²⁷ They are Strangers to Bridle or Saddle;²⁸ they live in great Amity with me, and Friendship to each other.²⁹

World had but a dozen Arbuthnots in it I would burn my Travells' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. II, p. 607; cf. Genesis 18:23–33); words which reveal a genocidal impulse relevant to Part IV of *GT*.

25 *Stone-Horses*: stallions (i.e. uncastrated male horses).

26 *next to them*: cf. Malebranche's illustration to prove the necessary existence of universal reason: 'Therefore there is necessarily an Universal Reason which enlightens me, and all intelligent Beings. For if the Reason I consult were not the same as that which answers the Chinese, 'tis evident, I could not be assur'd, as I am, that the Chinese see the same Truths as I see. Therefore the Reason we consult, when we retire into our selves, is an universal Reason: I say when we retire into our selves, for I speak not here of the Reason which is follow'd by a Man in a Passion. When a Man prefers the Life of his Coach-Horse before that of his Coach-Man, he has his Reasons for it, but they are particular Reasons which every rational Man abhors. They are reasons which at Bottom are not reasonable, because not conformable to Sovereign or universal Reason, which all Mankind consults' (*Father Malebranche his Treatise Concerning the Search after Truth*, tr. T. Taylor (1700), pp. 133–4). Cf. also La Rochefoucauld, maxim 201: 'Celui qui croit pouvoir trouver en soi-même de quoi se passer de tout le monde, se trompe fort; mais celui qui croit qu'on ne peut se passer de lui, se trompe encore davantage'; 'It is a great mistake for a man to suppose that he can dispense with the world; but it is a much greater one to suppose that the world cannot dispense with him.'

27 *four Hours every Day*: In John Arbuthnot's *It Cannot Rain but it Pours... Being An Account... of the Copper-Farthing Dean from Ireland* (1726), a youth raised by wild animals in Germany is described who 'takes vast Pleasure in Conversation with Horses... [and] expresseth his Joy most commonly by Neighing; and whatever the Philosophers may talk of their Risibility, Neighing is a more noble Expression of that Passion than Laughing' (p. 7). Laetitia Pilkington recalled Swift's disparagement of her in favour of a horse: 'I have been considering, Madam, as I walked, said he, what a Fool Mr. P—n was to marry you, for he could have afforded to keep a Horse for less Money than you cost him, and that, you must confess, would have given him better Exercise and more Pleasure than a Wife'" (Pilkington, pp. 79–80).

28 *Strangers to Bridle or Saddle*: unlike Swift's horses, which he rode hard, and concerning which he was utterly unsentimental (e.g. Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. II, pp. 197–8 and 333).

29 *Friendship to each other*: cf. the importance of friendship to the Houyhnhnms (above, pp. 403 and 412). Swift occasionally employs equine metaphors in close proximity to the idea of friendship, as in his letter to Thomas Sheridan of 8 July 1726: 'I have had the fairest Offer made me of a Settlement here that one can imagine... in the midst of my Friends. But I am too old for new Schemes, and especially such as would *bridle* me in my Freedoms and Liberalities' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. II, p. 652; emphasis added).

CHAPTER XII.

The Author's Veracity. His Design in publishing this Work. His Censure of those Travellers who swerve from the Truth. The Author clears himself from any sinister Ends in writing. An Objection answered. The Method of planting Colonies. His Native Country commended. The Right of the Crown to those Countries described by the Author, is justified. The Difficulty of conquering them. The Author takes his last Leave of the Reader, proposeth his Manner of Living for the future, gives good Advice, and concludeth.

Thus, gentle Reader, I have given thee a faithful History of my Travels for Sixteen Years, and above Seven Months;¹ wherein I have not been so studious of Ornament as of Truth. I could perhaps like others have astonished thee with strange improbable Tales; but I rather chose to relate plain Matter of Fact in the simplest Manner and Style; because my principal Design was to inform, and not to amuse thee.²

It is easy for us who travel into remote Countries, which are seldom visited by *Englishmen* or other *Europeans*, to form Descriptions of wonderful Animals both at Sea and Land.³ Whereas, a Traveller's chief Aim should be to make Men wiser and better,⁴ and to improve their Minds by the bad, as well as good Example of what they deliver concerning foreign Places.

I could heartily wish a Law were enacted, that every Traveller, before he were permitted to publish his Voyages, should be obliged to make Oath before the *Lord High Chancellor*, that all he intended to print was absolutely true to the best of his Knowledge; for then the World would no longer be deceived as it usually is, while some Writers, to make their Works pass the better upon the Publick, impose the grossest Falsities on

1 *above Seven Months*: i.e. from 4 May 1699 to December 1715.

2 *not to amuse thee*: cf. Swift's assertion in a letter to Pope of 29 September 1725 that 'the chief end I propose to my self in all my labors is to vex the world rather than divert it' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. II, p. 606).

3 *both at Sea and Land*: for a similar lack of interest in monstrosity, see *Utopia*, p. 12.

4 *make Men wiser and better*: see Long note 6.

the unwary Reader. I have perused several Books of Travels with great Delight in my younger Days; but, having since gone over most Parts of the Globe, and been able to contradict many fabulous Accounts from my own Observation; it hath given me a great Disgust against this Part of Reading,⁵ and some Indignation to see the Credulity of Mankind so impudently abused. Therefore, since my Acquaintance were pleased to think my poor Endeavours might not be unacceptable to my Country; I imposed on myself as a Maxim, never to be swerved from, that I would *strictly adhere to Truth*; neither indeed can I be ever under the least Temptation to vary from it, while I retain in my Mind the Lectures and Example of my noble Master, and the other illustrious *Houyhnhnms*, of whom I had so long the Honour to be an humble Hearer.

— *Nec si miserum Fortuna Sinonem
Finxit, vanum etiam, mendacemque improba finget.*⁶

I know very well, how little Reputation is to be got by Writings which require neither Genius nor Learning, nor indeed any other Talent, except a good Memory, or an exact *Journal*.⁷ I know likewise, that Writers of Travels, like *Dictionary-Makers*,⁸ are sunk into Oblivion by the Weight and Bulk⁹ of those who come last, and therefore lie uppermost. And it is highly probable, that such Travellers who shall hereafter visit the Countries described in this Work of mine, may by detecting my Errors, (if there be any) and adding many new Discoveries of their own, jostle me out of Vogue, and stand in my Place; making the World forget that ever I was an Author. This indeed would be too great a Mortification if I wrote for Fame:

5 *a great Disgust against this Part of Reading*: in a letter to Charles Ford of 22 July 1722 Swift disparaged travel literature as 'abundance of Trash' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. II, p. 428).

6 *Nec... finget*: 'nor, if Fortune has made Sinon miserable, will she also in her spite make him false and lying': *Aeneid*, II.79–80. In the Trojan War Sinon was the Greek who, by means of a splendid lie, induced the Trojans to take the wooden horse within their walls, and so brought about the destruction of the city. For the significance of this quotation, see 'Introduction', above, pp. lxvii–lxviii.

7 *or an exact Journal*: for a similar statement by More, see *Utopia*, p. 3.

8 *Dictionary-Makers*: cf. the comments of 'Simon Wagstaff' on the uselessness of old dictionaries in *Polite Conversation* (1738) (Davis, vol. IV, p. 111).

9 *Weight and Bulk*: cf. the unhappy consequences of the dissection (possibly vivisection) of the Beau in *A Tale of a Tub*, Section 9: 'I laid open his *Brain*, his *Heart*, and his *Spleen*; But, I plainly perceived at every Operation, that the farther we proceeded, we found the Defects encrease upon us in Number and Bulk' (*CWJS*, vol. I, p. 112; Davis, vol. I, p. 110).

But, as my sole Intention was the PUBLICK GOOD,¹⁰ I cannot be altogether disappointed. For, who can read of the Virtues I have mentioned in the glorious *Houyhnhnms*, without being ashamed of his own Vices, when he considers himself as the reasoning, governing Animal of his Country? I shall say nothing of those remote Nations where *Yahoos* preside; amongst which the least corrupted are the *Brobdingnagians*, whose wise Maxims in Morality and Government, it would be our Happiness to observe. But I forbear descanting further, and rather leave the judicious Reader to his own Remarks and Applications.

I am not a little pleased that this Work of mine can possibly meet with no Censurers: For what Objections can be made against a Writer who relates only plain Facts that happened in such distant Countries, where we have not the least Interest with respect either to Trade or Negotiations? I have carefully avoided every Fault with which common Writers of Travels are often too justly charged. Besides, I meddle not the least with any *Party*, but write without Passion, Prejudice, or Ill-will¹¹ against any Man or Number of Men whatsoever. I write for the noblest End, to inform and instruct Mankind, over whom I may, without Breach of Modesty, pretend to some Superiority, from the Advantages I received by conversing so long among the most accomplished *Houyhnhnms*. I write without any View towards Profit or Praise.¹² I never suffer a Word to pass that may look like Reflection, or possibly give the least Offence even to those who are most ready to take it. So that, I hope, I may with Justice pronounce myself an Author perfectly blameless; against whom the Tribes of Answerers, Considerers, Observers, Reflecters, Detecters, Remarkers, will never be able to find Matter for exercising their Talents.

I confess, it was whispered to me, that I was bound in Duty as a Subject of *England*, to have given in a Memorial to a Secretary of State, at my first coming over; because, whatever Lands are discovered by a Subject, belong to the Crown. But I doubt, whether our Conquests in the Countries I treat of, would be as easy as those of *Ferdinando Cortez* over the

10 *my sole Intention was the PUBLICK GOOD*: see Long note 6.

11 *write without Passion, Prejudice, or Ill-will*: cf. Tacitus's claim that he had written 'without anger or zeal' ('sine ira et studio') (*Annals*, I.i).

12 *without any View towards Profit or Praise*: cf. the similar professions of disinterestedness on the part of Swift's 'Modest Proposer' (Davis, vol. XII, p. 118).

naked *Americans*.¹³ The *Lilliputians* I think, are hardly worth the Charge of a Fleet and Army to reduce them; and I question whether it might be prudent or safe to attempt the *Brobdingnagians*: Or, whether an *English* Army would be much at their Ease with the Flying Island over their Heads. The *Houyhnhnms*, indeed, appear not to be so well prepared for War, a Science to which they are perfect Strangers, and especially against mis-sive Weapons.¹⁴ However, supposing myself to be a Minister of State, I could never give my Advice for invading them.¹⁵ Their Prudence, Unanimity, Unacquaintedness with Fear,¹⁶ and their Love of their Country would amply supply all Defects in the military Art. Imagine twenty Thousand of them breaking into the Midst of an *European* Army, confounding the Ranks, overturning the Carriages, battering the Warriors Faces into Mummy,¹⁷ by terrible Yerks¹⁸ from their hinder Hoofs: For they would

13 *naked Americans*: Hernando Cortés (1485–1547), the Spanish conqueror of Mexico, who entered Mexico City in 1519. The atrocities perpetrated by Cortés and Francisco Pizarro (1471–1541), the Spanish conqueror of Peru, were notorious: ‘Cortez, Pizarro, Guzman, Penaloe, / Who drank the Blood and Gold of Mexico, / Who thirteen Millions of Souls destroy’d, / And left one third of God’s Creation void’ (Anon., *Reformation of Manners, A Satyr* (1702), p. 17); ‘Cortez, can a Hundred Millions Slay, / Dream Death by Night, and finish it by Day’ ([Daniel Defoe], *Jure Divino: A Satyr* (1706), p. 4 and n.°); ‘a cruel, merciless Devil in a Cortez’ ([Daniel Defoe], *The Political History of the Devil* (1726), p. 235). For commentary on the relevance of the conquest of Mexico to *GT*, see Rawson, *GGG*, pp. 62–9.

14 *missive Weapons*: i.e. missiles.

15 *my Advice for invading them*: in a letter to Swift of February 1727 Lady Bolingbroke amuses herself with the notion of a French expedition against the Houyhnhnms (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, p. 72).

16 *Unacquaintedness with Fear*: in *The Most Wonderful Wonder that ever Appear’d to the Wonder of the British Nation* (1726), by ‘the Copper-Farthing DEAN’, the bear is outraged by the friendship between men and horses, to which the boy replies that men ‘tyrannize over him [i.e. the horse] because of their Numbers; for otherwise, the Horse is much the braver Beast’ (p. 8).

17 *Mummy*: pulp (*OED*, 1 b). Cf. the inclusion of ‘trampling to Death under Horses Feet’ in Gulliver’s list of the diversions of ‘the Art of War’ in Part IV, Chapter 5 (above, p. 366). In ‘Of Heroick Virtue’ Temple was of the view that ‘the Impressions of Horse upon Foot are made by Terror rather than Force’ (Temple, vol. I, p. 232). In ‘The Battel of the Books’ Aesop’s dream that ‘as he and the *Antient Chiefs* were lying on the Ground, a *Wild Ass* broke loose, ran about trampling and kicking, and dunging in their Faces’ brought together the effective violence of the Houyhnhnms with the scatological offensiveness of the Yahoos (*CWJS*, vol. I, p. 162; Davis, vol. I, p. 162). For discussion of this fantasy as a gleeful inversion of the Spanish conquest of Mexico, in which the Indians had been terrified by the horses of the Europeans, see Rawson, *GGG*, pp. 63–4.

18 *Yerks*: the act of lashing out with the heels, as a horse; a kick; a sudden or abrupt movement, a jerk, twitch (*OED*, 2 a). Cf. *Henry V*, IV.vii.82. In *The Battel of the Books*, ‘Homer slew *W-sl-y* with a kick of his Horse’s heel’ (*CWJS*, vol. I, p. 157; Davis, vol. I, p. 157). In *A Tale*

well deserve the Character given to *Augustus*; *Recalcitrat undique tutus*.¹⁹ But instead of Proposals for conquering that magnanimous Nation, I rather wish they were in a Capacity or Disposition to send a sufficient Number of their Inhabitants for civilizing *Europe*; by teaching us the first Principles of Honour, Justice, Truth, Temperance, publick Spirit, Fortitude, Chastity, Friendship, Benevolence,²⁰ and Fidelity. The *Names* of all which Virtues are still retained among us in most Languages, and are to be met with in modern as well as ancient Authors; which I am able to assert from my own small Reading.²¹

But, I had another Reason which made me less forward to enlarge his Majesty's Dominions by my Discoveries: To say the Truth, I had conceived a few Scruples with relation to the distributive Justice²² of Princes upon

of a Tub, Section 4 Peter's 'first *Boutade* was, to kick both their [Martin's and Jack's] *Wives* one Morning out of Doors', '*Boutade*' being glossed by Swift in a footnote as '*a sudden Jerk, or Lash of an Horse, when you do not expect it*' (*CWJS*, vol. I, p. 74 and n. *; Davis, vol. I, p. 71 and n. †); cf. *Remarks Upon Tindall's Rights of the Christian Church* (1708) (Davis, vol. II, p. 72); Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. IV, pp. 4 and 147; and *A Tale of a Tub*, Section 11 (*CWJS*, vol. I, pp. 122–3; Davis, vol. I, p. 121). In the mid-seventeenth century 'yerk' might be used metaphorically to refer to the aggressive impulse behind satire. In *An Apology Against a Pamphlet Call'd A Modest Confutation* (1642) Milton had recommended using 'contempt and jerk' to stimulate 'laughter and reproof'; and in 1651 *Mercurius Politicus* (i.e. Marchamont Nedham) defended the poet's use of 'personal jerks' (Milton, *Prose*, vol. I, p. 905; *Mercurius Politicus*, 17 April 1651, p. 719). Swift himself uses the word in this sense at least once in 'An Epistle to a Lady' (Williams, *Poems*, p. 636, line 205).

19 *undique tutus*: 'he kicks back, guarded at every point': Horace, *Satires*, II.i.20. So Horace describes Augustus's response to inappropriate or unwelcome panegyrics.

20 *Friendship, Benevolence*: for the earlier associations of these qualities with the Houyhnhnms, see above, pp. 403, 412 and 419.

21 *my own small Reading*: this observation of the endurance of the language of virtue notwithstanding the disappearance of the substance is both the obverse and the corollary of the situation Swift imagines in *An Argument Against Abolishing Christianity* (1708), in which the erasure of the language of vice would have no effect on behaviour: 'But, will any Man say, that if the Words *Whoring, Drinking, Cheating, Lying, Stealing*, were, by Act of Parliament, ejected out of the *English Tongue and Dictionaries*; we should all awake next Morning chaste and temperate, honest and just, and Lovers of Truth. Is this a fair Consequence?' (Davis, vol. II, p. 32).

22 *distributive Justice*: that part of substantive law which is concerned with the determination of rights, as distinguished from the corrective, penal or vindictive part (*OED*, 3 c). For Swift's antipathy to colonialism, see his comments in the *History of the Four Last Years* (Davis, vol. VII, p. 94) and Deane Swift, *Essay*, pp. 27–8. Indignation at the brutality of Spanish conquests in the Americas originates in the writings of the Dominican missionary Bartolomé de las Casas (1474–1566), particularly the *Brevisima relación de la destrucción de las Indias* (Venice, 1543; English translation, 1656); cf. also Montaigne's 'Des Coches' (*Essays*, pp. 1017–37). For discussion of its relevance to *GT*, see Rawson, *GGG*, pp. 17–24. This famous paragraph is perhaps modelled on Locke's account of how, on its arrival in the

those Occasions. For Instance, A Crew of Pyrates are driven by a Storm they know not whither; at length a Boy discovers Land from the Top-mast; they go on Shore to rob and plunder; they see an harmless People, are entertained with Kindness, they give the Country a new Name, they take formal Possession of it for the King, they set up a rotten Plank or a Stone for a Memorial, they murder two or three Dozen of the Natives, bring away a Couple more by Force for a Sample, return home, and get their Pardon. Here commences a new Dominion acquired with a Title by *Divine Right*. Ships are sent with the first Opportunity; the Natives driven out or destroyed, their Princes tortured to discover their Gold;²³ a free Licence given to all Acts of Inhumanity and Lust; the Earth reeking with the Blood of its Inhabitants:²⁴ And this execrable Crew of Butchers employed in so pious an Expedition, is a *modern Colony* sent to convert and civilize an idolatrous and barbarous People.

But this Description, I confess, doth by no means affect the *British* Nation, who may be an Example to the whole World for their Wisdom, Care, and Justice in planting Colonies;²⁵ their liberal

Americas, Christianity was transformed from a suppliant to a persecuting religion (Locke, *Toleration*, 39–40). Swift's library contained only Locke's pamphlets on economics, which he read while composing *The Drapier's Letters* (*Library and Reading*, p. 1097; Davis, vol. X, p. 86). But Swift's writings show that he had read more widely in Locke (Davis, vol. XIV, p. 228).

- 23 *discover their Gold*: Cortés and Pizarro had extorted vast sums of gold and silver from, respectively, Montezuma II, the king of Mexico, and Atahualpa, the Inca of Peru.
- 24 *Inhabitants*: a term with strong implications for the injustice of colonialism, given what Blackstone would say later in the century about the origin of the right to property: 'occupancy gave the right to the temporary use of the *soil*, so it is agreed upon all hands that occupancy gave also the original right to the permanent property in the *substance* of the earth itself; which excludes every one else but the owner from the use of it. There is indeed some difference among the writers on natural law, concerning the reason why occupancy should convey this right, and invest one with this absolute property: Grotius and Pufendorf insisting, that this right of occupancy is founded upon a tacit and implied assent of all mankind, that the first occupant should be come the owner; and Barbeyrac, Titius, Mr Locke, and others, holding, that there is no such implied assent, neither is it necessary that there should be; for that the very act of occupancy, alone, being a degree of bodily labour, is from a principle of natural justice, without any consent or compact, sufficient of itself to gain a title' (Blackstone, *Commentaries*, vol. II, p. 8). However, Grotius argued that 'whatever remains uncultivated, is not to be esteemed a Property' (*De Iure Belli & Pacis*, II.ii.17); a principle which denies to all native people who exist in a pre-agricultural state, and survive by hunting and gathering, a right of property in the land they occupy.
- 25 *planting Colonies*: although John Trenchard and Thomas Gordon had celebrated Britain's colonies on the grounds that 'the English planters in America, besides maintaining themselves

Endowments²⁶ for the Advancement of Religion and Learning; their Choice of devout and able Pastors to propagate *Christianity*; their Caution in stocking their Provinces with People of sober Lives and Conversations²⁷ from this the Mother Kingdom; their strict Regard to the Distribution of Justice, in supplying the Civil Administration through all their Colonies with Officers of the greatest Abilities, utter Strangers to Corruption: And to crown all, by sending the most vigilant and virtuous Governors, who have no other Views than the Happiness of the People over whom they preside, and the Honour of the King their Master.

But, as those Countries which I have described do not appear to have a Desire of being conquered, and enslaved, murdered or driven out by Colonies; nor abound either in Gold, Silver, Sugar or Tobacco; I did humbly conceive they were by no Means proper Objects of our Zeal, our Valour, or our Interest. However, if those whom it may concern, think fit to be of another Opinion, I am ready to depose, when I shall be lawfully called, That no *European* did ever visit these Countries before me. I mean, if the Inhabitants ought to be believed.²⁸

and ten times as many Negroes, maintain likewise great numbers of their countrymen in England' (*Cato's Letters*, vol. I, p. 474), this was not a Whiggish orthodoxy. For instance, Defoe made Robinson Crusoe disavow the colonial impulse: 'I never so much as pretended to plant in the Name of any Government or Nation, or to acknowledge any Prince, or to call my People Subjects to any one Nation more than another; nay, I never so much as gave the Place a Name; but left it as I found it, belonging to no Man' (*The Farther Adventures of Robinson Crusoe* (1719), pp. 216–17). Temple had deplored colonialism at the conclusion of his essay 'Of Heroick Virtue': 'The Designs and Effects of Conquests, are but the Slaughter and Ruin of Mankind, the ravaging of Countries, and defacing the World' (Temple, vol. I, p. 232). Note also Blackstone's critique of the morality of colonialism, which in its mordancy may show traces of Swiftian influence: 'But how far the seising on countries already peopled, and driving out or massacring the innocent and defenceless natives, merely because they differed from their invaders in language, in religion, in customs, in government, or in colour; how far such a conduct was consonant to nature, to reason, or to christianity, deserved well to be considered by those, who have rendered their names immortal by thus civilizing mankind' (Blackstone, *Commentaries*, vol. II, p. 7). Cf. Rawson, *GGG*, pp. 22–4.

26 *liberal Endowments*: Swift wrote to Lord Carteret on 4 September 1724 concerning George Berkeley's project to found a university in the West Indies: 'He . . . for three years past hath been struck with a Notion of founding an University at Bermudas by a Charter from the Crown, and Contributions of those whom he can persuade to them' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. II, p. 518).

27 *Conversations*: manner of conducting oneself in the world or in society; behaviour, mode or course of life (*OED*, 6).

28 *ought to be believed*: note the important additional material published at this point in 1726, and omitted from 1735 (below, p. 718). The deletion of this material in 1735 perhaps reflects Swift's insistence, expressed most clearly in his letter of August 1727 to Desfontaines (below,

But, as to the Formality of taking Possession in my Sovereign's Name, it never came once into my Thoughts; and if it had, yet as my Affairs then stood, I should perhaps in point of Prudence and Self-Preservation, have put it off to a better Opportunity.

Having thus answered the *only* Objection that can be raised against me as a Traveller; I here take a final Leave of my Courteous Readers, and return to enjoy my own Speculations in my little Garden at *Redriff*; to apply those excellent Lessons of Virtue which I learned among the *Houyhnhnms*; to instruct the *Yahoos* of my own Family as far as I shall find them docible Animals; to behold my Figure often in a Glass, and thus if possible habituate my self by Time to tolerate the Sight of a human Creature: To lament the Brutality of *Houyhnhnms* in my own Country, but always treat their Persons with Respect, for the Sake of my noble Master, his Family, his Friends, and the whole *Houyhnhnm* Race, whom these of ours have the Honour to resemble in all their Lineaments, however their Intellectuals²⁹ came to degenerate.

I began last Week to permit my Wife to sit at Dinner with me, at the farthest End of a long Table; and to answer (but with the utmost Brevity) the few Questions I asked her. Yet the Smell of a *Yahoo* continuing very offensive, I always keep my Nose well stopt with Rue, Lavender, or Tobacco-Leaves.³⁰ And although it be hard for a Man late in Life to remove old Habits; I am not altogether out of Hopes in some Time to suffer a Neighbour *Yahoo* in my Company, without the Apprehensions I am yet under of his Teeth or his Claws.

My Reconcilement to the *Yahoo*-kind in general might not be so difficult, if they would be content with those Vices and Follies only which Nature hath entitled them to. I am not in the least provoked at the Sight of a Lawyer, a Pick-pocket, a Colonel, a Fool, a Lord, a Gamster, a Politician, a Whore-munger, a Physician, an Evidence,³¹ a Suborner, an Attorney, a Traytor, or the like: This is all according to the due Course of Things: But, when I behold a Lump of Deformity, and Diseases both in Body and Mind, smitten with *Pride*, it immediately breaks all the Measures of my

p. 614), that the satire of *GT* was aimed at mankind in general, and not merely at the English. Cf. 'Introduction', above, p. lxxvi.

29 *Intellectuals*: mental capacity.

30 *Rue, Lavender, or Tobacco-Leaves*: prophylactics against the plague: see above, p. 432, n. 16.

31 *an Evidence*: see above, p. 281, n. 25.

Patience; neither shall I be ever able to comprehend how such an Animal and such a Vice could tally together.³² The wise and virtuous *Houyhnhnms*, who abound in all Excellencies that can adorn a rational Creature, have no Name for this Vice in their Language,³³ which hath no Terms to express any thing that is evil, except those whereby they describe the detestable Qualities of their *Yahoos*; among which they were not able to distinguish this of Pride, for want of thoroughly understanding Human Nature, as it sheweth it self in other Countries, where that Animal presides. But I, who had more Experience, could plainly observe some Rudiments of it among the wild *Yahoos*.

But the *Houyhnhnms*, who live under the Government of Reason, are no more proud of the good Qualities they possess, than I should be for not wanting a Leg or an Arm, which no Man in his Wits would boast of, although he must be miserable without them. I dwell the longer upon this Subject from the Desire I have to make the Society of an *English Yahoo* by any Means not insupportable; and therefore I here intreat those who have any Tincture of this absurd Vice, that they will not presume to appear in my Sight.³⁴

FINIS.

32 *tally together*: agree, correspond, answer exactly (*OED*, 6).

33 *no Name for this Vice in their Language*: cf. above, p. 349.

34 *in my Sight*: for a similar valedictory note, see Raphael Hythloday's final attack on human pride (*Utopia*, p. 106). Of human pride, Mandeville said that 'We are possess'd of no other Quality so beneficial to Society, and so necessary to render it wealthy and flourishing as this, yet it is that which is most generally detested'; and he went on to observe shrewdly that 'those who are the fullest of it [pride], are the least willing to connive at it in others . . . none are so much offended at their Neighbour's Pride, as the proudest of all' (Remark 'M', *Fable of the Bees*, vol. I, p. 124). Cf. also La Rochefoucauld, maxim 483: 'On est d'ordinaire plus médisant par vanité que par malice'; 'Pride, rather than malice, is usually the cause of our reviling others.' Swift's first conclusion in his sermon on 'The Duty of Mutual Subjection' is that a 'thorough Practice of this Duty of subjecting ourselves to the Wants and Infirmities of each other would utterly extinguish in us the Vice of Pride. For, if God hath pleased to entrust me with a Talent, not for my own Sake, but for the Service of others, and at the same time hath left me full of Wants and Necessities which others must supply; I can then have no Cause to set any extraordinary Value upon myself, or to despise my Brother, because he hath not the same Talents which were lent to me' (Davis, vol. IX, pp. 145–6).

TO
QUINBUS FLESTRIN⁴ the *Man-Mountain*.
An ODE.

By TITTY TIT, *Esg; Poet Laureat*⁵ to his
Majesty of LILLIPUT.

Translated into *English*.

I.

IN amaze
Lost, I gaze!
Can our Eyes
Reach thy Size?
May my Lays
Swell with Praise
Worthy thee!
Worthy me!
Muse inspire,
All thy Fire!
Bards of old
Of him told,
When they said
*Atlas Head*⁶
Propt the Skies:
See! and believe your Eyes!

4 *Quinbus Flestrin*: the Lilliputians' name for Gulliver; see above, p. 50.

5 *Poet Laureat*: in 1727 the British Poet Laureate was Laurence Eusden (1688–1730), who would later be attacked by Pope in *The Dunciad* (1728) (e.g. II.269–72) and *The Dunciad Variorum* (1729) (e.g. I.102 and n.), where his verse is characterized as 'of that sort of nonsense which so perfectly confounds all Ideas, that there is no distinct one left in the mind'. Titty Tit's verses on Quinbus Flestrin are, with their shortened lines, an exercise in the poetic miniature; but they are also, in their inanity, an attack on laureate poetry under the Hanoverians.

6 *Atlas Head*: in Greek mythology, Atlas was a Titan punished for his part in the revolt against the gods of Olympus by being condemned to support the heavens with his head and hands. Hesiod is a 'bard of old' who recounts the legend of Atlas.

II.

See him stride
Vallies wide:
Over Woods,
Over Floods.
When he treads,
Mountains Heads
Groan and shake;
Armies quake,
Lest his Spurn⁷
Overturn
Man and Steed:
Troops take heed!
Left and Right,
Speed your Flight!
Lest an Host
Beneath his Foot be lost.

III.

Turn'd aside
From his Hide,
Safe from Wound
Darts rebound.⁸
From his Nose
Clouds he blows;
When he speaks,
Thunder breaks!
When he eats,
Famine threats;⁹
When he drinks,
Neptune shrinks!
Nigh thy Ear,
In Mid Air,
On thy Hand
Let me stand,
So shall I,
Lofty Poet, touch the Sky.

7 *Spurn*: a stroke with the foot (*OED*, 3).

8 *Darts rebound*: in fact, Gulliver is vulnerable to, and anxious about, the arrows of the Lilliputians and the Blefuscudans; see above, pp. 35 and 74.

9 *Famine threats*: cf. Flimnap's complaints concerning the cost of keeping Gulliver (above, p. 101).

The Lamentation of GLUMDALCLITCH *for*
the Loss of GRILDRIG.¹⁰

A PASTORAL.

SOON as *Glumdalclitch* mist her pleasing Care,
She wept, she blubber'd, and she tore her Hair.
No *British* Miss sincerer Grief has known,
Her Squirrel missing, or her Sparrow flown.
She furl'd her Sampler, and hawl'd in her Thread,
And stuck her Needle into *Grildrig's* Bed;
Then spread her Hands, and with a Bounce let fall
Her Baby,¹¹ like the Giant in *Guild-hall*.¹²
In Peals of Thunder now she roars, and now
She gently whimpers like a lowing Cow.
Yet lovely in her Sorrow still appears:
Her Locks dishevell'd, and her Flood of Tears
Seem like the lofty Barn of some rich Swain,
When from the Thatch drips fast a Shower of Rain.

In vain she search'd each Cranny of the House,
Each gaping Chink impervious to a Mouse.
"Was it for this (she cry'd) with daily Care
"Within thy reach I set the Vinegar?
"And fill'd the Cruet with the acid Tide,
"While Pepper-Water-Worms thy Bait supply'd;
"Where twin'd the Silver Eel around thy Hook,
"And all the little Monsters of the Brook.

10 *GRILDRIG*: originally *Glumdalclitch's* pet-name for Gulliver; subsequently adopted by all the *Broddingnagians* (above, p. 135).

11 *Baby*: doll (see above, p. 135).

12 *Giant in Guild-hall*: the Guildhall in London contains two colossal wooden effigies, said to represent Gog and Magog, two giants brought to London to serve as royal porters by Brutus, the legendary Trojan founder of the city. The medieval statues, dating from at least the reign of Henry V, were destroyed in the Great Fire of London (1666), and were replaced in 1708. The current effigies date from 1953 and replaced the eighteenth-century statues, which were lost to enemy action in 1940. The statues are commonly referred to in eighteenth-century literature. John Gay includes references to them in *The Mohocks* (1712), scene 2 (Gay, *Dramatic Works*, vol. I, p. 86) and in *A Wonderful Prophecy* (1712) (Gay, *Poetry and Prose*, vol. II, pp. 456–8); cf. also John Armstrong, *Sketches*, second edition (1758), p. 12; David Garrick and George Colman the Elder, 'The Epilogue' to *The Clandestine Marriage* (1766); John Shebbeare, *Lydia*, second edition (1769), p. 85.

"Sure in that Lake he dropt – My *Grilly's* drown'd.
She dragg'd the Cruet,¹³ but no *Grildrig* found.

"Vain is thy Courage, *Grilly*, vain thy Boast,
"But little Creatures enterprise the most.
"Trembling, I've seen thee dare the Kitten's Paw;¹⁴
"Nay, mix with Children, as they play'd at Taw;
"Nor fear the Marbles, as they bounding flew:
"Marbles to them, but rolling Rocks to you.

"Why did I trust thee with that giddy Youth?¹⁵
"Who from a *Page* can ever learn the Truth?
"Vers'd in Court Tricks, that Money-loving Boy
"To some Lord's Daughter sold the living Toy;
"Or rent him Limb from Limb in cruel Play,
"As Children tear the Wings of Flies¹⁶ away:

"From Place to Place o'er *Brobdingnag* I'll roam,
"And never will return, or bring thee home.
"But who hath Eyes to trace the passing Wind,
"How then thy fairy Footsteps can I find?
"Dost thou bewildred wander all alone,
"In the green Thicket of a Mossy Stone,
"Or tumbled from the Toadstool's slipp'ry Round,
"Perhaps all maim'd, lie groveling on the Ground?
"Dost thou, imbosom'd in the lovely Rose,
"Or sunk within the Peach's Down, repose?
"Within the King-Cup if thy Limbs are spread,
"Or in the golden Cowslip's velvet Head;

13 *dragg'd the Cruet*: cf. Gulliver's mishap of falling into 'a large Silver Bowl of Cream' (above, p. 152).

14 *Kitten's Paw*: see above, p. 129.

15 *that giddy Youth?*: cf. the prelude to Gulliver's escape from Brobdingnag: 'I longed to see the Ocean, which must be the only Scene of my Escape, if ever it should happen. I pretended to be worse than I really was; and desired leave to take the fresh Air of the Sea, with a Page whom I was very fond of, and who had sometimes been trusted with me. I shall never forget with what Unwillingness *Glumdalclitch* consented; nor the strict Charge she gave the Page to be careful of me; bursting at the same time into a Flood of Tears, as if she had some Foreboding of what was to happen' (above, p. 203).

16 *Wings of Flies*: cf. *King Lear*, IV.i.36–7. Pope's edition of Shakespeare had been published in 1725.

"O shew me, *Flora*, 'midst those Sweets, the Flower
"Where sleeps my *Grildrig* in the fragrant Bower!"¹⁷

"But ah! I fear thy little Fancy roves
"On little Females, and on little Loves;
"Thy Pigmy Children, and thy tiny Spouse,
"The Baby Playthings that adorn thy House,
"Doors, Windows, Chimneys, and the spacious Rooms
"Equal in Size to Cells of Honeycombs.
"Hast thou for these now ventur'd from the Shore,
"Thy Bark a Bean-shell, and a Straw thy Oar?
"Or in thy Box, now bounding on the Main?
"Shall I ne'er bear thy self and House again?
"And shall I set thee on my Hand no more,
"To see thee leap the Lines, and traverse o'er
"My spacious Palm? of Stature scarce a Span,
"Mimick the Actions of a real Man?
"No more behold thee turn my Watches Key,
"As Seamen at a Capstern Anchors weigh?
"How wert thou wont to walk with cautious Tread,
"A Dish of Tea like Milk-Pale on thy Head?
"How chase the Mite that bore thy Cheese away,
"And keep the rolling Maggot at a Bay?"

She spoke; but broken Accents stopt her Voice,
Soft as the speaking Trumpets¹⁸ mellow Noise:
She sob'd a Storm, and wip'd her flowing Eyes,
Which seem'd like two broad Suns¹⁹ in misty Skies:
O! squander not thy Grief, those Tears command
To weep upon our Cod in *Newfound-Land*:
The plenteous Pickle shall preserve the Fish,
And *Europe* tast thy Sorrows in her Dish.

17 *in the fragrant Bower*: another passage with Shakespearean echoes: cf. *Romeo and Juliet*, I.iv.53–94; *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, II.i.1–31; and *The Tempest*, V.i.88–94.

18 *speaking Trumpets*: a kind of trumpet (chiefly used at sea), so contrived as to carry the voice to a great distance, or to cause it to be heard above loud noises (*OED*).

19 *two broad Suns*: cf. Gulliver's simile for the appearance of a Brobdingnagian farmer: 'This Man, who was old and dim-sighted, put on his Spectacles to behold me better, at which I could not forbear laughing very heartily; for his Eyes appeared like the Full-Moon shining into a Chamber at two Windows' (above, p. 136).

TO
Mr. LEMUEL GULLIVER,
The Grateful ADDRESS of the Unhappy
HOUGHNNHNS, now in Slavery and
Bondage in England.

TO thee, we Wretches of the *Houyhnhnm* Band,
Condemn'd to labour in a barb'rous Land,
Return our Thanks. Accept our humble Lays,
And let each grateful *Houyhnhnm* neigh thy Praise.

O happy *Yahoo*, purg'd from human Crimes,
By thy sweet Sojourn in those virtuous Climes,
Where reign our Sires! There, to thy Country's shame,
Reason, you found, and Virtue were the same.²⁰
Their Precepts raz'd the Prejudice of Youth,
And even a *Yahoo* learn'd the Love of Truth.

Art thou the first who did the Coast explore;
Did never *Yahoo* tread that Ground before?²¹
Yes, Thousands. But in Pity to their Kind,
Or sway'd by Envy, or through Pride of Mind,
They hid their Knowledge of a nobler Race,
Which own'd, would all their Sires and Sons disgrace.

20 *Reason, you found, and Virtue were the same*: Gulliver concludes that European 'Institutions of Government and Law were plainly owing to our gross Defects in Reason, and by consequence, in Virtue; because Reason alone is sufficient to govern a Rational Creature' (above, p. 390). He also describes the Houyhnhnms as 'naturally disposed to every Virtue, wholly governed by Reason' (above, p. 412). Their topics of conversation include 'the Bounds and Limits of Virtue; [and] the unerring Rules of Reason' (above, p. 419). The line echoes *An Essay on Criticism* (1711), line 135, in which Pope imagines the results of Virgil's critical study of the works of Homer: 'Nature and Homer were, he found, the same.' Cf. the concluding couplet of Epistle III of *An Essay on Man* (composed 1730–2; published, 1733–4), in which Pope revisited and reworked this line: 'Thus God and Nature link'd the gen'ral frame, / And bade Self-love and Social be the same' (III.317–18).

21 *Did never Yahoo tread that Ground before?*: a question which touches on an important variant in the text of *GT*. In all editions before Faulkner's of 1735, Swift had included the following justification for Pedro de Mendez's willingness to believe Gulliver: 'because he confessed, he met with a Dutch Skipper, who pretended to have landed with Five others of his Crew upon a certain Island or Continent South of New-Holland, where they went for fresh Water, and observed a Horse driving before him several Animals exactly resembling those I described under the Name of Yahoos, with some other Particulars, which the Captain said he had forgot; because he then concluded them all to be Lies.' This passage implying European contact with the Houyhnhnms prior to Gulliver's arrival was deleted from the 1735 edition. For a discussion of the significance of the variant, see the 'Introduction', above, pp. xciv–xcvii.

You, like the *Samian*,²² visit Lands unknown,
 And by their wiser Morals mend your own.
 Thus *Orpheus*²³ travell'd to reform his Kind,
 Came back, and tam'd the Brutes he left behind.

You went, you saw, you heard:²⁴ With Virtue fraught,
 Then spread those Morals which the *Houyhnhnms* taught.
 Our Labours here must touch thy gen'rous Heart,
 To see us strain before the Coach and Cart;
 Compell'd to run each knavish Jockey's Heat!
 Subservient to *New-market's* annual Cheat!²⁵
 With what Reluctance do we Lawyers bear,²⁶
 To fleece their Countrey Clients twice a Year?
 Or manag'd in your Schools, for Fops to ride,
 How foam, how fret beneath a Load of Pride!²⁷
 Yes, we are Slaves – but yet, by Reason's Force,
 Have learnt to bear Misfortune, like a Horse.

O would the Stars, to ease my Bonds, ordain,
 That gentle *Gulliver* might guide my Rein!
 Safe would I bear him to his Journey's End,
 For 'tis a Pleasure to support a Friend.

22 *the Samian*: i.e. Pythagoras, the Greek philosopher, born at Samos c. 580 BC. Pythagoras (none of whose writings have survived) was said to have travelled in Egypt and the Orient, and in the course of his travels to have collected secret wisdom, including the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, which was later incorporated into Orphism, a mystic Greek cult connected with Orpheus.

23 *Orpheus*: in Greek mythology a legendary pre-Homeric poet, a son of the muse Calliope, and so gifted a player on the lyre that wild beasts were held captive by the beauty of his song (cf. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, XI.1–2). He is said to have taken part in the expedition of the Argonauts to recover the Golden Fleece.

24 *You went, you saw, you heard*: a variant on Julius Caesar's laconic brag sent to the Roman Senate after his defeat of Pharnaces at Zela in 47 BC, 'Veni, vidi, vici' ('I came, I saw, I conquered').

25 *New-market's annual Cheat*: Newmarket had been established as a centre of horse-racing during the reign of James I. It is still the home of the Jockey Club. The cheat is 'annual' because at this time there was a yearly meeting.

26 *do we Lawyers bear*: perhaps supplying a hint for the opening lines of Swift's poem 'Helter Skelter' (1731): 'Now the active young Attornies / Briskly travel on their Journies, / Looking big as any Gyants, / On the Horses of their Clients' (Williams, *Poems*, p. 573, lines 1–4).

27 *a Load of Pride*: cf. Gulliver's final absolute intolerance of human pride: 'when I behold a Lump of Deformity, and Diseases both in Body and Mind, smitten with *Pride*, it immediately breaks all the Measures of my Patience' (above, pp. 443–44).

But if my Life be doom'd to serve the Bad,
O! may'st thou never want an easy Pad!²⁸

Houyhnhnm.

²⁸ *easy Pad*: a horse with a naturally easy pace; a horse for ordinary riding, a saddle horse (*OED*, 2).

MARY GULLIVER
TO
Capt. LEMUEL GULLIVER;
AN
EPISTLE.

*The Captain, some time after his Return, being
retired to Mr. Simpson's in the Country, Mrs.
Gulliver, apprehending from his late Behaviour
some Estrangement of his Affections, writes him
the following expostulating, soothing, and ten-
derly complaining EPISTLE.*

Welcome, thrice welcome to thy native Place!
— What, touch me not? what, shun a Wife's Embrace?
Have I for this thy tedious Absence born,
And wak'd and wish'd whole Nights for thy Return?
In five long Years I took no second Spouse;
What *Redriff* Wife so long hath kept her Vows?
Your Eyes, your Nose, Inconstancy betray;
Your Nose you stop,²⁹ your Eyes you turn away.
'Tis said, that thou shouldst *cleave unto thy Wife*,³⁰
Once *thou* didst cleave, and *I* could cleave for Life.
Hear and relent! hark, how thy Children moan;
Be kind at least to these, they are thy own:
Behold, and count them all; secure to find
The honest Number that you left behind.³¹
See how they pat thee with their pretty Paws:
Why start you?³² are they Snakes? or have they Claws?
Thy Christian Seed, our mutual Flesh and Bone:
Be kind at least to these, they are thy own.

Biddel, like thee, might farthest *India* rove;
He chang'd his Country, but retain'd his Love.
There's Captain *Pannell*,³³ absent half his Life,

29 *Your Nose you stop*: with herbs thought to act as a prophylactic against the plague; cf. above, pp. 432 and 443 and Long note 9.

30 *cleave unto thy Wife*: cf. Genesis 2:24, Matthew 19:5, and Mark 10:7.

31 *The honest Number that you left behind*: a slip; at the beginning of Part IV, Gulliver leaves his wife 'big with Child' (above, p. 330).

32 *Why start you?*: a reference to Gulliver's eventual abhorrence of human contact: see above, p. 434.

33 *Biddel*. . . *Pannell*: the names of other captains mentioned in *GT*: see pp. 111 and 30.

Comes back, and is the kinder to his Wife.
 Yet *Pannell's* Wife is brown, compar'd to me,
 And Mistress *Biddel* sure is Fifty three.

Not touch me! never Neighbour call'd me Slut!
 Was *Flimnap's* Dame³⁴ more sweet in *Lilliput*?
 I've no red Hair³⁵ to breath an odious Fume;
 At least thy Consort's cleaner than thy *Groom*.³⁶
 Why then that dirty Stable-boy thy Care?
 What mean those Visits to the *Sorrel Mare*?³⁷
 Say, by what Witchcraft, or what Dæmon led,
 Preferr'st thou *Litter* to the Marriage Bed?

Some say the Dev'l himself is in that *Mare*:
 If so, our *Dean* shall drive him forth by Prayer.³⁸
 Some think you mad, some think you are possest,
 That *Bedlam* and clean Straw would suit you best:
 Vain means, alas, this Frenzy to appease!
 That *Straw*, that *Straw* would heighten the Disease.

34 *Flimnap's* Dame: glancing at the ludicrous conclusion of Part I, Chapter 6, in which Gulliver is 'obliged to vindicate the Reputation of an excellent Lady, who was an innocent Sufferer upon my Account', namely Flimnap's wife, whom the Treasurer suspected of 'a violent Affection for' Gulliver (above, p. 94).

35 *I've no red Hair*: Gulliver reports of the Yahoos that 'the Red-haired of both Sexes are more libidinous and mischievous than the rest'; and he notes of the female Yahoo who attempts to rape him that 'Neither was the Hair of this Brute of a Red Colour, (which might have been some Excuse for an Appetite a little irregular) but black as a Sloe' (above, pp. 399 and 401). For the association of red hair with lechery, particularly in an Irish context, see p. 399 n. 7 above.

36 *thy Groom*: on his return from the land of the Houyhnhnms, after the two horses Gulliver buys, 'the Groom is my greatest Favourite' (above, p. 435).

37 *the Sorrel Mare*: in the land of the Houyhnhnms 'the Sorrel Nag (who always loved me)' is Gulliver's companion and protector (above, p. 426). The imputation of an irregular sexual attraction between Gulliver and his horses was also wittily touched on by Lady Mary Wortley Montagu in a letter to Lady Mar very shortly after the publication of *GT*: 'Great Eloquence have they [she believed *GT* to be the joint work of Pope, Swift and Arbuthnot] employ'd to prove themselves Beasts, and show such a veneration for Horses that since the Essex Quaker no body has appear'd so passionately devoted to that species; and to say truth, they talk of a stable with so much warmth and Affection I can't help suspecting some very powerfull Motive at the bottom of it' (Robert Halsband (ed.), *The Complete Letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*, 3 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965–7), vol. II, pp. 71–2). The 'Essex Quaker', one Green, is supposed to have sodomized a horse (and thus to have made 'a Stone-horse jealous') on the principle that 'a Mare's as good as a Madam' (John Denham, 'News from Colchester', in *Poems and Translations*, fifth edition (1709), pp. 105–10; quotations on pp. 105 and 108).

38 *our Dean shall drive him forth by Prayer*: a teasing reference to Swift himself.

My Bed, (the Scene of all our former Joys,
 Witness two lovely Girls, two lovely Boys)
 Alone I press; in Dreams I call my Dear,
 I stretch my Hand; no *Gulliver* is there!
 I wake, I rise, and shiv'ring with the Frost,
 Search all the House; my *Gulliver* is lost!
 Forth in the Street I rush with frantick Cries;
 The Windows open; all the Neighbours rise:
Where sleeps my Gulliver? O tell me where?
 The Neighbours answer, "*With the Sorrel Mare*."

At early Morn, I to the Market haste,
 (Studious in ev'ry thing to please thy Taste)
 A curious³⁹ *Fowl* and *Sparagrass* I chose,
 (For I remember'd you were fond of those)
 Three Shillings cost the first, the last sev'n Groats;
 Sullen you turn'd from both, and call'd for *Oats*.

Others bring Goods and Treasure to their Houses,
 Something to deck their pretty Babes and Spouses;
 My *only* Token was a Cup like Horn,⁴⁰
 That's made of nothing but a Lady's *Corn*.
 'Tis not for that I grieve; O, 'tis to see
 The *Groom* and *Sorrel Mare* preferr'd to me!

These, for some moments when you deign to quit,
 And (at due distance) sweet Discourse admit,
 'Tis all my Pleasure thy past Toil to know,
 For pleas'd Remembrance builds Delight on Woe.
 At ev'ry Danger pants thy Consort's Breast,
 And gaping Infants squawle to hear the rest.
 How did I tremble, when by Thousands bound,
 I saw thee stretch'd on *Lilliputian* Ground;⁴¹
 When scaling Armies climb'd up ev'ry Part,
 Each Step they trod, I felt upon my Heart.

39 *curious*: exquisitely prepared or chosen, dainty, delicate (*OED*, 7b).

40 *a Cup like Horn*: a souvenir of Gulliver's voyage to Brobdingnag, from where he brings 'a Corn that I had cut off with my own Hand from a Maid of Honour's Toe; it was about the Bigness of a *Kentish* Pippin, and grown so hard, that when I returned to *England*, I got it hollowed into a Cup and set in Silver' (above, p. 211).

41 *stretch'd on Lilliputian Ground*: cf. above, pp. 34–40.

But when thy Torrent quench'd the dreadful Blaze,⁴²
 King, Queen and Nation staring with Amaze,
 Full in my view how all my Husband came,
 And what extinguish'd theirs, encreas'd my Flame.
 Those *Spectacles*, ordain'd thine Eyes to save,
 Were once my Present; *Love* that Armour gave.⁴³
 How did I mourn at *Bolgolam's* Decree!⁴⁴
 For when he sign'd thy Death, he sentenc'd me.

When Folks might see thee all the Country round
 For Six pence, I'd have giv'n a Thousand pound.
 Lord! when the *Giant-babe* that Head of thine
 Got in his Mouth, my Heart was up in mine!
 When in the *Marrow-bone* I see thee ramm'd,
 Or on the House-top by the *Monkey* cramm'd;⁴⁵
 The piteous Images renew my Pain,
 And all thy Dangers I weep o'er again!
 But on the *Maiden's Nipple* when you rid,⁴⁶
 Pray Heav'n, 'twas all a wanton Maiden did!
Glumdalclitch too! – with thee I mourn her Case.
 Heav'n guard the gentle Girl from all Disgrace!
 O may the King that one Neglect forgive,
 And pardon her the Fault by which I live!
 Was there no other Way to set him free?
 My Life, alas, I fear prov'd Death to Thee!

O teach me, Dear, new Words to speak my Flame;
 Teach me to woo thee by thy best-lov'd Name!
 Whether the Stile of *Grildrig* please thee most,
 So call'd on *Brobdingnag's* stupendous Coast,
 When on the Monarch's ample Hand you sate,⁴⁷
 And hollow'd in his Ear, Intrigues of State:

42 *Torrent quench'd the dreadful Blaze*: a reference to Gulliver's extinguishing of the fire in the royal apartments (above, p. 80).

43 *Love that Armour gave*: a reference to the protection against the arrows of the Blefuscudans provided by Gulliver's spectacles (above, p. 75). 'Armour' is, however, also an eighteenth-century term for a contraceptive sheath, and the innuendo sustains the current of mild indecency which runs through this poem.

44 *Bolgolam's Decree*: see above, p. 101.

45 *Lord! . . . on the House-top by the Monkey cramm'd*: all episodes from Part II of *GT*: cf. pp. 130, 152, 172.

46 *on the Maiden's Nipple when you rid*: cf. above, p. 168.

47 *on the Monarch's ample Hand you sate*: cf. above, p. 188.

Or *Quinbus Flestrin*⁴⁸ more endearment brings,
 When like a Mountain you look'd down on Kings:
 If Ducal *Nardac*, *Lilliputian* Peer,
 Or *Glumglum*'s⁴⁹ humbler Title sooth thy Ear;
 Nay, would kind *Jove* my Organs so dispose,
 To hymn harmonious *Houyhnhnm* thro' the Nose,⁵⁰
 I'd call thee *Houyhnhnm*, that high sounding Name,
 Thy Childrens Noses all should twang the same.
 So might I find my loving Spouse of course
 Endu'd with all the *Virtues* of a *Horse*.⁵¹

48 *Quinbus Flestrin*: see above, p. 50.

49 *Nardac* . . . *Glumglum*'s: Lilliputian degrees of nobility, *Nardac* being the highest: 'I had the Honour to be a *Nardac*, which the Treasurer himself is not; for all the World knows he is only a *Clumglum*, a Title inferior by one Degree, as that of a Marquess is to a Duke in *England*' (above, p. 95).

50 *thro' the Nose*: the Houyhnhnms 'pronounce through the Nose and Throat' (above, p. 348).

51 *all the Virtues of a Horse*: a final indecent innuendo.

The WORDS of the
King of BROBDINGNAG,

*As he held Captain GULLIVER
between his Finger and Thumb
for the Inspection of the Sages
and Learned Men of the Court.*⁵²

IN Miniature see *Nature's* Power appear;
Which wings the Sun-born Insects of the Air,
Which frames the Harvest-bug, too small for Sight,
And forms the Bones and Muscles of the Mite!
Here view him stretch'd. The Microscope⁵³ explains,
That the Blood, circling, flows in human Veins;⁵⁴
See, in the Tube he pants,⁵⁵ and sprawling lies,
Stretches his little Hands, and rolls his Eyes!

52 *Learned Men of the Court*: for this episode, see above, pp. 145–47.

53 *Microscope*: see above, p. 146, n. 17.

54 *human Veins*: in fact, the circulation of the blood had been demonstrated by William Harvey in *Exercitatio Anatomica de Motu Cordis et Sanguinis in Animalibus* (1628) without the assistance of the microscope (it was his lack of a microscope which prevented him from understanding the connection of the arterial and venous systems by means of capillary vessels, which were invisible to him). Pope may have been prompted to think of the circulation of the blood in relation to Swift because of its salience in the 'Quarrel of the Ancients and Moderns', which is part of the context of *A Tale of a Tub*: see Temple, vol. I, pp. 162 and 280; William Wotton, *A Defense of the Reflections upon Ancient and Modern Learning, in answer to the objections of Sir W. Temple, and others* (1705), p. 21; Levine, *Battle*, p. 70.

55 *in the Tube he pants*: a reference to late seventeenth-century experiments to assess the effects on animals of the deprivation of air. Cf. Robert Boyle's account of such an experiment: 'In a glass-vial, able to hold about three quarts of water, we, hermetically seal'd up a small bird; and found, that, in a few minutes, she began to be sick, and pant. These symptoms I suffer'd to continue, and increase, till they had lasted just half an hour . . . the drooping animal . . . continued to pant exceedingly. . . . the bird, some time after, strain'd to vomit: and afterwards, had evacuations downward, before she quite expired; which she did, in almost an hour, from the beginning of her imprisonment' (*Philosophical Works*, vol. II, p. 543). Robert Hooke used similar language when stating the general point about the need for fresh air to sustain animal life: 'Animals . . . live no longer than they have a constant supply of fresh Air to breath, and, as it were, blow the Fire of Life; . . . as any one may presently see, if he puts a small Animal as a Bird, or the like, into a small Glass and covers it close; for in a short time the Air becomes satiated, and is no longer fit for Respiration; but though the Animal breath as before, and Pant and move his Lungs as before; yet if the Air be not fresh, the Fire of Life will extinguish' (*Posthumous Works*, p. 111). Pope's association of the King of Brobdingnag with the language and attitudes of modern European natural science is at odds with Swift's characterization of the king.

Smit with his Countrey's Love, I've heard him prate
 Of Laws and Manners in his Pigmy State.
 By Travel, generous Souls enlarge the Mind,⁵⁶
 Which home-bred Prepossession had confin'd;
 Yet will he boast of many Regions known,
 But still, with partial Love, extol his own.
 He talks of Senates, and of Courtly Tribes,
 Admires their Ardour, but forgets their Bribes;
 Of hireling Lawyers tells the just Decrees,
 Applauds their Eloquence, but sinks their Fees.
 Yet who his Countrey's partial Love can blame?
 'Tis sure some Virtue to conceal its Shame.⁵⁷

The World's the native City of the Wise;⁵⁸
 He sees his *Britain* with a Mother's Eyes;
 Softens Defects, and heightens all its Charms,
 Calls it the Seat of Empire, Arts and Arms!
 Fond of his Hillock Isle, his narrow Mind
 Thinks Worth, Wit, Learning, to that Spot confin'd;
 Thus Ants, who for a Grain employ their Cares,
 Think all the Business of the Earth is theirs.
 Thus Honeycombs seem Palaces to Bees;
 And Mites imagine all the World a Cheese.

When Pride in such contemptuous Beings lies,
 In Beetles, Britons, Bugs and Butterflies,
 Shall we, like Reptiles, glory in Conceit?
 Humility's the Virtue of the Great.

56 *enlarge the Mind*: a commonplace, particularly in respect of the Grand Tour. Richard Lassels's influential *The Voyage of Italy* (1670), states that travel introduces men to 'this great booke, the world' and to the 'customs of many men', thereby freeing men from 'that *aboriginal curse*, which was layd upon mankind even allmost at the beginning of the world; I meane, the *confusion of tongues*' ('Preface'; unpaginated and unsigned). John Locke noted that travel produces 'an Improvement in Wisdom and Prudence, by seeing Men, and conversing with People of Tempers, Customs, and Ways of living, different from one another' (*Some Thoughts Concerning Education* (1693), pp. 253–4). Thomas Nugent insisted that the 'noble and ancient custom of travelling' had the effect of 'visibly tending to enrich the mind with knowledge, to rectify the judgment, to remove the prejudices of education, to compose the outward manners, and in a word to form the complete gentleman' (*The Grand Tour*, second edition (1758), p. xi).

57 *conceal its Shame*: for Gulliver's extolling of Europe and England, and the King of Brobdingnag's shrewd cross-examination of him on this subject, see above, pp. 178–89. Swift writing to Mrs Howard affects to deplore the fact that Gulliver 'perpetually dins our Ears with the Praises of his Country' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, p. 54).

58 *native City of the Wise*: a commonplace.

Abbreviations used in historical collation

1726a	TS 289 – first London Motte edition (A)
1726b	TS 290 – second London Motte edition (AA)
1726c	TS 291 – third London Motte edition (B)
1726d	TS 297 – first Dublin Hyde edition
1727a	TS 293 – fourth London Motte (“Second Edition”)
1727b	TS 294 – fifth London Motte edition (12°)
1727c	TS 298 – Risk/Ewing Dublin edition
1735	TS 41 – Faulkner’s 1735 Dublin edition of the <i>Works</i> , volume 3
1738	TS 42 – Faulkner’s 1738 second Dublin edition of the <i>Works</i> , volume 3

Emendations to the copy text

A source for an emendation is given only in the case of substantive changes which are not the correction of an evident error.

8.8 *Houybnhnm*.] ~:

9.11 *Yahoos*] *Yahoos*

15.10 was] 1726a–d, 1727a–c; were

17.4 I.] ~ ^

17.5 *Family*.] ~,

17.8 *Country*.] ~,

17.10 *comes*] *come*

17.14 *him*.] ~,

18.15 *Country.*] ~,
 18.21 *Country.*] ~,
 20.3 *Navigation.*] ~,
 30.11 *Leyden.*] ~ :
 34.24 *Deguk.*] ~ :
 36.4 *san.*] ~ :
 36.16 *Ship.*] ~.
 39.20 *and Strength*] *and and Strength*
 40.2 *immediately*] *smmediately*
 42.7 *Ladders.*] ~,
 63.8 *right*] *righ-*
 71.10 *several*] *seveaal*
 71.20 *End.*] ~ :
 74.14 *bending*] *1727a; binding*
 74.23 *tyed*] [*]yed*
 78.10 *Intercourse*] *Intercouse*
 82.18 *tallest*] *talest*
 87.17 *he*] *1726a-d, 1727a-c; they*
 87.17 *hath*] *1726a-d, 1727a-c; have*
 87.20 *Conjunction*] *Conjunctien*
 93.25 *Geese*] *Geese-*
 95.12 *quite*] *1726a-c, 1727a-c; guite*
 95.18 *Informers.*] ~.
 95.32 *Favourite.*] *1726a-d, 1727a-c; Favourt*[*]e*
 107.14 *shortest*] *1726a-d, 1727a-c; shorted*
 108.26 *Blefuscu*] *Belfuscu*
 108.33 *Blefuscu*] *Belfuscu*
 109.12 *any Confidence*] *anyConfidence*
 120.4 *Weather.*] ~,
 120.8 *Whipstaff*] *Wipstaff*
 120.13 *to.*] *1726a-d, 1727a-c; too.*
 121.5 *lye.*] ~,
 127.23 *thirty*] *thirity*
 128.1 *Ladyship's*] *Lady-ship's*
 137.11 *conceive it to*] *1726a-d, 1727a-c; conceive to*
 137.15 *as soon as it*] *1726a-d, 1727a-c; as soon it*
 138.3 *him.*] *1726a-d, 1727a-c; me.*
 149.19 *Hogshead*] *Hoshead*
 150.8 *me*] *1726a-d, 1727b; my*

150.12 Main-mast] Main-most
 156.10 Extent of] 1726a-d, 1727a-c; Extent of of
 156.13 *California*:] *Califormia*:
 172.10 *Europe*:] ~ :
 176.1 VI.] III.
 192.6 hundred Foot] hundredFoot
 197.22 Gentlewoman,] 1726a-d, 1727a-c; Gentlewomen,
 200.5 *Ballot*?] ~ ?
 203.17 ordered] 1726a-d, 1727a-c; order
 203.32 an] 1726a-d, 1727a-c; and
 205.5 perpendicularly] perpendicular
 205.13 Water] Watter
 208.19 by] b
 209.10 Fright,] ~.
 227.11 nor attend] 1726a-d, 1727a-c; or attend
 228.2 speak, and] 1726a-d, 1727a-c; speak, and and
 256.1 *Lagado*:] ~ :
 285.1 VII.] V.
 285.6 *California*,] *Califormia*,
 286.5 Leagues] Leaugues
 301.1 Foreigners] ~.
 301.3 Occasion).] ~)^
 306.13 visited] 1759; invited
 306.17 *Maldonada*,] ~.
 307.1 Arrival,] Arrrival,
 320.8 strictly] strictiy
 320.15 is by] is, by
 323.22 *Hollanders*:] ~:
 323.29 *Europe*:] ~:
 325.3 Instructions] Instructons
 325.22 *Crucifix*:] ~ :
 326.5 6th] 16th
 333.18 discomposed] ~,
 335.11 the Tree,] 1726a-d, 1727a-c; a Tree,
 352.9 an odious] 1726a-d, 1727a-c; and odious
 352.27 diverting.] ~ ^
 353.9 possible] pussible
 354.12 Speech] Spech
 359.23 deserting to] 1726a-d, 1727a-c; deserting

360.2 native Countries] nativeCountries
 368.4 *Law*:] ~ :
 374.16 Nativity] Nativy
 383.7-8 retires, and] retires, and and
 393.13 undistinguishing] 1726a-d, 1727a-c; undistinguished
 393.22 sought] 1726a-d, 1727a-c; fought
 400.11 hope the] hope the the
 404.14 Domesticks] Domemesticks
 406.3 their Proficiency] 1726a-d, 1727a-c; the Proficiency
 406.14 *Yaboos?*] ~ ?
 411.1 Fowl.)) ~ ^)
 421.12 converse] coverse
 422.23 Nature.)) ~ ^)
 423.26 *East*:] ~ :
 429.33 were] 1726a-d, 1727a-c; was
 430.17 Board.] ~ ,
 434.12 *England*:] ~ :
 438.2 read of the] 1726a-d, 1727a-c; read the
 440.5 Truth,] ~ ^
 438.24 blameless] blamleess
 441.17 their liberal] 1726a-d, 1727a-c; the liberal
 443.9 far] fas
 444.11 are] ~ ,

COLLATION

Introduction

- 5.1 Advertisement] *om.* 1726a–d, 1727a–c
7.1 A LETTER . . .] *om.* 1726a–d, 1727a–c
15.3–4 antient and intimate Friend;] ancient Friend; 1727b
15.6 House in *Redriff*,] House, near *Redriff*, 1727b
15.10 was born] were born 1735
15.18 a little too circumstantial.] a little circumstantial. 1727b
16.6 Scribbles] Scriblers 1726c
16.18 will] shall 1726a–c, 1727a–c
17.1–2 THE CONTENTS.] *printed separately before each part in 1726a–c, 1727a–c; in 1726d the 'Contents' for Parts I and II are printed before the text of Part I, and those of Parts III and IV before the text of Part III.*

Part I

Chapter 1

- 29.5 *giveth*] *gives* 1726a–d, 1727a–b
32.10 4th,] 4, 1727a
32.14 Northwest] Northward 1727a
33.9 ourselves] our selves 1726c

- 33.18–19 Eight o’Clock] eight a-clock 1726a–c, 1727a, 1727c; eight a Clock 1726d; eight a clock 1727b
- 34.2 my self] myself 1726a–b, 1727a, 1727c; my-self 1727b
- 34.4 above] about 1726c, 1727b
- 34.10 grow] grew 1738
- 34.11 mine Eyes] my eyes 1727b
- 35.20 myself] my self 1726c–d, 1727b
- 35.25 increasing,] I heard, 1726a–d, 1727a–c
- 35.25 were greater,] encreased; 1726a–b, 1726d, 1727a–b; encreased 1726c, 1727c
- 35.26 over-against] over against 1738
- 35.27 like People] like that of People 1726a–d, 1727a–c
- 36.8 him who] him that 1726a–d, 1727a–c
- 36.9–10 Page, who] Page that 1726a–d, 1727a–c
- 36.27 shaped] shapen 1727b
- 36.30 me as fast as they] me as they 1726a–d, 1727a–c
- 37.2 hardly held] did not hold 1726a–d, 1727a–c
- 37.9 warned] warning 1726b–c, 1727b
- 37.11 Shout of] shout 1727c
- 37.20 on] upon 1726a–c, 1727a–c
- 37.26 forwards] forward 1727a
- 38.1 mine] my 1727b, Forster
- 38.21 of the People] of People 1727b
- 38.23 I very plentifully] I plentifully 1727a
- 38.26 such Noise and Violence] such violence 1727c
- 39.7 sleeping Potion] sleep Potio 1726a *lp copies*; sleep Potion 1726a *some sp copies*; sleepy Potion 1726a–d, 1727b; sleepy potion 1727a, 1727c
- 39.12 sent me,] sent to me, 1726b–c, 1727b
- 39.20 to enable me] to have enabled me 1726a–c, 1727a–c
- 39.27 buildeth] builds 1726a–d, 1727a–c
- 40.16–17 Fifteen-hundred] Fifteen Hundred 1726a–c, 1727b; Fifteen hundred 1726d, 1727a, 1727c, 1738
- 40.17 and a] and an 1726a–d, 1727b–c; an an 1727a
- 40.29 the Day] that Day 1726a–d, 1727a–c
- 41.10 upon] on 1726a–d, 1727a–c
- 41.11 Use,] Uses, 1727a, Ford to Motte
- 41.18 Over against] overagainst 1726b; Over-against 1727a–b
- 41.19 the other] t’other 1726a–d, 1727a–c

Chapter 2

- 43.2 *comes*] *come* 1726a-d, 1727a-c
43.9 Foot] Feet 1738
44.14 Horseback] Horse-back 1726a-b, 1726d, 1727a, 1727c; horseback 1726c; horse-back 1727b
44.15 although] though 1726a-c, 1727b-c; tho' 1726d
44.18 Horseman] Horse-Man 1726d
44.18 until] till 1726a-d, 1727a-c
44.19 his Majesty had] his Master had 1727a
44.20 beyond] without 1726a-d, 1727a-c
44.21 Chains.] Chain. 1726a-d, 1727a-c
45.1 until] till 1726a-d, 1727a-c
45.1 these] those 1726a, 1726d, 1727a, 1727c
45.7 sate] sat 1726b-c, 1727b
46.7 simple, the] simple, and the 1726a-d, 1727a-c
47.1 forwards] forward 1726d
47.10 were highly obliged] were obliged 1727b
47.13 to do so] so to do 1727a
47.33 was as] was looked upon to be as 1726a-d, 1727a-c
47.33 *Secret*] Secret 1726a-d, 1727a-c
49.3-4 be exercised] be frequently exercised 1726a-d, 1727a-c
49.11 apprehend,] apprehend it, 1726a-d, 1727a-c
49.12 of his Council;] of Council, 1726a-d, 1727b-c, Ford to Motte, Armagh, Pierpont Morgan
50.10 Pocket which I] Pocket I 1726a-d, 1727a-c
50.11 Necessaries of no] Necessaries that were of no 1726a-d, 1727a-c
51.5 *Ranfu-Lo*,] *Ranfu-cess* 1726d, Armagh
51.27 was at the End of that] was fastened to that 1726a-d, 1727a-c
52.3 until] till 1726a-d, 1727a-c
52.3 with] by 1726a-d, 1727a-c
52.7 assured] assures 1727a
53.2 be of real] be real 1726a-d, 1727a-c
53.9-10 of a most] of the most 1727a
53.19 me to] me, although in very gentle Terms, to 1726a-d, 1727a-c
53.22 Troops, who then attended him,] Troops (who then attended him) 1726a-d, 1727a-c
53.28 to] two 1726b
54.8 escape] scape 1726a, 1726d, 1727a, 1727c
54.8 that] against which 1726a-d, 1727a-c

54.9 against)] ^) 1726a-d, 1727a-c
 54.15-16 from Fire;] from the Fire, 1726a-c, 1727a-c; from the Fire; 1726d
 54.22 He] and 1726a-c, 1727a-c; And 1726d

Chapter 3

58.4 Blue,] Purple, 1726a-d, 1727a-c, Forster, Armagh
 58.4 Red,] Yellow, 1726a-d, 1727a-c, Forster, Armagh
 58.4 Green.] White. 1726a-d, 1727a-c, Forster, Armagh
 58.9-10 or the new] or new 1726d, 1727b
 59.4 *leaping* and *creeping*,] leaping and creeping, 1726a-d, 1727a-c
 59.5 Blue-coloured] Purple coloured 1726a-d, 1727a-c, Forster, Armagh
 59.5 Red] Yellow 1726a-d, 1727a-c, Forster, Armagh
 59.6 Green] White 1726a-d, 1727a-c, Forster, Armagh
 59.23 was as tight] was tight 1726d
 60.15 both: For] both, and 1726a-b, 1726d, 1727a-c; both; and 1726c
 60.22 Kinds] kind 1726a-d, 1727a-c
 61.11 and a half] and half 1726a-c, 1727a-c
 62.4 beating, Colours flying] beating, and Colours flying 1726d
 63.14 MULLY] Mull 1738
 64.1 proposeth] proposed 1727c
 64.1 at] to 1726a-d, 1727a-c
 64.5 Licence] License 1727a
 64.6 SECONDLY,] 2d, 1726a-c, 1727a-c; 2d. 1726d
 64.9 THIRDLY,] 3d, 1726a-c, 1727a-c; 3d. 1726d
 64.10 not offer to] not to offer to 1726d
 64.12 FOURTHLY,] 4th, 1726a-c, 1727a-c; 4th. 1726d
 64.16 FIFTHLY,] 5th, 1726a-c, 1727a-c; 5th, 1726d
 64.16 require] requires 1726a-d, 1727a-c
 64.20 SIXTHLY,] 6th, 1726a-c, 1727a-c; 6th. 1726d
 64.23 SEVENTHLY,] 7th, 1726a-c, 1727a-c; 7th. 1726d
 64.27 EIGHTHLY,] 8th, 1726a-c, 1727a-c; 8th. 1726d
 64.32 1724] 1728 1726c, 1727a-b
 65.16 1724] 1728 1726c, 1727a-b
 65.21 1724] 1728 1726c, 1727a-b

Chapter 4

66.16 who] that
 67.1 divide] divided 1738

67.16 although] though 1726a-d, 1727a-c
 68.12-13 Liberty; *Reldresal*,] Liberty, Keldresal, 1726a-c, 1727b-c; liberty,
 Keldresal, 1727a
 68.16-17 as well as of the] as well as the 1726a-d, 1727a-c
 68.23 we appear] we may appear 1726a-d, 1727a-c
 70.8 your self,] yourself, 1726a-b, 1727b-c; youelf, 1726c, 1727a
 71.14 these] their 1727c

Chapter 5

73.10 Enemies] Enemys 1726a, 1727c; Enemy's 1726b-c, 1727a-b
 73.14 Enemies] Enemy's 1726a-c, 1727a-c
 74.6 to the] towards the 1726a-d, 1727a-c
 74.6 *Blefuscu*; where,] *Blefuscu*, and 1726a, 1726d, 1727a-c; *Blefuscu*; and
 1726b-c
 74.7 Hillock, I took] Hillock, took 1726a-d, 1727a-c
 74.7 Pocket Perspective Glass,] Pocket-Perspective-Glass, 1727b
 74.8 Enemy's] Enemies 1726d
 74.9 Transports: I then] *om.* 1738
 74.14 bending] binding 1726a-d, 1727b-c, 1735 (*see also* Armagh *where the*
reading is probably turning)
 74.17 about half an Hour] about an Hour 1727b
 74.18-19 until I felt the Ground,] till I felt ground; 1726a-c, 1727a-c; 'till
 I felt Ground 1726d
 74.19 arrived to the] arrived at the 1727a, Ford to Motte, Forster, Pierpont
 Morgan
 74.27 mine] my Forster
 74.29 escaped] scaped 1726a-d, 1727a, 1727c
 75.3 Enemy's Arrows,] Enemys Arrows, 1726a, 1727c; Enemy's Arrows,
 1726b-c; Enemies Arrows, 1726d, 1727a
 75.7 boldest Part] bold part 1726a-c, Ford to Motte, Armagh, Pierpont
 Morgan; bold Part 1727b
 75.28 more in] in more 1726c, 1727b
 75.29 under Water to] under to 1727c
 76.7 Viceroy] Vice-Roy 1726a-d, 1727a-c
 76.9 remain sole] remain the sole 1726a-d, 1727a-c
 76.10 this] his 1726c, 1727b
 76.16-17 forgive me: He] forgive it; he 1726a-d, 1727a-c
 77.18 interrupt] trouble 1726a-d, 1727a-c

79.4 where] were 1726d
80.2 by my labouring] by labouring 1727c
80.15 assured, that the] assured, the 1726a-d, 1727a-c

Chapter 6

82.2 *Customs. The]* *Custom, the* 1726a, 1727a
82.8 Inches,] Inches high, 1726a-d, 1727a-c
82.16 pleased with observing] pleased observing 1726a-d, 1727a-c, Forster,
Armagh
82.20 reach] touch 1726d
82.20 clinched] clenched 1726a-b, 1726d, 1727a, 1727c
83.4-5 *Arabians*; nor from up to down, like the Chinese; nor from down]
Arabians; nor from down 1727b
83.6 like Ladies] *see annotation in* Pierpont Morgan
83.11 ready] really 1726d
84.6 relateth] relates 1726a-d, 1727a-c
84.8 make] maketh 1726a-d, 1727a-c
84.14 doth] does 1726a-d, 1727a-c
84.17 They look upon Fraud] *see annotation in* Forster
84.17 Crime than Theft,] Crime and Theft, 1726c
84.20 hath] has 1726a-b, 1726d, 1727a-c; *see annotation in* Forster
85.5 hath] had 1726c-d, 1727b
85.8 doth] does 1726a-d, 1727a-c
86.22 to multiply] and multiply 1726a-d, 1727a-c
87.5 acteth.] acts. 1726a-d, 1727a-c
87.17 he] they 1735
87.17 hath] have 1735
87.24 Young, proceedeth] Young proceeds 1726a-d, 1727a-c
88.1 or to his] or his 1726a-d, 1727a-c; *see annotation in* Pierpont Morgan
88.3 nor] or 1726a-d, 1727a-c
89.12 until four Years] till four Years 1726a-d, 1727a-c
89.16 small] smaller 1727c
89.19-20 is not to last] is to last 1726a-d, 1727a-c
89.20 above an Hour; they] but an hour. They 1726a-d, 1727a-c
89.21 standeth] stands 1726a-d, 1727a-c
90.1 seven] Eleven 1726a-b, 1727a, 1727c; eleven 1726c-d, 1727b
90.2 Exercises until] Nurseries till 1726a-d, 1727a-c
90.7 until] till 1726a-d, 1727a-c

90.12 Parts] Part 1726a-b, 1726d, 1727a, 1727c; part 1726c, 1727b
 91.4-5 enjoined them; For, their] enjoined them; For the 1726a-d, 1727a-
 c; enjoined them; For, their 1738
 91.13 seven] nine 1726a-d, 1727a-c
 91.14 eleven.] thirteen. 1726a-d, 1727a-c
 91.20 that] for 1726a-d, 1727a-c
 91.20 should] to 1726a-d, 1727a-c
 92.8 Empire.] Kingdom. 1726a-d, 1727a-c
 92.10 Domestick,] Domesticks, 1727a, 1727c
 92.15 for my Bed] for Bed 1726c, 1727b
 92.19-20 standing at my Neck, and another at my Mid-Leg] standing at
 my Mid-Leg 1726d
 93.10 have been] be 1726a-d, 1727a-c
 93.31 them] 'em 1726a-c, 1727a-c
 93.32 over against] over-against 1726a-d, 1727a-c
 94.6 although] though 1726a-d, 1727a-c
 94.10 that I] that in short I 1726a-d, 1727a-c
 95.14 sat] sate 1726a-d, 1727a-c
 95.15 Coachmen] Coachman 1727a
 95.17 agreeably] agreeable 1727d
 95.18 them] 'em 1726a-c, 1727a, 1727c
 95.23 although] though 1726a-d, 1727a-c
 95.24 had the] had then the 1726a-d, 1727a, 1727c; then had the 1727b
 95.26 yet I] although I 1726a-d, 1727a-c
 95.28 made the] made *Flimnap* the 1726a-d, 1727a-c
 95.29 worse: For] worse; and 1726a-d, 1727a-c

Chapter 7

96.2 *makes*] *maketh* 1738
 96.20 sat] sate 1726a-d, 1727a-c
 97.12 obscured] much obscured 1727b
 98.12 Majesty's most dear] Majesty's dear 1726a-d, 1727a-c
 99.24-5 Shirts and Sheets, which] Shirts, which 1726a-d, 1727a-c
 101.18 this Evil, that it] this Evil, it 1726a-d, 1727a-b
 101.19-20 the common Practice of blinding] the blinding 1727b
 102.2-3 the *formal Proofs required by the strict Letter of the Law*] the formal
 Proofs required by the strict Letter of the Law 1726a-d, 1727a-c

102.10–11 against this Evil,] against that Evil, 1726a–d, 1727b–c; against
that evil, 1727a
102.24 was perpetually instigated] was the most violent instigated 1726d,
Armagh
103.10 private a Manner] private Manner 1727b
103.16–17 Emperor always made] Emporer made 1726a–d, 1727a, 1727c;
Emperor made 1727b
103.23 Yet, as] And as 1726a–d, 1727a–c
104.15 *acquitted*] quitted 1727a
105.2 mine] *see annotation in* Ford to Motte
105.15 I carried under] I brought under 1726a–d, 1727a–c
105.22 Commands.] Command. 1726b, 1727b
105.24 a] an 1726d, 1727a
106.5 the Secret] our Secret 1726d

Chapter 8

107.8 by Force] by the Force 1727c
107.13 his] the 1726a–d, 1727a–c
107.17 an] a 1727c
107.18 Yards] Years 1727b
107.24 that] the 1727b
108.27 mine] *see annotation in* Ford to Motte
109.25 ten] 10 1726d
109.25 twenty] 20 1726d
109.25 thirty] 30 1726d
110.2 three hundred] 300 1726d
110.10 Princes] Princess 1727a
110.18 Yews] Ewes 1726b–c, 1727b
110.31 and as I] and I 1726a–d, 1727a–c
111.6 nothing all] nothing at all 1726d
111.14 I left] I had left 1727a, Ford to Motte, Pierpont Morgan
111.29 *Blefuscu*] *Lilliput* 1726a–d, 1727b, Ford to Motte, Forster, Armagh,
Pierpont Morgan
112.2 Sheep] Ship 1727a
112.8 safe on Shore] safe a-shore 1727b
112.10 although] though 1726a–d, 1727a–c
113.5 has] hath 1738
113.8 *Liverpool*,] *Leverpool* 1726a–d, 1727a–c

Part II

Chapter 1

- 117.5 *described. The]* *described, the* 1726a–d, 1727b–c; *described; the* 1727a
117.7 *happened there.]* *happen'd to him.* 1727a
117.10 ten Months] two months 1726c, 1727b; Two months 1727a
117.11 20th Day] Twentieth Day 1726d
117.11 1702,] 1722 1727a
118.7 19th] 9th 1727b
119.1 2d] Second 1727a
120.3 hulling] hurling 1727a
120.13 to.] too. 1735
121.1 Tack aboard.] Tacks aboard, 1726a–d, 1727a–c
121.5 would lye,] could lye. 1726b–c; could lie. 1727b
121.8 on Board] a board 1727b
121.12 brought us to] brought so us 1727b
121.17 into] in 1726d
122.9 hollow] halloo 1738
122.15 run] ran 1726a–d, 1727a–c
122.20 although] though 1726a–c, 1727a–c; tho' 1726d
122.22 sometime,] some time 1726a–d, 1727a–c; some Time 1738
122.24 the end of this Field;] this end of the field, 1727a
123.4 utmost.] uppermost. 1726a–d, 1727a–c
123.18 some Words] those Words 1727b
123.22 However, I made a shift] I made a shift 1726a–d, 1727b–c, Ford to
Motte, Forster, Armagh, Pierpont Morgan
123.23 laid] lain 1727b
124.11 who] that 1726a–d, 1727a–c
125.9 shall] may 1726b–c, 1727b; should 1727a
125.16 above] about 1726b–c, 1727b
125.18 mine] *see annotation in* Forster
125.28 his] my 1727c
126.12 me.] me? 1726b; me; 1726c; me: 1727b
126.23 I then took] I took 1726a–d, 1727a–c
127.7 his Hand] his left Hand 1726a–d, 1727a–c
127.10 at full Length] at Length 1726a–d, 1727a–c
127.21 and Wife] and his Wife 1726a–c, 1727a–c
127.29 about two Gallons;] about three Gallons, 1726a–d, 1727a–c
128.10–11 by the] by my 1726a–d, 1727a–c

128.20 Master understand,] Master to understand, 1726a-d, 1727a-c
 129.5-6 this Animal,] that Animal, 1727b
 129.9 although] though 1726a-d, 1727a-c
 130.8 in his] into his 1727b
 130.9 infallibly have] have infallibly 1738
 130.21 to give Suck,] to suck, 1727b
 130.22 me reflect] me to reflect 1727b
 131.13-14 by all my Travels.] by my Travels. 1726b-c; by all my travels.
 1727a; by Travels. 1727b
 132.28 *Rat*,] Rat, 1726b-c, 1727b
 132.30 *Rat*] Rat 1726b-c, 1727b
 133.14 and apply] and to apply 1726c, 1727b

Chapter 2

135.4 towardly] toward 1726a-d, 1727b-c; forward 1727a; *see annotations*
 in Ford to Motte, Forster, Armagh
 135.8 *Rats*.] Rats. 1726b-c, 1727b
 135.9 although] though 1726a-d, 1727a-c
 136.8 Field] *see annotation in Forster*
 137.4 overheard] over-heard 1726c, 1727c
 137.11 conceive it to] conceive to 1735
 137.13 *Grildrig*] *Gildrig* 1726b-c, 1727b
 137.15 as soon as it was] as soon it was 1735
 138.3 him.] me. 1735
 138.15 of the Green *Eagle* not so] *see annotation in Armagh*
 139.22 Company eight] Company for eight 1726a-d, 1727a-c
 139.28 is] was 1726a-d, 1727a-c
 140.2 the Town] their Town 1727a
 140.22-3 by Leading-strings.] by a Leading-string. 1726a-d, 1727a-b; by
 Leading-string. 1727c

Chapter 3

142.8 unsatiable] insatiable 1726c, 1727b-c
 142.12 bring] carry 1726a-d, 1727a-c
 143.12 Girl herself was] Girl her self was 1726c; Girl was 1726d
 143.22 kill an] kill and 1727b
 143.23 impaired by the] impair'd by a 1726d

144.2 her Majesty would] her Majesty, perhaps, would 1727a, Ford to
 Motte, Forster, Armagh, Pierpont Morgan
 144.15 Hand,] Hands, 1726a-d, 1727b-c; hands, 1727a
 145.1-2 his Dominions; had] his Dominions, and had 1727a, Ford to
 Motte, Forster, Armagh, Pierpont Morgan
 145.2-3 and particularly Mathematicks;] and Mathematics; 1727b
 145.11 higher] better 1727b
 145.14 I had learned] I learned 1726d
 146.5 Overmatch] over-match 1726c, 1727b Over-match 1727c
 146.8-9 of them seemed] of these Virtuosi seemed 1726a-d, 1727a-c
 146.11 manifested] manifest 1726b-c, 1727b
 148.6 Sash Windows] Sash-windows 1726b-c, 1727b
 148.14 and the Cieling,] and Ceiling, 1727c
 148.18 smallest that was ever seen] smallest that ever was seen 1726b-c,
 1727b; smallest ever was seen 1726d
 148.24-5 grave decent] grave and decent 1726b-c, 1727b; grave, decent
 1726d
 149.7 seen in] seen of the same kind in 1726a-d, 1727a, 1727c; seen of the
 same kind 1727b
 149.9 her self.] her-self. 1727a; herself. 1727b
 149.18 in] into 1726d
 149.19 twelve-penny] tweldepenny 1726a-c; Tweldepenny 1727a
 149.19 Loves.] Loaves. 1726a-d, 1727b-c
 149.21 Instruments] Instrument, 1738
 149.29 a Favourite;] a great Favourite; 1726a-d, 1727a-c
 150.7 State;] Estate; 1727c
 150.8 taking me] taking my 1735
 150.10 were] was 1727b
 150.14 those] these 1726a-d, 1727a-c
 150.24 I were injured] I was injured 1726b-c, 1727b
 151.2 mine] *see annotation in* Forster
 151.8 this] the 1726b-c, 1727b
 151.16 became so insolent] became insolent 1726a-d, 1727a-c
 151.20 smart] small 1726a-d, 1727a-c
 152.13 to] on 1726c, 1727b
 152.18 were] was 1726b-c, 1727b
 152.18-19 have immediately cashiered him] have cashiered him 1726d
 152.23 mounted the] mounted upon the 1726a-d, 1727a-c
 152.23 Stool that she] Stool she 1726a-d, 1727a-c

- 153.3 self.] self? 1726b; my self? 1726c; my-self 1727a; myself? 1727b
 153.6 mine] *see annotation in* Forster
 154.16 putting] put 1726d
 154.19 Insects] Creatures 1726a–d, 1727a–c, Forster, Armagh, Pierpont Morgan

Chapter 4

- 156.10 Extent of] Extent of of 1735
 156.10 reacheth about] reaching about 1727a
 157.29 Houses. It is] Houses, and about six hundred thousand Inhabitants.
 It is 1726a–d, 1727a–c
 158.3 Bare-foot,] barefoot, 1726a–d, 1727a–b; bare foot, 1727c
 158.8 and I was] and was 1726c, 1727b
 159.1 *European*] *English* 1726a–d, 1727a–c, Forster, Pierpont Morgan
 159.5 Woolpacks;] Wool-packs, 1726d
 160.7 Iron Wire on] Iron on 1726d
 160.17 Majesty's Favour] Majesties Favour 1726d
 160.20 my] the 1727b
 160.24 those] these 1738
 161.4 Foot, reckoning] Foot, and reckoning 1726a–b
 161.10 whatever] what ever 1726c
 161.15 these] the 1727b
 162.4 complain; that] complain that 1726a–b, 1726d, 1727a–c

Chapter 5

- 163.9 those] these 1727c
 163.11 Apple-trees] Apple trees 1726b–c, 1727b
 163.11 need] needs 1726d
 164.7 the Body] my Body 1738
 164.20 Gardens] Garden 1727a
 166.5 Yard] Yard's 1727b
 166.12 hop] turn 1726a–d, 1727a–c
 166.22 *English*] *England* 1726c, 1727b
 167.1 was much disgusted] was disgusted 1726d
 167.1 because, to] to 1727a
 167.16 these Maids] those Maids 1735

167.16–17 Honour, when... them,] Honour, (when... them) 1726c, 1727b
 168.2 other Motions] other emotions 1726a–b, 1726d, 1727a, 1727c; other Emotions 1726c, 1727b
 168.6 further] farther 1727b
 168.8 drunk,] drank, 1727b
 169.3 one Blow] a blow 1726a–b, 1726d, 1727c; a Blow 1726c
 169.4 spouted up] spouted out 1727b
 169.7 least an] least half an 1726a–d, 1727b–c; least Half an 1727a
 169.15–16 first Rate] First-rate 1726b–c, 1727b
 170.14 my Diversion,] my own Diversion, 1726a–b, 1726d, 1727b–c; my own diversion, 1726c, 1727a
 170.15 agreeably] well 1726a–d, 1727a–c
 170.26 have infallibly] infallibly have 1727b
 171.19 Closet Window] Closet-Window 1726b–c, 1727b
 171.23 I were much] I was much 1727a
 171.24 stirring] stirred 1727a
 172.3 might easily] might have easily 1727b
 172.6 seized] caught hold of 1726a–d, 1727a–c
 172.7 Silk,] Cloth, 1726a–d, 1727a–c
 172.9 doth] does 1726a–d, 1727a–c
 172.20 Palace] Place 1727c
 173.2 Ridge-Tyle] ridge Tyle 1726a, 1727a, 1727c; ridge Tile 1726d
 173.2 five] three 1726a–d, 1727b–c; Three 1727a
 173.6 climbed] climbing 1726c, 1727b
 173.17 Recovery,] Recover 1726b
 174.2 Courage] Honour 1726a–d, 1727a–c, Ford to Motte, Forster, Pierpont Morgan
 174.11 of] in 1727c

Chapter 6

177.6 who] that 1726a–d, 1727a–c
 178.10 End] ends 1726a, 1726c–d, 1727a–c; Ends 1726b
 178.27 the rest of the World,] the World, 1727c
 178.28 of Mind, that he] of the Mind he 1726a–d, 1727b–c; of Mind he 1727a
 178.29 itself] it self 1726a–d, 1727b–c
 179.10 Praise] Praises 1727a, Ford to Motte

180.5 an *English* Parliament] *English* Parliament 1726d
 180.9 born] both 1727b
 181.9 and wisest] and his wisest 1726a–d, 1727a–c
 182.5 Sect,] Sects, 1727c
 182.12 what] all 1726a–d, 1727b–c; several 1727a; Ford to Motte, Forster,
 Pierpont Morgan
 182.20 who are] who were 1727a
 183.7 Partialities] Partiality 1726d
 183.9 constantly] always 1726a–d, 1727a–c
 184.4 Landlords,] Landlord, 1726a–b, 1726d, 1727a–c
 184.19 Suit in] Suit of 1727b
 185.17–186.1 we found Money] we should find Money 1726a–d, 1727c;
 we should find money 1727a–b
 187.10 as] for 1726a–d, 1727a–c
 187.16 our] out 1726b
 188.2 they received,] they have received 1726a, 1726d, 1727a; they have
 received, 1726b–c, 1727b–c
 188.7 and] or 1726a–d, 1727a–c
 188.15 Vice are the proper] Vice may be sometimes the only 1726a–c,
 1727a–c, Forster, Pierpont Morgan
 188.21 Perfection] Virtue 1726a–d, 1727a–c
 189.1 Men are] Men were 1726a–d, 1727b–c
 189.2 Priests are] Priests were 1726a–d, 1727c, Forster, Pierpont Morgan;
 Men were 1727b

Chapter 7

190.4 *imperfect and confined.*] *imperfect.* 1727b
 190.4 *Their Laws,*] *The Laws,* 1727a
 190.12 upon] into 1738
 190.22 that Monarch,] *see annotations in* Forster, Pierpont Morgan
 191.7 Notions] Nations 1726d
 191.18–19 such Violence] such a Violence 1727a
 192.1 Pavement,] Pavements, 1726a–d, 1727a–c
 192.2 every] very 1727b
 192.2 came] come 1726d
 192.6 two] an 1726a–b, 1726d, 1727a–c
 193.16 Ignorance; by not] Ignorance, they not 1726a–d, 1727a–c
 195.9 of] in 1726a–d, 1727a–c

196.6 either.] their. 1727b
 197.1 largest,] biggest, 1726a–d, 1727a, 1727c; biggest 1727b
 197.12 mine Eyes;] *see annotation in* Forster
 197.15 Paste-board] Past-board 1726a, 1727a, 1727c; Past board 1726d
 197.20 latter] rest 1726a–d, 1727a–c
 197.22 Gentlewoman,] Gentlewomen, 1735
 197.24 among Women] among the Women 1726a–d, 1727a–b
 198.5 from Inclemencies] from the Inclemencies 1727a, Forster
 198.10 Species of Man] species of Men 1727a, Ford to Motte, Forster,
 Pierpont Morgan
 199.5 moral Applications] more Applications 1727a
 199.6 my own Part,] my Part, 1727b
 200.11 Ninety] an hundred 1726a–d, 1727b–c; an Hundred 1727a
 200.11 the] a 1726a–d, 1727a–c
 200.16 Dominions] Dominion 1727a
 200.20–201.1 which the whole Race of Mankind is Subject;] which so
 many other Governments are subject; 1726a–d, 1727a–c, Forster, Pier-
 pont Morgan
 201.3 that] the 1726a, 1726c–d, 1727a–c
 201.4–5 more than once] once or more 1726a–d, 1727a–c
 201.6 in a] by a 1726a–d, 1727a–c

Chapter 8

202.5 some time] sometime 1726a, 1726d, 1727a, 1727c; some Time
 1726b
 202.6 although] though 1726a–d, 1727a–c
 202.6 were] was 1726a–d, 1727a–c
 203.5 without Fear of] without being afraid of 1727b
 203.5 or young] or a young 1726a–b, 1726d, 1727a–c
 203.10 in Progress] in a Progress 1726a–d, 1727a–c
 203.13 I had] And, I had 1726a, 1726c–d, 1727a, 1727c; And I had 1726b,
 1727b
 203.17 Closet, set not] Closet, not 1726a–d, 1727a–c, Ford to Motte,
 Forster, Pierpont Morgan
 203.17 ordered] order 1735
 203.23 were] was 1727b
 203.32 Half an Hour's] Half and Hour's 1735
 204.10–11 the Box] my Box 1726a, 1727b; my box 1726b–d, 1727a,
 1727c

204.15–16 Noise just over] noise over 1727b
 204.20 enable] enabled 1727b
 205.5 perpendicularly] perpendicular 1735
 205.8 mine Ears] my Ears 1727b, Forster, Pierpont Morgan
 205.10 of my Windows] of the Windows 1727b
 206.7 Misfortune,] Misfortunes, 1726a, 1727c; Misfortunes 1726b; Misfortunes 1726c–d, 1727b; misfortunes 1727a
 206.12 overset] over-set 1726a–d, 1727a
 206.18 sat] sate 1726a–b, 1726d, 1727a, 1727c
 206.19 myself from being] my self some Hours longer than by being 1726a–b, 1726d, 1727c; my self some hours longer than by being 1726c, 1727a–b
 206.22 Circumstances,] *see annotation in* Armagh
 206.25 upon the Side] upon that side 1726a, 1726c–d, 1727a, 1727c; upon that Side 1726b
 206.33 were] was 1726a–d, 1727a–c
 207.6 the] this 1726a–d, 1727a–c
 207.21 was] is 1727a
 208.13 it before] it there before 1726a–d, 1727a–c
 208.29 a Clock] a-Clock 1726b, 1726d; a-clock 1726c; a clock 1727a; o'clock 1727b
 209.17 his Men to tow] them to tow 1726a–d, 1727a–c
 209.17 (as he called] (as they called 1726b–c, 1727b
 209.17 Ship.] Ships. 1727a
 209.22 Man] Men 1726a–b, 1726d, 1727a, 1727c
 209.28 he could] could 1727a
 209.32 above] about 1727c
 210.11 on Shore] a-shore 1727b
 210.19 further] farther 1727b
 210.21 kept] had 1726a–d, 1727a–c
 210.23 in his Presence,] in his own Presence, 1726a–d, 1727b–c, Ford to Motte, Forster, Armagh
 210.26 Materials,] Material, 1727a
 211.21 or the] or of the 1726a–d, 1727a–b
 212.5 mine] *see annotation in* Forster
 212.15 necessary for me while] necessary while 1726a–d, 1727b–c, Ford to Motte, Forster
 212.19 mine Eyes] *see annotation in* Forster
 212.21 protested] protesting 1727c
 212.27 admire the Conceit.] admire Conceit 1726c, 1727b
 213.8 3d Day] 3d. Day 1726a–c, 1727b–c; third Day 1726d

- 213.23 ask me Blessing] ask me blessing 1726c, 1727b [*I have been unable to confirm Davis's recording of the reading 'ask my Blessing' in any copy of 1726a-c.*]
 214.2 above Sixty] about sixty 1727c

Part III

Chapter 1

- 217.7 Dutchman] Dutch-man 1726a, 1726d, 1727c
 218.2 the] he 1727a
 218.8 Absence.] Absences. 1726a-d, 1727a-c
 218.15 had Share in] had shared in 1727a
 219.1 5th Day of] 5th of 1727a
 219.2 We stayed there] stayed there 1726a-d, 1727a-c
 219.5-6 in several Months.] in some Months. 1726a-b, 1726d, 1727a-c
 219.10 traffick, while] Traffick for two Months, while 1726a-d, 1727a-c
 219.22 *Dutchman*] *Dutch-man* 1726a-d, 1727a, 1727c
 219.23 he were] he was 1726a-d, 1727a-c
 219.24 *Englishmen*] *English-Men* 1726a, 1727c; *English Men* 1726d
 219.25 tyed] tryed 1727a
 220.1 begged] begging 1727c
 220.3 Captains] Captain 1726c, 1727b
 220.11 *Dutchman*] *Dutch-man* 1726a-d, 1727a-c
 220.11 a Heathen] an Heathen 1726d
 220.16 however prevailed] however, he prevailed 1726d
 220.19 a-drift] adrift 1726a; a drift 1726b, 1727a, 1727c; a Drift 1726d
 220.22 *Dutchman*] *Dutch-man* 1726a, 1726d, 1727a, 1727c
 221.5 Sea Weed] Sea-Weed 1726b-c, 1727a-b; Sea-weed 1726d
 221.12 5th Day,] fifth day 1726c; fifth day, 1727a; fifth Day 1727b
 222.3 must be. Yet I found] must I be. Yet found 1727a
 222.14 to be a] to me a 1727a

Chapter 2

- 226.5 by] with 1727a
 226.9-10 reclined either to] reclined to 1727b
 226.10 or the] or to the 1738
 226.10 their Eyes] the Eyes 1726c, 1727b
 227.11 nor attend] or attend 1735

228.1 or more] or three more 1726a-d, 1727a-b; or Three more 1727c
 228.2 speak, and] speak, and and 1735
 228.7 jostling] Justling 1726a, 1727c; justling 1726b-d, 1727a-b
 228.8 jostled] Justled 1726a, 1727c; justled 1726b-d, 1727a-b
 229.17 by his Order] by the Kings order 1726a, 1727c; by the King's Order
 1726b, 1726d; by the King's order 1726c, 1727a-b
 230.15 to] or 1726b-c, 1727b
 232.15 an Half.] a half. 1727b
 232.17 o'Clock] a Clock 1726a, 1726d, 1727a-c; a-Clock 1726b; a-clock
 1726c
 232.21 their Island] the Island 1726c
 233.16-17 or else by] or by 1726a-d, 1727a-c
 234.3 for] to 1726a-d, 1727a-c
 235.4 Mind] Minds 1727c
 235.7 although] 'though 1726d
 236.15 with its own Effluvia,] with Effluvia, 1727c
 237.15 Sprites] Spirits 1726a-d, 1727b-c
 237.21 Occasions;] Occasion, 1726c, 1727b
 237.24 wrapped] rapt 1726a, 1727a, 1727c; wrapt 1726b-d, 1727b
 238.24 Womankind] Womenkind 1726a, 1726c, 1727c, Ford to Motte,
 Forster; Women-kind 1726d; women kind 1727a
 238.26 Month's Time] Months time 1726a; Months Time 1727c

Chapter 3

240.13 about] above 1727c
 240.15 The Declivity] This Declivity 1727a
 240.16 Cause] course 1727a
 240.17 towards] toward 1727a
 241.3 whenever] when ever 1726a-b, 1726d, 1727a, 1727c
 241.5 do so in] do in 1726a-d, 1727a-c
 242.10 This] The 1726a-d, 1727a-c
 242.17 End] Ends 1727c
 244.1 in] upon 1727c
 244.2 Point downwards,] Point directly downwards, 1727c
 244.27-30 Goodness. For, although their largest Telescopes do not exceed
 three Feet, they magnify much more than those of a Hundred with
 us, and shew the Stars with greater Clearness. This Advantage] Good-
 ness. For this Advantage 1726a-d, 1727b-c; goodness. This Advantage

1727a; *see the annotations in* Ford to Motte, Forster, Pierpont Morgan, Princeton
 244.30–245.1 their Discoveries] the Discoveries 1726a–d, 1727b–c
 245.1 *Europe*. They] *Europe*; for they 1726a, 1727a, 1727c; *Europe*, for they 1726b, 1726d; *Europe*: for they 1726c, 1727b
 245.6 his] the 1727a
 245.7 Twenty-one] twenty one 1726a–d, 1727a–c
 246.10 having] have 1726c, 1727b
 247.1 Dearth] Death 1726a–d, 1727b–c, Ford to Motte, Forster, Pierpont Morgan
 247.7 a] an 1727a, 1727c
 247.11 Estates that lie] Estates, which lie 1726a–d, 1727a–c
 247.20 consist] consists 1726b–c, 1727b

Chapter 4

249.12 excellent in two] excellent for two 1726b–c, 1727b
 249.16 there;] here, 1726a–d, 1727b–c, Ford to Motte, Forster
 250.27 passeth] passes 1726a–d, 1727a–c
 252.13 with the Dress and Looks] *see the annotations in* Forster, Pierpont Morgan
 252.15 Excellency's] Excellencies 1726a, 1727a, 1727c
 253.7 some very few] some few 1727c
 254.15 into] in 1726a–d, 1727a–c
 254.18 his Majesty's] His Majesties 1726a, 1727a, 1727c
 258.15 of Projector] of a Projector 1726a–b, 1726d, 1727a, 1727c

Chapter 5

260.3–4 more, that he] more, he 1726a–d, 1727a–c
 262.11 Masts] Maste 1726a–d, 1727a–c
 263.8 would] should 1726a–d, 1727a–c
 264.6 was] were 1726a–d, 1727a–c
 264.11 recovers.] recover. 1726a–d, 1727a–c
 266.2 Projectors] Projector 1726a–d, 1727b
 266.4 to] too 1727a
 266.9 sprang] sprung 1726a–d, 1727a–c
 268.3 at a reasonable] at reasonable 1726d

268.4 write Books in] write both in 1726a–d, 1727b–c, Ford to Motte,
 Forster, Armagh, Pierpont Morgan, Princeton
 268.10 Paper] Papers 1726c, 1727b, Forster
 268.12 Moods, Tenses] Moods and Tenses 1726d
 269.3 as] or 1726a–d, 1727b–c, Ford to Motte, Forster, Pierpont Morgan
 269.14 emptied] employed 1726a–c, 1727a–c; employ'd 1726d
 269.15 in Books] in the Book 1726a–d, 1727b–c; in books 1727a
 269.18 Acknowledgments] Acknowledgement 1726a–d, 1727b–c;
 acknowledgement 1727a
 270.7 Languages] Language 1726a–d, 1727a–c
 270.7 sat] sate 1726a–d, 1727a, 1727c
 271.8 Forefathers:] Ancestors; 1726a–d, 1727a–c
 272.4 greater Bundle] great Bundle 1726b–c, 1727b
 272.7 met] meet 1726b
 272.8 Sacks] Saddles 1726a–d, 1727b–c, Ford to Motte, Forster, Armagh,
 Pierpont Morgan, Princeton
 272.11 Conversations] Conversation 1738
 273.4–5 And thus, Embassadors] And the Embassadors 1726a–d, 1727b–c,
 Ford to Motte, Forster, Armagh, Pierpont Morgan, Princeton; And thus
 Embassadors 1727a
 274.5 so long an Abstinence] so long an Abstience 1726b; so long Absti-
 nence 1726d

Chapter 6

275.2 *further*] *farther* 1727c
 275.2 *proposeth*] *proposes* 1726a–d, 1727a–c
 275.15 have] had 1726d
 276.6 Prescriptions?] Prescription? 1726a–d, 1727b–c; prescription? 1727a
 277.3 Pulses] Pulse 1726c, 1727b
 277.5 Methods] method 1726a–b, 1727c; Method 1726c–d, 1727b; meth-
 ods 1727a; *see* Ford to Motte
 277.7 sat] sate 1726a–d, 1727a–c
 277.13 might] would 1726a–d, 1727a–c
 278.10 dispose them] dispose of them 1726a–d, 1727b–c, Ford to Motte,
 Forster, Pierpont Morgan
 278.20 came] come 1726a–d, 1727a–c, Forster, Princeton
 279.2 Faction;] Fashion; 1727b

- 279.17 Person] Persons 1726a–b, 1727c; Person's 1726c–d, 1727b; person's 1727a; *see the annotations in Ford to Motte, Pierpont Morgan, Princeton*
- 279.18–19 not be taxed] not to taxed 1726b
- 280.6 Paper of] Paper for 1727a
- 280.7 Government.] Governments. 1726b–c, 1727b
- 280.10 Posteriors; to take] Posteriors; take 1726a–d, 1727b–c, Ford to Motte, Forster, Pierpont Morgan
- 280.11 the Odour,] Odour, 1727a
- 281.8–10 I told him, that in the Kingdom of *Tribnia*, by the Natives called *Langden*, where I had long sojourned, the Bulk of the People consisted wholly of Discoverers, Witnesses, Informers,] I told him, that should I happen to live in a Kingdom where Plots and Conspiracies were either in vogue from the turbulency of the meaner People, or could be turned to the use and service of the higher Rank of them, I first would take care to cherish and encourage the breed of Discoverers, Witnesses, Informers, 1726a–d, 1727a–c [*minor accidental variants between editions*]; *see annotations and insertions in Ford to Motte, Forster, Armagh, Pierpont Morgan, Princeton*
- 281.12–282.5 all under the Colours, the Conduct, and pay of Ministers and their Deputies. The Plots in that Kingdom are usually the Workmanship of those Persons who desire to raise their own Characters of profound Politicians; to restore new Vigour to a crazy Administration; to stifle or divert general Discontents; to fill their coffers with Forfeitures; and raise or sink the Opinion of publick Credit, as either shall best answer their private Advantage.] and when I had got a competent Number of them of all sorts and Capacities, I would put them under the Colour and conduct of some dextrous Persons in sufficient power both to protect and reward them. Men thus qualified and thus empowered might make a most excellent use and advantage of Plots, they might raise their own Characters and pass for most profound Politicians, they might restore new Vigor to a crazy Administration, they might stifle or divert general Discontents; fill their Pockets with Forfeitures, and advance or sink the Opinion of Publick Credit, as either might answer their private Advantage. 1726a–d, 1727a–c [*minor accidental variants between editions*], Forster, Pierpont Morgan, Princeton
- 282.5–8 It is first agreed and settled among them, what suspected Persons shall be accused of a Plot: Then, effectual Care is taken to secure all their Letters and other Papers, and put the Owners in Chains.] This might be done by first agreeing and settling among themselves what suspected

Persons should be accused of a Plot. Then effectual care is taken to secure all their Letters and Papers, and put the Criminal in safe and secure Custody. 1726a–d, 1727b–c [*minor accidental variants between editions*], Forster, Pierpont Morgan; This might be done by first agreeing and settling among themselves what suspected Persons should be accused of a Plot. Then effectual care being taken to secure all their Letters and Papers, and put the Criminal in safe and secure Custody. 1727a

282.8–9 These Papers are delivered to a Set of Artists very dextrous in finding out the mysterious Meanings of Words, Syllables and Letters.] These Papers might be delivered to a Sett of Artists of Dexterity sufficient to find out the mysterious Meanings of Words, Syllables, and Letters. They should be allowed to put what Interpretation they pleased upon them, giving them a Sense not only which has no relation at all to them, but even what is quite contrary to their true Intent and real Meaning; thus 1726a–d, 1727a–c [*minor accidental variants between editions*], Forster, Pierpont Morgan

282.9–283.7 For Instance, they can decypher a Close-stool to signify a Privy Council; a Flock of Geese, a Senate; a lame Dog, an Invader; the Plague, a standing Army; a Buzard, a Minister; the Gout, a High Priest; a Gibbet, a Secretary of State; a Chamber pot, a Committee of Grandees; a Sieve a Court Lady; a Broom, a Revolution; a Mouse-trap, an Employment; a bottomless Pit, the Treasury; a Sink, a C—t; a Cap and Bells, a Favourite; a broken Reed, a Court of Justice; an empty Tun, a General; a running sore, the Administration.] for Instance, they may, if they so fancy, interpret a *Sieve* to signify a *Court Lady*, a *lame Dog* an *Invader*, the *Plague* a *standing Army*, a *Buzzard* a *great Statesman*, the *Gout* a *High Priest*, a *Chamber-pot* a *Committee of Grandees*, a *Broom* a *Revolution*, a *Mouse-trap* an *Employment*, a *Bottomless-pit* a *Treasury*, a *Sink* a *Court*, a *Cap and Bells* a *Favourite*, a *broken Reed* a *Court of Justice*, an *empty Tun* a *General*, a *running sore* an *Administration*. 1726a–d, 1727a–c [*minor accidental variants between editions*], Forster, Pierpont Morgan, Princeton

284.1–2 When this Method fails, they have two others more effectual; which the Learned among them call Acrosticks, and Anagrams.] But should this Method fail, recourse might be had to others more effectual, by Learned Men called *Acrosticks*, and *Anagrams*. 1726a–d, 1727a–c [*minor accidental variants between editions*], Forster, Pierpont Morgan, Princeton

284.2–6 *First*, they can decypher all initial Letters into political Meanings: Thus, *N*, shall signify a Plot; *B*, a Regiment of Horse; *L*, a Fleet at Sea. Or, *secondly*, by transposing the Letters of the Alphabet, in any suspected Paper, they can lay open the deepest Designs of a discontented Party.]

First, might be found Men of Skill and Penetration who can discern that all initial Letters have political Meanings. Thus *N* shall signify a Plot, *B* a Regiment of Horse, *L* a Fleet at Sea. Or secondly, by transposing the Letters of the Alphabet in any suspected Paper, who can discover the deepest Designs of a discontented Party. 1726a–d, 1727a–c [*minor accidental variants between editions*], Forster, Armagh, Pierpont Morgan, Princeton

284.7 *hath*] *has* 1726a; *has* 1726b–d, 1727a–c

Chapter 7

285.4 Kingdom is a part, extends] kingdom was a part, extends 1726a; Kingdom was a part, extend 1726b; Kingdom was a part, extends 1726c–d, 1727b–c, Ford to Motte, Forster, Armagh, Pierpont Morgan, Princeton

285.6 an] a 1726a–c, 1727a–c

285.8 to] on 1726d

285.9 140] 14 1726d

285.10 about] above 1727c

285.15 small] smaller 1726a–d

287.1 are served and attended] are attended 1727c

287.2 hath Power] hath a Power 1726a–b, 1727b–c; hath a power 1726c–d, 1727a

287.16 three profound Obeysances,] three Obeysances, 1726d

287.22 Finger,] Fingers, 1727b

288.4 accepting his] accepting of his 1726b–c, 1727b

289.5 Inclination] Inclinations 1726d

290.2 into] in 1726a–d, 1727c, Ford to Motte, Armagh

290.10–291.1 and a modern Representative, in] and an Assembly of somewhat a latter Age, in 1726a–c, 1727a–c, Ford to Motte, Forster, Armagh, Pierpont Morgan, Princeton; and a Convention of somewhat a latter Age, in 1726d

291.13 Ancestor] Ancestors 1726a–d, 1727a–c, Ford to Motte

293.1 mine] *see the annotation in* Forster

Chapter 8

294.2 *further*] *farther* 1727c

296.9 *Eliogabalus*'s] *Heliogabalus*'s 1727b

296.9 us] as 1726d

- 297.10 In another, a Barber, an Abbot] In another an Abbot 1726d
 297.18 came, what] came that 1726d
 298.6 Gamesters, Fidlers, Players, Captains] Gamesters, Captains, 1726a-d, 1727a-c
 298.11 ascribe] prescribe 1726d
 299.2 Factions.] Faction. 1726a-c, 1727b-c, Ford to Motte, Forster; Factions? 1726d
 299.3 Profit:] Profit? 1726d
 299.5 Buffoons:] Buffoons? 1726d
 300.4 the true Causes] the secret Causes 1726a-d, 1727a-c
 301.3 Occasion). A great] occasion) and a great 1727c
 301.7 gave,] give, 1727c
 301.8 due] great 1726a-d, 1727a-c
 301.10 betraying their] betraying of their 1726d
 301.24 Among others] AMONG the rest 1726a-c, 1727a-c; Among the rest 1726d
 302.5 the War] this War 1726a-d, 1727a-c, Armagh, Princeton
 302.7 Boy] Youth 1726a-d, 1727a-c
 302.8 of a *Libertina*,] of *Libertina* 1726a-d, 1727a-c, Armagh, Pierpont Morgan, Princeton
 302.9 Vessel,] Vessels, 1726a-c, 1727a-b, Princeton

Chapter 9

- 305.2 Maldonada. *Sails*] Maldonada, *sails* 1727c
 305.5 The Day of our Departure] THE Day for Departure 1726d, Princeton
 305.11 into] in to 1726b
 305.12 1708,] 1711 1726a-d, 1727a-c, Ford to Motte, Pierpont Morgan
 305.12 River of *Clumegnig*] River *Clumegnig* 1726a-d, 1727a-b, Armagh
 305.16-17 in the Passage,] in a Passage 1726a-d, 1727b, Ford to Motte, Forster, Pierpont Morgan, Princeton; In a passage 1727c
 306.2 self a] self an 1726a-d, 1727a-b, 1738
 306.8 my own Country.] my Country. 1726d
 306.13 visited] invited 1735
 306.14 reported I] reported that I 1726a-d, 1727a-c
 306.15 they had never] they never 1726a-d, 1727b-c, Ford to Motte, Forster, Armagh, Pierpont Morgan, Princeton
 306.19 those that] those who 1726a-d, 1727a-c

- 306.25 Service. At] Service, and at 1726a-d, 1727a-c
- 307.2 upon] on 1726a-b, 1726d, 1727a-b
- 307.3 it so] it swept so 1726a-d, 1727a-c
- 308.3 the Page] the poor Page 1726a-d, 1727a-c
- 308.6 my self] myself 1727b
- 308.7 against] on 1726a-d, 1727a-c
- 308.14 *Dwuldum*] *Dwuldom* 1726a-d, 1727a-c
- 308.15 *mirplush*] *mirpush* 1726a-d, 1727a-c

Chapter 10

- 310.2 although] though 1726a-d, 1727a-c
- 311.4 who being born] who born 1726a-d, 1727a-c
- 311.26 ariseth] arises 1726c, 1727b
- 312.10 a] at 1727b
- 312.17 a] at 1727b
- 312.29 Fashions, Dress] Fashions of Dress, 1727a, Ford to Motte, Forster,
Princeton
- 313.30 becoming] become 1726a-d, 1727a-c
- 315.14 Country,] County, 1726a-b
- 315.16 those] these 1726a-d, 1727b-c, Ford to Motte, Forster
- 315.20 conversed] converse 1726b, 1727b
- 315.23 oldest] eldest 1726a-d, 1727b-c, Ford to Motte, Forster
- 316.3 might] may 1726a-d, 1727a-c
- 316.11 sometime] some time 1726c, 1727b-c, 1738
- 316.21 Age, they were] Age, were 1726a-d, 1727b-c, Ford to Motte,
Forster, Armagh, Pierpont Morgan, Princeton
- 316.22 came] come 1727c
- 316.24 Prospect] Prospects 1726a-d, 1727a-c
- 317.7 an] a 1738
- 317.11 or] of 1727c
- 318.3 comes] come 1726a-b, 1726d, 1727b, Ford to Motte, Forster
- 318.3 Fourscore] four-score 1726a-d; Four-score 1727a; fourscore
1727b
- 318.16 continue] continuing 1726a-d, 1727b-c, Ford to Motte, Forster,
Pierpont Morgan, Princeton
- 318.17 forget] forgot 1726a-d, 1727b, Ford to Motte, Forster, Pierpont
Morgan, Princeton
- 319.5 the] a 1726d

320.3 brought to me] brought me 1726a-d, 1727b-c, Ford to Motte,
 Forster, Armagh, Pierpont Morgan, Princeton
 320.4 although] altho' 1726d
 320.9 although] altho' 1726d
 320.10 despised] deprived 1726a-c, 1727b-c, Ford to Motte, Armagh,
 Princeton
 320.10 Sorts] sort 1726a-c, 1727b-c, Ford to Motte, Forster
 320.17 Fourscore] Four-score 1726a, 1727a; four-score 1726b-d; fourscore
 1727b
 320.23 were not above] was not above 1726a-d, 1727a-c

Chapter 11

322.7 to] into 1727c
 322.14 the] that 1726a-d, 1727a, 1727c
 323.3 6th] Sixth 1726a, 1727c; sixth 1726b-d, 1727a-b
 323.9 *Western* Part] *Western* Point 1726a-b, 1726d, 1727a-b; *Western*
 Point 1726c, 1727c
 323.19 who gave] who then gave 1726a-d, 1727a-c
 323.19 Notice of] notice by 1726a, 1726d, 1727a-c; notice, by 1726b-c
 323.21 of] at 1727c
 323.28 these] those 1727c
 324.2-3 excuse my performing the] excuse the 1727c
 324.8 were] was 1726a-d, 1727a-c
 325.3 convey] conver 1726a, Ford to Motte, Forster, Pierpont Morgan
 325.7 Tuns] Tons 1726c-d, 1727b
 325.9 knew] know 1726d
 325.17 was often asked] was asked 1727c
 326.5 6th of *April*] 16th of *April* 1726a-d, 1727a-c, 1735
 326.5 safe at *Amsterdam*] safe to *Amsterdam* 1726a-d, 1727b-c
 326.11 whither] where 1726a-d, 1727a-c
 326.12 and found my] and my 1727a

Part IV

Chapter 1

329.7 *into*] *in* 1726a-d, 1727a-c
 330.7 the 7th Day of *September*, 1710; on the 14th we] the Second Day of
August, 1710; on the Fourteenth, we 1726a-d, 1727a-c
 330.9 16th] Sixteenth 1726a-b, 1726d, 1727a, 1727c; sixteenth 1726c,
 1727b

- 331.4–5 he might at this Time have been safe at home with his Family as well as my self.] he might have been safe at home with his Family at this Time, as well as myself. 1726a–d, 1727a–c
- 332.5 then unbound] then they unbound 1726a–d, 1727a–c
- 332.14 kept close] kept a close 1726a–d, 1727a–c
- 332.16 9th] Ninth 1726a–b, 1726d, 1727a, 1727c; ninth 1726c, 1727b
- 332.17 ashore.] a-shore. 1726a–d, 1727a–c
- 333.2 they discovered] they could discover 1726a–d, 1727a–c
- 333.4 and bade] and so bad 1726a–d, 1727a–c
- 333.6 sat] sate 1726a–d, 1727a–b
- 333.9 Glass Rings,] Glass-rings, 1726a–d, 1727a–c
- 333.15 Tracks] Tracts 1738
- 333.17 Their] The 1726c, 1727b
- 333.23 fore Parts] fore-parts 1726a–d, 1727a, 1727c
- 334.4 sat] sate 1726a–d, 1727a–c
- 334.5 this] the 1726b; that 1726c, 1727b
- 334.7 on] in 1726a–d, 1727a–c
- 334.7 Points, hooked.] points, and hooked. 1727a; Ford to Motte, Forster, Pierpont Morgan
- 334.10 their Heads, and only a] their Faces, nor any thing more than a 1726a–d, 1727b–c; their Backs, but none on their Faces, nor any thing more than a 1727a; Ford to Motte, Forster, Armagh, Pierpont Morgan, Princeton
- 334.11 fore Feet] Fore-feet 1726a–d, 1727a–c
- 334.15 or] nor 1726a–d, 1727a–c
- 334.18 some] same 1726d
- 334.20–1 as at an] as an 1726d
- 334.22 fore Paw] Fore-paw 1726a–b, 1726d, 1727a, 1727c; fore-paw 1726c
- 335.6 howling] houling 1726a–d, 1727a–c
- 335.8–9 behind, leaped up into the] behind leapt up in the 1726a–d, 1727a–b; behind, leapt up in the 1727c; Armagh
- 335.11 the Tree] a Tree 1735
- 336.4 Left-Hand] left hand 1726c, 1727a–b left Hand 1726d, 1738
- 336.16 Left] right 1726a–d, 1727a–c
- 336.26 Behaviour] Behaviours 1726b–c, 1727b
- 336.26 Brute Beasts;] Brute-beasts, 1726d
- 337.18–19 Right Hand,] Right-hand, 1726a–b, 1727a, 1727c
- 337.26 these] those 1727c
- 338.5 *Englishman*,] *English* Man, 1726a–d, 1727a–c
- 338.6 upon his Back,] upon your Back, 1727b
- 338.6 as if he were] as if you were 1727b

- 338.13 the Words] their Words 1726b–c, 1727b
 338.16 although it were] altho' it was 1726a–d, 1727a–c
 338.24 although] though 1726a–c, 1727a–c; tho' 1726d
 338.27 as the former] as in the former 1726b–c, 1727b
 339.2 him;] them, 1726a–d, 1727b–c

Chapter 2

- 340.2 a] *an* 1726d
 340.4 *that*] *this* 1726a–d, 1727a–c
 340.15–16 The last seemed] They seemed 1726a–d, 1727a–c
 341.3 heard] observed 1726a–d, 1727a–c
 341.10–11 as the] like the 1726a–d, 1727a–c
 341.11 mine] my 1726a–c, 1727a–c
 341.29 those] these 1726a–d, 1727a–c
 341.30 which] whom 1726a–d, 1727a–c
 342.2 fore Feet] Fore-feet 1726a–d, 1727a–c
 342.4 a] the 1726a–d, 1727a–c
 343.4 Differences] difference 1726c
 343.4 although] tho' 1726a–c, 1727a–c; though 1726d
 344.14 Hind-feet] hind Feet 1726d
 344.15 Left Fore-foot] left Fore-foot 1726a, 1726c, 1727a–c; Left Fore-foot 1726b; left fore Foot 1726d
 344.19 sat] sate 1726a–d, 1727a–c
 345.1 Fore-feet] fore Feet 1726d
 345.3 into] in 1727b
 345.10–11 Signs and Words] signs and wonders 1726b, 1727b; signs and Wonders 1726c
 345.11 Concern he] Concern that he 1726a–d, 1727a–c
 345.13 although] though 1726a–d, 1727a–c
 345.27 It is] 'Tis 1726a–d, 1727a–c
 346.3–4 us is an] us in an 1727a
 346.11 fare] far'd 1727a, Ford to Motte, Forster

Chapter 3

- 347.2 *Language, the*] *Language. The* 1726d
 347.3 *come*] *came* 1727a
 348.1 was very ready] was ready 1726c

348.9–10 (as he afterwards] as he (afterwards 1726d
 348.20 learned into] learned in 1727a
 348.23–4 Books or Literature.] Books and Literature. 1726b–c, 1727b
 349.4 *Yahoos*, (whom] *Yahoos*, whom 1726d
 349.6 with some Appearance of Cunning] some appearance of Cunning
 1726d
 349.11 It was] I was 1726d
 349.16 whither] whether 1726d
 350.1 or] nor 1726a–d, 1727a–c
 350.5 as fast as] as well as 1727b
 350.14 which] these 1726a–d, 1727a–c
 350.22 Accident, which] Accident that 1727b
 351.1 white, some yellow, at least not so white, and] white, and 1727b
 351.4 as possible, from] as I could from 1726b–c, 1727b
 351.4 that cursed] the cursed 1726b–c, 1727b
 351.11 avoid Inclemencies] avoid the Inclemencies 1726a–d, 1727a–b
 351.15 was all very strange,] was strange, 1727b
 351.15 Part; for he] part; he 1727c
 351.19 Waste-coat] Wastecoat 1726c, 1727a–b; Waist-coast 1726d
 352.3 the Whiteness] the Softness, and Whiteness 1726a, 1726d, 1727b;
 the softness, and Whiteness 1726b, 1727c; the softness and whiteness
 1726c; the Softness and Whiteness 1727a
 352.6 hinder Feet] Hinder-feet 1726a–b, 1726d, 1727a, 1727c
 352.9 an odious] and odious 1735
 352.12 of my having] of having 1726a–d, 1727b–c
 352.24 thenceforward] thence 1726d
 352.28 beside] besides 1727c
 352.30 those] these 1726a–d, 1727a–c
 352.31 although] though 1726a–d, 1727a–c
 353.1 as I already had] as I had already 1726b–c, 1727b
 353.14 myself,] himself, 1727a; my self, 1726d

Chapter 4

354.14 these Ends] those Ends 1726b–c, 1727b
 354.19 understood, and so universally practised among] understood among
 1726a–d, 1727a–c
 355.2 Animals] Animal 1727b
 355.3 had] had any 1726d

355.6 where] when 1726a-d, 1727b-c, Ford to Motte, Forster, Princeton
 355.10 pretend] pretended 1726b-c, 1727b
 355.12 please] pleased 1726c; be pleased 1727b
 355.18 and] or 1726a-d, 1727a-c
 355.20 but] and 1726a-d, 1727a-c
 355.20 sold] old 1726a, Ford to Motte, Forster, Armagh, Pierpont Morgan
 355.21 till] ill 1726a, Forster, Armagh, Pierpont Morgan
 355.25 greater Labour] great Labour 1727a
 355.25 feed] fed 1726a, 1727a-c
 356.8 meanest] weakest 1727a, Ford to Motte, Forster, Pierpont Morgan,
 Princeton
 356.8 off] of 1726b
 356.9 roulung upon] roulung on 1726a-c, 1727b-c; rowling on 1726d; rolling
 on 1727a
 356.10 or] our 1726c
 356.14 for the common] for common 1726a-d, 1727a
 356.23 express] represent 1726a, 1726d, 1727a, 1727c; repret 1726b;
 repeat 1726c, 1727b
 356.24 *Houyhnhnm*] *Houyhnhnms* 1726d
 357.6 common Offices] common Office 1726a-c, 1727b, Ford to Motte,
 Forster; common office 1727c
 357.14 hinder Feet] Hinder-feet 1726a-b, 1726d, 1727a-c; hinder-feet
 1726c
 357.14 fore Feet] Fore-feet 1726a-d, 1727a-c
 358.3 in Front] in the Front 1726b-c, 1727b
 358.5 lifting one of my fore Feet] lifting my Fore-feet 1726a-d, 1727b-c,
 Ford to Motte, Forster, Pierpont Morgan, Princeton; lifting one of my
 Fore-feet 1727a
 359.7 Trade is] Trade it is 1727a, Ford to Motte, Forster, Pierpont Morgan,
 Princeton
 359.9 Man, whom we called] Man, called 1727a
 359.9 we called *Queen*.] called a *Queen*. 1727a, Ford to Motte, Forster,
 Pierpont Morgan, Princeton
 359.23 deserting to the Enemy;] deserting the Enemy 1735
 360.4-5 pleased often to interrupt me. I had] pleased to interrupt me several
 Times; I had 1726a-d, 1727c; pleased to interrupt me several times; I had
 1727a-b
 360.10 Riches; of] Riches, and of 1727b
 360.12 making Suppositions] making of Suppositions 1726a-d, 1727a-c

360.14 heard of before,] heard before, 1726d
360.22 *Europe*,] *Europe*, but 1726a–d, 1727a–c

Chapter 5

361.2 *Commands*] *Command* 1726c, 1727b
361.7 which] of which 1726a–c, 1727b–c, Ford to Motte, Forster, Armagh, Pierpont Morgan, Princeton
362.10 a Hundred] an Hundred 1726d
362.10 five times] thrice 1726a–d, 1727a–c
363.13 where] whether 1726d
364.3 or] and 1726a [*large paper copies only*]
364.7 amongst] among 1726b–c, 1727a–b
364.7–8 into a War] into War 1726a–d, 1727a–c
364.8 lies] lie 1738
364.10 compact.] compleat 1726a–b, 1726d, 1727a–c
364.10 send] sends 1726a–d, 1727a–c
364.17 sufficient] frequent 1726a [*note altered catchword in small paper copies*], 1727a, 1727c; frequent 1726b
364.20 these] those 1726a–c, 1727b–c, Ford to Motte, Forster, Armagh
365.1 others:] other: 1727b
365.4 There is] THERE are 1726a–c, 1727a–c, Ford to Motte, Forster, Pierpont Morgan, Princeton; There is 1726d
365.4 likewise a Kind of beggarly Princes] likewise another Kind of Princes 1726a–d, 1727b–c; likewise a kind of Princes 1727a
365.6 a Day] a-Day 1738
365.7–8 in many *Northern* Parts] in many *Northern* Parts 1727c, Forster, Princeton
365.9 doth] does 1726a–d, 1727a–c
365.12 Mischief: For] Mischief. FOR 1726a, 1726c, 1727b; Mischief. For 1726b, 1726d, 1727a, 1727c
366.5 *Thing which is not.*] *Thing that is not.* 1726b, 1727b; *thing that is not*, 1726c
366.9 Bayonets, Sieges, Retreats, Attacks] *see annotation in* Forster, Armagh, Pierpont Morgan, Princeton
366.10 Sea-fights;] *see annotation in* Ford to Motte
366.13 Feet: Flight, Pursuit] Feet; Pursuit 1727b
366.18 drop] come 1726a–d, 1727a–c
366.18–19 of all the] of the 1726a–d, 1727a–c
367.2 his] the 1738

367.2 so he found] so I found 1727b

367.3 his] my 1726a-d, 1727b-c, Ford to Motte, Forster, Armagh, Pierpont Morgan, Princeton

367.10 itself] it self 1726c-d, 1727a

367.13 *larger*] *large* 1738

368.3 said,] informed him, 1726a-d, 1727a-c

368.5 the] what sort of 1726a-d, 1727a-c

368.7-10 what I meant by *Law*, and the Dispensers thereof, according to the present Practice in my own Country: Because he thought, Nature and Reason were sufficient Guides] what I meant by *Law*, and what sort of Dispensers thereof it could be by whose Practices the Property of any Person could be lost, instead of being preserved. He added, he saw not what great Occasion there could be for this thing I called *Law*, since all the Intentions and Purposes of it may be fully answered by following the Dictates of *Nature* and *Reason*, which are sufficient Guides 1726a-d, 1727a-c [*minor accidental variants between editions*], Ford to Motte, Forster, Armagh, Pierpont Morgan

368.13 conversed, further than by employing Advocates] conversed, having little more Knowledge of it than what I had obtained by employing Advocates 1726a-d, 1727a-c

368.14 done me. However, I would] done me, and by conversing with some others who by the same Method had first lost their Substance and then left their own Country under the Mortification of such Disappointments, however I would 1726a-d, 1727a-c [*minor accidental variants between editions*]

368.16 I said there was a Society of Men among us, bred up] I SAID that those who made profession of this Science were exceedingly multiplied, being almost equal to the Caterpillars in Number; that they were of diverse Degrees, Distinctions and Denominations. The Numerousness of those that dedicated themselves to this Profession were such that the fair and justifiable Advantage and Income of the Profession was not sufficient for the decent and handsome Maintenance of Multitudes of those who followed it. Hence it came to pass that it was found needful to supply that by Artifice and Cunning, which could not be procured by just and honest Methods: The better to bring which about, very many Men among us were bred up 1726a-d, 1727a-c [*minor accidental variants between editions*]

369.1-2 according as they are paid. To this Society all the rest of the People are Slaves.] according as they are paid. The Greatness of these Mens Assurance and the Boldness of their Pretensions gained upon the Opinion of the Vulgar, whom in a Manner they made Slaves of, and got into their

Hands much the largest Share of the Practice of their Profession. These Practitioners were by Men of Discernment called *Pettifoggers*, (that is, *Confounders*, or rather, *Destroyers of Right*,) as it was my ill Hap as well as the Misfortune of my suffering Acquaintance to be engaged only with this Species of the Profession. I desired his Honour to understand the Description I had to give, and the Ruin I had complained of to relate to these Sectaries only, and how and by what means the Misfortunes we met with were brought upon us by the Management of these Men, might be more easily conceived by explaining to him their Method of Proceeding, which could not be better done [down 1726a] than by giving him an Example. 1726a-d, 1727a-c [*minor accidental variants between editions*]

369.3 For Example. If my Neighbour hath a] My Neighbour, said I, I will suppose, has a 1726a-d, 1727a-c

369.3-4 hires a Lawyer to] hires one of these Advocates to 1726a-d, 1727a-c

369.5 another to] another of them to 1726a-d, 1727a-c

369.7 true Owner] Right Owner 1726a-b, 1726d, 1727a-c; right Owner 1726c

369.7-8 my Lawyer being practiced] my Advocate, being as I said before practiced 1726a-d, 1727a-c

369.9 he would be an Advocate for Justice, which] he would argue for Right, which 1726a-d, 1727a-c

369.10 he always attempts] he attempts 1726a-d, 1727a-c

369.10-11 with Ill-will.] with an Ill-will. 1726a-d, 1727a-c

369.11 Lawyer] Advocate 1726a-d, 1727a-c

369.11-13 with great Caution: Or else he will be reprimanded by the Judges, and abhorred by his Brethren, as one who would] with great Caution; for, since the Maintenance of so many depend on the keeping up of Business, should he proceed too summarily, if he does not incur the Displeasure of his Superiors, he is sure to gain the Ill will and Hatred of his Brethren, as being by them esteemed one that would 1726a-d, 1727a-c [*minor accidental variants between editions*]

369.13-14 And therefore I] This being the Case, I 1726a-d, 1727a-c

369.15 Lawyer] Advocate 1726a-d, 1727a-c

369.15-370.1 double Fee; who will then betray his Client, by insinuating that he hath Justice on his Side.] double Fee; from the Manner and Design of whose Education before mentioned it is easy to expect he will be induced to drop his Client and let the Ballance fall on [to 1726b-c, 1727b] my Side. 1726a-d, 1727a-c [*minor accidental variants between editions*]

370.1–2 The second Way is for my Lawyer to make my Cause appear as unjust as he can; by allowing] The Second Way is for my Advocate not to insist on the Justice of my Cause, by allowing 1726a–d, 1727a–c [*minor accidental variants between editions*]

370.3–5 be skilfully done, will certainly bespeak the Favour of the Bench. Now, your Honour is to know, that these Judges are Persons appointed] be dexterously and skilfully done will go a great Way towards obtaining a favourable Verdict, it having been found, from a careful Observation of Issues and Events, that the wrong Side, under the Management of such Practitioners, has the fairer Chance for Success, and this more especially if it happens, as it did in mine and my Friend's Case, and may have done since, that the Person appointed 1726a–d, 1727a–c [*minor accidental variants between editions*]

370.6–12 Tryal of Criminals; and picked out from the most dextrous Lawyers who are grown old or lazy: And having been byassed all their Lives against Truth and Equity, lie under such a fatal Necessity of favouring Fraud, Perjury and Oppression; that I have known some of them to have refused a large Bribe from the Side where Justice lay, rather than injure the *Faculty*, by doing any thing unbecoming their Nature or their Office.] Tryal of Criminals, who should be taken out of the most knowing and wise of his Profession, is by the Recommendation of a great Favourite, or Court-Mistress chosen out of the Sect before mentioned, and so, having been under a strong Biass all his Life against Equity and fair dealing, lies as it were under a fatal Necessity of favouring, shifting, double dealing and Oppression, and besides through Age, Infirmary, and Distempers grown lazy, unactive, and inattentive, and thereby almost incapacitated from doing any thing becoming the Nature of his Employment, and the Duty of his Office. In such Cases, the Decisions and Determinations of Men so bred, and so qualified, may with Reason be expected on the wrong side of the Cause, since those who can take Harangue and Noise, (if pursued with Warmth, and drawn out into a Length,) for Reasoning, are not much to be wondered at, if they infer the weight of the Argument from the heaviness of the Pleading. 1726a–d, 1727a–c [*minor accidental variants between editions*]

370.13 Lawyers,] Men, 1726a–d, 1727a–c

370.15 made against common Justice] made, even those which have through Ignorance or Corruption contradicted the Rules of common Justice 1726a–d, 1727a–c

371.1 Authorities to justify] Authorities and thereby endeavour to justify 1726a–d, 1727a–c [*minor accidental variants between editions*]

- 371.1–2 Opinions; and the Judges never fail of directing accordingly.] Opinions; and they are so lucky in this Practice, that it rarely fails of Decrees answerable to their Intent and Expectation. 1726a–d, 1727a–c [*minor accidental variants between editions*]
- 371.6 Adversary hath] Adversary had 1726b–c, 1727b
- 371.7 were] was 1726a–d, 1727a–c
- 371.15 wholly confounded the very] gone near to confound the very 1726a–c, 1727a–c
- 371.16 will] may 1726a–c, 1727a–c
- 371.17 belong] belongs 1726a–d, 1727a–c
- 371.20–2 commendable: The Judge first sends to sound the Disposition of those in Power; after which he can easily hang or save the Criminal, strictly preserving all the Forms of Law.] commendable: For if those in power, who know well how to choose Instruments fit for their Purpose, take care to recommend and promote out of this Clan a proper Person, his Method of Education and Practice makes it easy to him, when his Patrons Disposition is understood, without Difficulty or Study either to condemn or acquit the Criminal, and at the same time strictly preserve all due Forms of Law. 1726a–d, 1727a–c [*minor accidental variants between editions*]
- 371.24–5 Mind as these Lawyers, by the Description] Mind, as the Description 1726d
- 371.24 Lawyers] Advocates 1726a–d, 1727a–c
- 371.26–9 I assured his Honour, that in all Points out of their own Trade, they were usually the most ignorant and stupid Generation among us, the most despicable] I assured his Honour that the Business and Study of their own Calling and Profession so took up all their Thoughts and engrossed their Time, that they minded nothing else, and that therefore, in all points out of their own Trade, many of them were of so great Ignorance and Stupidity, that it was hard to pick out of any Profession a Generation of Men more despicable 1726a–d, 1727a–c [*minor accidental variants between editions*]
- 371.29–372.2 in common Conversation, avowed Enemies to all Knowledge and Learning; and equally disposed to pervert the general Reason of Mankind, in every other Subject of Discourse, as in that of their own Profession.] in common Conversation, or who were so much looked upon as avowed Enemies to all Knowledge and Learning, being equally disposed to pervert the general reason of Mankind in every other Subject of Discourse, as in that of their own Calling. 1726a–d, 1727a–c

Chapter 6

- 373.2–3 *A Continuation of the State of England, under Queen Anne. The Character of a first Minister in the Courts of Europe.*] *A Continuation of the State of England, so well governed by a Queen as to need no first Minister. The Character of such an one in some European Courts.* 1726a–d, 1727b–c, Forster, Armagh, Pierpont Morgan, Princeton; *A Continuance of the State of England, so well governed by a Queen as to need no first Minister. The Character of such an one in some European Courts.* 1727a
- 373.5–6 themselves by engaging in] themselves, and engage in 1726a–d, 1727a–c
- 373.12 Houses, great] Houses, the great 1726d
- 373.15 or to save,] or save, 1727a
- 373.18 was] were 1726a–d, 1727a–c
- 374.14 Ground] Grounds 1726b–c, 1727b
- 376.4 untill] till 1726a–d, 1727a–c
- 376.9 or] and 1726a–d, 1727b–c, Ford to Motte, Forster, Princeton
- 377.4 worketh] works 1726a–d, 1727a–c
- 377.5 he thought impossible;] he thought it impossible, 1726a–d, 1727a, 1727c; he thought is impossible, 1727b
- 377.7 operated contrary] operated the one contrary 1726a–d, 1727b, Ford to Motte, Forster, Pierpont Morgan, Princeton
- 377.8 sat] sate 1726a–d, 1727a–c
- 377.18 each.] them. 1726a–d, 1727a–c
- 379.4 Flesh and Bones, Beasts and Fishes] *see annotation in* Forster, Pierpont Morgan, Princeton
- 379.5 detestable, that] detestable, 1726a–d, 1727a–c
- 380.6–7 inferior Posterior for] inferior for 1726a–d, 1727a–c, Ford to Motte, Forster, Armagh, Pierpont Morgan, Princeton
- 382.6 Appellation.] Application. 1726b–c, 1727b
- 382.7–8 I told him, that a *First or Chief Minister of State*, whom I intended to describe, was a Creature] I TOLD him, that our She Governor or Queen having no Ambition to gratify, no Inclination to satisfy of extending her Power to the Injury of her Neighbours, or the Prejudice of her own Subjects, was therefore so far from needing a corrupt Ministry to carry on or cover any sinister Designs, that She not only directs her own Actions to the Good of her People, conducts them by the Direction, and restrains them within the Limitation of the Laws of her own Country; but submits the Behaviour and Acts of those She intrusts with the Administration of Her Affairs to the Examination of Her great Council, and subjects

them to the Penalties of the Law; and therefore never puts any such Confidence in any of her Subjects as to entrust them with the whole and entire Administration of her Affairs: But I added, that in some former Reigns here, and in many other Courts of *Europe* now, where Princes grew indolent and careless of their own Affairs through a constant Love and Pursuit of Pleasure, they made use of such an Administrator, as I had mentioned, under the Title of *first or chief Minister of State*, the Description of which, as far as it may be collected not only from their Actions, but from the Letters, Memoirs, and Writings published by themselves, the Truth of which has not yet been disputed, may be allowed to be as follows: That he is a Person 1726a–d, 1727a–c [*minor accidental variants between editions*], Ford to Motte, Forster, Armagh, Pierpont Morgan, Princeton

382.10 he applies his Words] he never tells Words 1726b–c, 1727b

383.4 way to] way of 1727a

383.5 your self,] yourself, 1726a–c, 1727b–c

383.9 a Man] a *Yahoo* 1726d, Princeton

383.10 knowing how with] knowing with 1727c

384.8 by an Expedient called an] by an 1726a–c, 1727a–c, Forster, Pierpont Morgan

384.9 secure] secured 1726a–d, 1727a–c

384.10 retire] retired 1726a–c, 1727a, 1727c; retiredd 1727b

385.4 Day, my] Day in Discourse my 1726a–d, 1727a–c

385.15 Talents of Mind,] Talents of the Mind, 1726a–d, 1727a–c

386.8 take Care] takes care 1726a–b, 1726d, 1727a, 1727c; takes Care 1726c, 1727b

386.9 Domesticks,] Acquaintance, 1726a–d, 1727a–c, Forster, Pierpont Morgan, Princeton

386.10–11 are the true Marks of *noble Blood*; and] are no uncommon Marks of a *Great Man*; 1726a–d, 1727a–c

386.11 so disgraceful] so far disgraceful 1726a–d, 1727a–c

386.12–15 the World concludes his real Father to have been a Groom or a Coachman. The imperfections of his Mind run parallel with those of his Body; being a Composition of Spleen, Dulness, Ignorance, Caprice, Sensuality and Pride.] the World is apt to conclude his real Father to have been one of the Inferiors of the Family, especially when it is seen that the Imperfections of his Mind run parallel with those of his Body and are little else than a Composition of Spleen, Dulness, Ignorance, Caprice, Sensuality, and Pride. 1726a–d, 1727a–c [*minor accidental variants between editions*], Ford to Motte, Forster, Armagh, Pierpont Morgan, Princeton

387.1–3 Without the Consent of this illustrious Body, no Law can be enacted, repealed, or altered: And these Nobles have likewise the Decision of all our Possessions without Appeal.] *om.* 1726a–d, 1727a–c

Chapter 7

388.10 mine] my 1726a–c, 1727a–c

388.10–11 opened mine Eyes, and enlarged my] opened my Eyes and enlightened my 1726a–b, 1727c; opened my Eyes, and enlightened my 1726c, 1727b; opened mine Eyes and enlightened my 1726d; Ford to Motte, Forster, Pierpont Morgan, Princeton; opened my Eyes and enlarged my 1727a

388.15 my self] myself 1726a–c, 1727b–c

388.16 which with us] which among us 1726a–d, 1727a–c

389.20–1 our selves] ourselves 1726a–c, 1727a–c

389.23 Inventions.] Invention: 1738

391.1 but not in] but none in 1726c, 1727b [*perhaps indicating that 1727b was set from a copy of 1726c?*]

391.3 our Deformities] our own Deformities 1726a–c

391.5–6 same Cause with ours,] *see annotation in Armagh*

391.9 *it self;*] *itself;* 1726a–d, 1727a, 1727c

392.3 are fixed] is fixed 1726a–d, 1727a–c

392.4 and] then 1726a–d, 1727a–c

392.21 where these] where the 1726b–c, 1727b

393.6 some Resemblance] some kind of Resemblance 1726a–d, 1727a–c

393.9 nothing beside] nothing besides 1726b–c, 1727b

393.10 never] seldom 1726a–d, 1727a–c, Forster, Pierpont Morgan, Princeton

393.13 undistinguishing] undistinguished 1735

393.15 Berries, corrupted] Berries, the corrupted 1726a–b, 1726d, 1727a–c; Berris, the corrupted 1726c

393.21 something] somewhat 1726a–d, 1727a–c

393.22 sought] fought 1735

393.23 Delight: It] Delight; and it 1726a–d, 1727a–c

393.23 produced the] produced in them the 1727a, Ford to Motte, Forster, Pierpont Morgan, Princeton

393.25 chatter, and roul, and] chatter, and 1726a–d, 1727a–c, 1738, Pierpont Morgan, Princeton

393.26 Mud.] Dirt. 1726a–d, 1727a–c

- 394.4–5 often known to have been taken with Success: And do here freely]
often taken myself and do freely 1726a, 1726d, 1727c; often taken myself,
and do freely 1726b–c, 1727b; often known to have been taken with
Success, and do freely 1727a; *see annotations in* Ford to Motte, Forster,
Princeton
- 394.18 Ass's] Asses 1727b
- 395.8 hath] has 1726a–d, 1727a–c
- 395.15 with the Females] with Females 1726a–d, 1727b–c, Ford to Motte,
Forster, Pierpont Morgan, Princeton
- 396.1 of infamous Brutality] of Brutality 1726a–d, 1727a–c
- 396.8 have easily] easily have 1727b
- 396.9 the last Article,] the Article, 1726a, 1726c–d, 1727b–c; this Arti-
cle, 1726b; *see annotations in* Ford to Motte, Forster, Armagh, Pierpont
Morgan, Princeton
- 396.19 fat, and wanted] fat, wanted 1726a–d, 1727a–c
- 396.20 nor did] nor could 1726a–d, 1727b–c, Ford to Motte, Forster, Pier-
pont Morgan, Princeton
- 396.23 could plainly discover] could discover 1726a–d, 1727a–c, Forster,
Pierpont Morgan, Princeton
- 397.4 or a Bush,] or Bush, 1726c, 1727b [*perhaps indicating that 1727b was
set from a copy of 1726c?*]
- 397.15 he observed] he had observed 1727b

Chapter 8

- 398.2 *relateth*] *relates* 1726a–d, 1727a–c
- 398.9 Honour] Favour 1726a–d, 1727a–c
- 398.15 pestered by] pestered with 1726b–c
- 398.16 Arrival. I] Arrival. And I 1726a–b, 1726d, 1727a, 1727c; Arrival:
And I 1726c, 1727b [*perhaps indicating that 1727b was set from a copy of
1726c?*]
- 398.20–1 Breast in their Sight, when] Breast, when 1726d
- 399.12 have the] have had the 1727b
- 400.2 abroad to certain] abroad in certain 1726b
- 400.3 search] scratch 1726a–d, 1727c, Ford to Motte, Forster, Armagh,
Pierpont Morgan, Princeton
- 401.3–4 as of Mortification] as Mortification 1727b
- 401.4 my self] myself 1726a–c, 1727b–c
- 401.11 Having already lived] HAVING lived 1726a–c, 1727a–c; Having lived
1726d
- 401.19 Men can argue] Men argue 1727b

401.20 of a] of the 1738
 402.6-7 In the like] In like 1726b
 403.9 where-ever] where ever 1726a; wherever 1726b-c, 1727a-c;
 wherever 1738
 403.12 proceedeth] proceeds 1726a-d, 1727a-c
 404.9 bestows] bestow 1726a-d, 1727a-c, Ford to Motte, Forster, Pierpont
 Morgan, Princeton
 404.10 together a second Time, until the Mother be pregnant.] together
 again till the Mother is pregnant. 1726a-d, 1727a-c
 405.4 Actions in a reasonable Being.] Actions of a Rational Being. 1726a-b,
 1726d, 1727a, 1727c; Actions of a rational Being. 1726c, 1727b
 405.10 deserveth] deserves 1726a-d, 1727a-c
 405.12 many] long 1726a-d, 1727a-c
 405.14 the] their 1726a-d, 1727a-c
 405.22 their] our 1726a-d, 1727a-c
 406.1 or] and 1726a-d, 1727a-c
 406.1 hard stony] hard and stony 1726a-d, 1727b-c, Ford to Motte, Forster,
 Pierpont Morgan, Princeton
 406.2 or a River] or River 1727a
 406.3 of certain Districts] of a certain District 1726a-d, 1727a-c
 406.3 their Proficiency] the Proficiency 1735
 406.4 other] others 1726b
 406.4 or] and
 406.8 are] were 1726a-c, 1727b-c, Ford to Motte, Forster, Armagh, Pier-
 pont Morgan, Princeton
 406.12 continueth] continues 1726a-d, 1727a-c
 406.14 where-ever] wherever 1726a-d, 1727a-c; wherever 1738
 407.2 who] that 1726a-d, 1727a-c
 469.3-4 determined what Family shall breed another to supply the Loss.]
see annotation in Forster, Pierpont Morgan, Princeton

Chapter 9

408.8 their] that 1726a-d, 1727a-c
 409.4 their] that 1726a-d, 1727a-c
 409.6 Ooze and] Ooze or 1726a-d, 1727b-c, Ford to Motte, Forster, Pier-
 pont Morgan, Princeton
 409.10 Older,] old Ones, 1726a-b, 1726d, 1727b-c; old ones, 1726c; elder
 1727a, Ford to Motte, Forster, Pierpont Morgan, Princeton
 409.11 young Ones] ones young 1727a

- 409.15 *Aborigines*] *Ab origines* 1727c
 409.18 *Aborigines*] *Ab origines* 1727c
 410.14 That, I spoke in a Language] That I had a Language 1726a-d,
 1727a-c
 412.3 Memories.] Memory. 1726a-d, 1727b-c, Ford to Motte
 412.20 a Kind of Tree] a kind of a Tree 1726d
 412.21 Storm; it grows] Storm; they grow 1726a-d, 1727a-c
 413.6 could at first] could first 1726b-c, 1727b
 413.14 certain] several 1726a-d, 1727b-c, Ford to Motte, Forster, Pierpont
 Morgan, Princeton
 414.5 *Lhnuwnh.*] *Shnuwnh.* 1726a-d, 1727a-c
 414.10 rest: She] rest, and 1726a-d, 1727a-c
 414.12 before their Death] before their Dearth 1726a; before Death 1727b
 414.19-20 any Accident.] an Accident. 1727b
 414.22 to] ro 1726a
 415.1 cuts] cut 1726a-d, 1727b-c, Ford to Motte, Forster
 415.3 *Ynlbmnaꞯwihlma*] *Ynlbmndwihlma* 1726a-d, 1727a-c

Chapter 10

- 416.3 *bath*] *has* 1726a-d, 1727a-c
 416.8 Room to be made for] Room for 1726a-d, 1727b-c, Ford to Motte,
 Forster, Pierpont Morgan, Princeton
 416.18 I likewise made] I made 1726a-d, 1727b-c, Forster, Pierpont Mor-
 gan, Princeton; I also made 1727a, Ford to Motte
 416.22 eat it with] eat with 1726a-d, 1727a-c
 417.1 and, *That, Necessity*] and, *Necessity* 1727b
 417.3 feel] find 1726a-d, 1727a-c
 417.11 Spleneticks] splenetick 1726a-b, 1727c; splenetick 1726c-d,
 1727b; Splenaticks, 1727a, Ford to Motte, Forster, Armagh, Pierpont
 Morgan, Princeton
 418.3 upon the Merit] for the sake 1726a-d, 1727a-c
 418.9 descend] condescend 1738
 419.1 Where (as I have already said) the] Where the 1726a-d, 1727a-c
 419.2 Person] Persons 1726c
 419.7 their Minds] the Thoughts 1726a-d, 1727b-c; their Thoughts 1727a,
 Ford to Motte, Forster, Pierpont Morgan, Princeton
 419.8 the Discourse] their Discourse 1726a-d, 1727b-c
 419.20 *Yahoos* much] *Yahoos* in all 1726a-d, 1727a-c

420.2 of their Country] of this Country 1727a
 420.16 Friends, my] Friends, and my 1726a-d, 1727b-c, Ford to Motte,
 Forster, Pierpont Morgan, Princeton
 420.18 perhaps a little more civilized,] only a little civilized, 1726a-d,
 1727a-c, Forster, Princeton
 420.22 or Fountain] or a Fountain 1726a-d, 1727a-c
 420.26 a Habit] an Habit 1726a-d, 1727c; an habit 1727a
 421.4 Midst of this] Midst of all this 1726a-d, 1727b-c; midst of all this
 1727a
 421.4 when] and when 1726b
 421.14 to Reason] to the Reason 1727a
 421.14 or a thing] nor a thing 1726a-d, 1727a-c
 421.14 ever] never 1727a
 422.11 myself] my self 1726a-b, 1726d, 1727a
 423.4-5 of an unnatural] of unnatural 1726a-d, 1727b-c, Ford to Motte,
 Forster, Pierpont Morgan, Princeton
 423.25 looking] looked 1727a
 424.22 Day came] Day come 1726b-c, 1727b
 424.25 Vanity) partly] Vanity partly 1726d; Vanity, partly 1727c
 425.3 Detractors] For my Detractors 1726a-d, 1727a-c

Chapter 11

426.9 might probably chop] might chop 1726a-d, 1727a-c
 426.14 *maiah*] *majah* 1726a-d, 1727a-c
 426.16 by] with 1727a
 426.16 with Necessaries] with the Necessaries 1726a-d, 1727a-c
 427.7 ashore] a Shoar 1726a-c, 1727c; a-shoar 1726d; a shoar 1727a; a
 Shore 1727b
 427.12 among] mong 1726a, Armagh
 427.20 and climbing a] and climbing up a 1726a-d, 1727a-c
 427.25 three] 3 1726d
 428.2 although] 'though 1726a-d, 1727a-c
 429.3 visible, I was] visible. I was 1726a-b, 1727c
 429.9 the little Brook] a little Brook 1726b-c, 1727b
 429.13 until] till 1726a-d, 1727a-c
 429.33 were at Peace.] was at Peace. 1735
 430.5 or] as 1726a-c, 1727a-c, Armagh, Princeton
 430.8 their Captain] the Captain 1727a
 430.10 Ship, to inform] Ship, inform 1726a-d, 1727a-c

- 430.17 Commands] Command 1726c, 1727b
 430.29 my self] myself 1726a-c, 1727b
 431.6 which] that 1726b-c, 1727b
 431.8 five] three 1726a-d, 1727a-c
 431.13 Custom of] Custom in 1726a-d, 1727b-c; custom in 1727a
 431.15 *Houyhnhnmland*] *Houyhnhnm-land* 1726d, 1727a
 431.16 have heard a] have a 1727b
 431.16 Servant. That] Servant; that 1726a-d, 1727a-c
 431.19 and he] and then he 1726a-d, 1727a-c
 431.23 Veracity. But he added,] Veracity, and the rather because he confessed, he met with a Dutch Skipper, who pretended to have landed with Five others of his Crew upon a certain Island or Continent South of New-Holland, where they went for fresh Water, and observed a Horse driving before him several Animals exactly resembling those I described under the Name of Yahoos, with some other Particulars, which the Captain said he had forgot; because he then concluded them all to be Lies. But he added, 1726a-d, 1727a-c [*minor accidental variants between editions*]
 431.24 Word of Honour] Word and Honour 1727a
 431.31 against] to 1726a-d, 1727a-c
 432.12 led] lead 1726d
 433.2 Point] Matter 1726a-b, 1726d, 1727c; matter 1726c, 1727a-b
 433.14 this] the 1726a-d, 1727a-c
 433.18 *Redriff*.] *Rotherhith*. 1726a-c, 1727a-c; *Reddriff*. 1726d
 434.4 of *Yahoos*,] of the *Yahoos*, 1727c
 434.5 Imaginations] Imagination 1727a
 434.7 I had become] I became 1726a-d, 1727b-c, Ford to Motte
 434.13 or] and 1727c

Chapter 12

- 436.8 *concludeth*.] *concludes*. 1726a-d, 1727a-c
 436.11 as of Truth.] as Truth. 1726a-d, 1727a-c
 436.20 were] was 1726a-c, 1727a-b, Armagh, Princeton
 437.9 Temptation] Temptations 1726a, 1727b-c; temptations 1726b, 1726d, Ford to Motte, Forster
 437.19 last,] after, 1726a, 1726c-d, 1727a-c
 437.22 jostle] justle 1726a-d, 1727a-c
 437.23 ever I was] I was ever 1726a, 1726c-d, 1727a-c
 438.2 read of the] read the 1735
 438.8 further] farther 1726a-d, 1727a-b

- 438.15 not the least with] not with 1726a–d, 1727a–c, Forster, Princeton
 440.7–8 in modern] in some modern 1726a–d, 1727b–c, Ford to Motte, Forster
 440.11 Discoveries:] Discovery. 1726a–d, 1727b–c, Forde to Motte, Forster
 441.5 the] their 1726a–d, 1727a–c
 441.8 commences] commenceth 1738
 441.9 Opportunity:] Opportunities, 1727b
 441.17 their liberal] the liberal 1735
 442.4 the Mother] their Mother 1727a
 442.11 a] any 1727a, Ford to Motte, Forster, Pierpont Morgan, Princeton
 442.14 may concern,] more concerns, 1727a, Ford to Motte, Forster, Pierpont Morgan, Princeton
 442.17–443.1 believed. But,] believed; unless a Dispute may arise about the two Yahoos, said to have been seen many Ages ago on a Mountain in Houyhnhnmland, from whence the Opinion is, that the Race of those Brutes hath descended; and these, for any thing I know, may have been English, which indeed I was apt to suspect from the Lineaments of their Posterity's Countenances, although very much defaced. But, how far that will go to make out a Title, I leave to the Learned in Colony-Law. BUT 1726a–d, 1727a–c [*minor accidental variants between editions*]
 443.5 that can be] that can ever be 1726a–d, 1727a–c
 443.6 of my] of all my 1726a–b, 1726d, 1727a, 1727c
 443.19 asked] ask'd 1726a–d, Forster, Princeton
 443.29 Whore-munger,] Whore-master, 1726a–c, 1727a–c, Armagh, Princeton; *om.* 1726d
 444.17 appear] come 1726a–d, 1727a–c

Line-end hyphenation

46.28	Ring- leaders	Ring-leaders
52.11	Fisher- man	Fisherman
55.3	Hand- kerchief	Handkerchief
63.8	righ- Hand	right Hand
78.14	them- selves	themselves

93.25	Geese- and	Geese and
121.4	Wind- Ward	Windward
122.14	after- wards	afterwards
131.13	Sun- burnt	Sunburnt
136.20	dim- sighted	dim-sighted
154.15	piece- meal	piece-meal
171.2	Waist- band	Waist-band
201.6	Grand- father	Grandfather
213.3	West- south	West-south
219.16	over- took	overtook
229.10	where- upon	whereupon
231.2	where- of	whereof
233.7	Pack- threads	Packthreads
253.11	Corn- grounds	Corngrounds
258.11	him- self	himself
261.3	Gun- powder	Gun-powder
315.19	above- mentioned	above-mentioned
332.3	over- board	overboard
333.4	fare- well	farewell
336.7	him- self	himself
337.7	my- self	myself
351.19	Waste- coat	Waste-coat
360.3	there- fore	therefore
366.10	Bombard- ments	Bombardments
369.11	Ill- will	Ill-will
375.6	For- swearing	Forswearing
388.18	False- hood	Falsehood
393.10	where- as	whereas
394.19	there- fore	therefore
397.21	School- mistress	School-mistress
418.2	quarrel- some	quarrelsome
424.4	Walking- staff	Walking-staff
430.26	some- thing	something
436.3	<i>him- self</i>	<i>himself</i>
438.16	Ill- will	Ill-will
439.12	over- turning	overturning
443.29	Whore- munger	Whore-munger

Words to be hyphenated in transcription from this edition

16.15	Sea-Affairs
40.16	Fifteen-hundred
53.25	Sea-Water
64.16	<i>Man-Mountain</i>
96.15	Chair-men
107.3	North-East
120.12	Fore-sail
121.6	South-west
136.20	dim-sighted
140.22	Leading-strings
160.23	Sea-Voyages
160.26	Travelling-Closet
172.22	Fore-Paws
203.11	Travelling-Box
263.4	Silk-Worms
331.1	Cabbin-Boy
418.1	over-bearing
427.12	<i>South-East</i>
428.21	Landing-place
441.2	Top-mast

Transcription of readings

Part I

1. (I.8.3; 34.14)
mine ↑my↑ (Forster)
2. (I.15.16; 38.1)
mine ↑my↑ (Forster)
3. (I.17.22; 39.7)
Potio[n] (Forster)
Potio[n] (Pierpont Morgan)
4. (I.22.15; 41.11)
Use should be Uses. (Ford to Motte)
Uses (Forster; *MS s inserted over comma after printed word Use*)
Uses, (Pierpont Morgan; *MS s, inserted over comma after printed word Use*)
5. (I.36.12–13; 49.12)
↑it↑ ~~should be~~ of his Council. (Ford to Motte)
of | Council, [his] (Forster)
of | Council, [His ^] (Armagh; *ink*)
of | Council, [his] (Pierpont Morgan)
6. (I.39.18; 51.5)
Ranfu-Lo, by [\] (Armagh; *pencil*)
7. (I.43.22; 53.24)
mine ↑my↑ (Forster)
8. (I.46.16; 55.8)
mine ↑my↑ (Forster)
9. (I.50.19–20; 58.3)
six Inches long. One is Purple ↑Blue↑, the | other Yellow ↑Red↑, and
the third White. ↑Green.↑. (Forster)
six Inches long. One is Purple, the | other Yellow, and the third White.
[Blue | Red Green] (Armagh; *ink*)
10. (I.51.19–21; 59.5)
with the Purple ↑Blue↑| coloured Silk; the Yellow ↑Red↑is given to
the | next, and the White ↑Green↑ to the third, (Forster)
with the Purple | coloured Silk; the Yellow is given to the | next, and
the White to the third, [Blue | Red | Green.] (Armagh; *ink*)
11. (I.79.9; 74.14)
together, binding the Extremi- ^ | tys into a Hook. [\\ turning]
(Armagh; *soft blunt pencil*)

12. (I.79.18; 74.19)
 arrived to for arrived at. (Ford to Motte)
 arrived ~~to~~ ↑at↑ the Fleet in less than (Forster)
 arrived ~~to~~ ↑at↑ the Fleet in less than [at] (Pierpont Morgan)
13. (I.80.7; 74.27)
~~mine~~ ↑my↑ (Forster)
14. (I.80.24; 75.7)
 bold for boldest. (Ford to Motte)
 bold ^ ↑est↑ (Forster)
 [/] (Armagh; *pencil*)
~~bold~~ ^ ↑est↑ [ldest boldest ~~bol~~] (Pierpont Morgan)
15. (I.93.13; 82.16)
 [\] (Armagh; *pencil*)
16. (I.94.9–10; 83.6)
 Corner of the Pa- | per to the other, like ^ Ladies in [our] (Pierpont Morgan)
17. (I.101.12; 88.1–2)
 him, or ^ his Mother for bringing him into [to] (Pierpont Morgan)
18. (I.125.9–10; 101.18)
 [\] (Armagh; *soft blunt pencil later reinforced by sharp pencil*)
19. (I.127.10; 102.24)
 perpetually [\] (Armagh; *soft blunt pencil*)
20. (I.127.12; 102.25)
 perpetual (Armagh; *soft blunt pencil*)
21. (I.130.18; 105.2)
~~mine~~ ↑my↑ (Forster)
22. (I.132.26; 106.4–5)
 the Emperor would [\] (Armagh; *soft blunt pencil*)
23. (I.138.8; 108.27)
~~mine~~ ↑my↑ (Forster)
24. (I.144.6; 111.14)
 Pledges I had left. (Ford to Motte)
 dear Pledges I ^ ↑had↑ left in it. (Forster)
 dear Pledges I ^ left in it. [had] (Pierpont Morgan)
25. (I.145.9–10; 111.29)
 Lilliput s^d b ↑for↑ Blefuscu (Ford to Motte)
 Emperor of *Lil-* | ~~liput~~, together [Blefuscu] (Forster)
 Emperor of *Lil-* | *liput*, together [Blefuscu] (Armagh; *soft blunt pencil*)
 Emperor of *Lil-* | ~~liput~~, together [Blefuscu] (Pierpont Morgan)

Part II

26. (II.1.15; 117.10)
in ten Months [\] (Armagh; *soft blunt pencil*)
27. (II.9.14–15; 123.22)
However I made a shift. (Ford to Motte)
betwixt them. | I made a shift [However] (Forster)
betwixt them. | I made a shift [^ However,] (Armagh; *ink*)
betwixt them. ^ | I made a shift [However] (Pierpont Morgan)
28. (II.12.24; 125.18)
~~mine~~ ↑my↑ (Forster)
29. (II.16.15–16; 127.9)
thick- | ness [\] (Armagh; *pencil*)
30. (II.30.9; 135.4)
toward for forward. (Ford to Motte)
tfo^↑r↑ward (Forster; t of toward *overwritten as f*)
toward ^ [-ly] (Armagh; *ink*)
toward ↑forward↑ Parts for her Age, (Pierpont Morgan)
31. (II.32.14; 136.8)
Field s (Forster: *MS s inserted after printed word* Field)
32. (II.36.20; 138.15)
of the ~~Green Eagle~~ not so big [Horn and Crown] (Armagh; *ink*)
33. (II.47.3; 144.2)
her Majesty perhaps. (Ford to Motte)
her Majesty ^ would not have got [perhaps] (Forster)
her Majesty ^ would not have got [perhaps] (Armagh; *ink*)
her Majesty ^ would not have got [perhaps] (Pierpont Morgan)
34. (II.48.24–5; 145.1)
Dominions, and had. (Ford to Motte)
his Dominions, | had been educated [and] (Forster)
his Dominions, | had been educated [and ^] (Armagh; *ink*)
his Dominions, | ^ had been educated [and] (Pierpont Morgan)
35. (II.59.15; 151.2)
~~mine~~ ↑my↑ (Forster)
36. (II.62.9; 152.15)
Extremity[s] (Forster)
37. (II.63.24; 153.6)
~~mine~~ ↑my↑ (Forster)
38. (II.65.23; 154.19–20)
These ~~Creatures~~ ↑Insects↑ were as large (Forster)

- These ~~Creatures~~ were as large [Insects] (Armagh; *ink*)
 These ^ ~~Creatures~~ were as large [Insects] (Pierpont Morgan)
39. (II.71.24; 159.1)
 an *English* ↑European↑ Eye (Forster)
 an *English* ^ Eye [European] (Pierpont Morgan)
40. (II.98.12; 174.2)
 least his Honour for least his Courage. (Ford to Motte)
 his ~~Honour~~ ↑Courage↑ should be called (Forster)
 his ~~Honour~~ should be called [Courage] (Pierpont Morgan)
41. (II.108.5; 179.10)
 Praise for Praises. (Ford to Motte)
 Praises (Forster; MS s *inserted after printed word* Praise)
42. (II.111.16; 182.12–13)
 all Questions for several Questions. (Ford to Motte)
 of all ^ ↑several↑ Questions he (Forster)
 of all ^ Questions he [several] (Pierpont Morgan)
43. (II.114.15; 184.18)
 [X] (Armagh; *thumbnail impression*)
44. (II.119.22–23; 188.15)
 Idleness and Vice may | ~~be sometimes the only~~ ^ Ingredients [are the proper] (Forster)
 Idleness and Vice may | ~~be sometimes the only~~ ^ Ingredients [are the proper] (Pierpont Morgan)
45. (II.120.12; 189.1–2)
 were enobled, were advanced, for are enobled, are advanced. (Ford to Motte)
 that Men ~~were~~ ↑are↑ (Forster)
 that Men ~~were~~ ^ ↑are↑ (Pierpont Morgan)
46. (II.120.14; 189.2)
 were enobled, were advanced, for are enobled, are advanced. (Ford to Motte)
 Priests ~~were~~ ↑are↑ advanced (Forster)
 Priests ~~were~~ ^ ↑are↑ advanced (Pierpont Morgan)
47. (II.123.21; 190.22)
 with that ^ ↑mighty↑ Monarch, (Forster)
 with that ^ Monarch, [mighty] (Pierpont Morgan)
48. (II.131.22; 197.12)
 mine ↑my↑ (Forster)
49. (II.133.4; 198.5)
~~sd~~ be the Inclemencies (Ford to Motte)
 from ^ ↑the↑ (Forster)

50. (II.133.15–16; 198.10–11)
 ib. Species of Man for Species of Men. (Ford to Motte)
 the Species of | Man ↑men↑ were (Forster)
 the Species of | ~~Man~~ were [men] (Pierpont Morgan)
51. (II.136.17–18; 200.20–201.1)
 Disease to which ^ ~~so many other Govern-~~ ↑the whole Race of
 Mankind↑ | ~~ments are~~ ↑is↑ subject; (Forster)
 Disease to which ^ ~~so many other Govern-~~ | ~~ments are~~ subject; [hole
 Race of | ind is] (Pierpont Morgan; *trimming of margin has resulted in
 partial loss of MS annotation*)
52. (II.140.16–17; 203.17)
 not directly over, the Sense is imperfect. (Ford to Motte)
 of my Closet, ~~not direct-~~ | ~~ly~~ ^ ↑just↑ over the middle (Forster)
 of my Closet, ^ ~~not direct-~~ | ~~ly~~ over the middle [just] (Pierpont Morgan)
53. (II.144.2; 205.8)
~~mine~~ ↑my↑ (Forster)
 (Pierpont Morgan; *MS n written above turned letter n in printed word
 than*)
54. (II.146.17–18; 206.21)
 [\] (Armagh; *pencil*)
55. (II.156.12–15; 210.20)
 [X] (Armagh; *thumbnail impression*)
56. (II.156.17; 210.23)
 his own Presence for his Presence (Ford to Motte)
 his ~~own~~ Presence (Forster)
57. (II.160.7; 212.5)
~~mine~~ ↑my↑ (Forster)
58. (II.161.2; 212.15)
 necessary for me while. (Ford to Motte)
 necessary ^ ↑for me↑ while (Forster)
59. (II.161.9; 212.19)
~~mine~~ ↑my↑ (Forster)

Part III

60. (III.[title page].6)
 By Captain LEMUEL GULLIVER. ↓With the Authors own
 amendments↓ (Princeton)
61. (III.1.2)
 [Catherine] PART III. [Jackson] (Princeton)

62. (III.31.16; 237.15)
Spirits for Sprites. (Ford to Motte)
of / Spirits / and Hobgoblins, [Sprites] (Princeton)
63. (III.32.23; 238.7)
al- | lowed to do [\] (Armagh; *pencil*)
64. (III.34.6; 238.24)
Womenkind for Womankind. (Ford to Motte)
Caprices of Wome[^]↑a↑nkind | (Forster)
Caprices of Womenkind [a] (Princeton)
65. (III.42.17–18; 244.27–30)
[*injury*] Goodness. For this Advantage &c., the Sense imperfect. ib.
the Discoveries for their Discoveries (Ford to Motte)
in Goodness. For ^ this Advantage hath | enabled them to extend
their Discoveries [V. Blank Leaf] (Forster; *MS is inserted after printed
word the; MS in margin refers the reader to the recto of the second of two
blank leaves bound into the Forster copy between pp. III.90 and III.91,
which reads as follows: P.42 | in Goodness. For although their largest |
Telescopes do not exceed three Feet, they | magnify much more than
those of an | hundred Yards among us, and at the | same time shew the
stars with greater | Clearness. This Advantage &c.)*
in Goodness. For ^ this Advantage hath | enabled them to extend the
^ ↑their↑ Discoveries [lthough their | rgest Telescopes | not exceed
three | eet, they magnify | uch more than | hose of an hundred | ards
among us, and | t the same time | hew the Stars | th greater | earness.
This] (Pierpont Morgan; *trimming of margin has resulted in partial loss
of MS annotation*)
in Goodness. For x- this Advantage hath | enabled them to extend /the /
Discoveries [their] {x although their largest telescopes do not exceed |
three feet, they magnify much more than those | of an hundred x among
us, and at the same time | shew the stars with greater clearness, this
&c} {x yards} (Princeton)
66. (III.44.22; 247.1)
Death for Dearth. (Ford to Motte)
the Inhabitants with Dea[^]↑r↑th (Forster)
the Inhabitants with ^ Dea[^]th [Dearth] (Pierpont Morgan)
the Inhabitants with Dea[^]↑r↑th (Princeton)
67. (III.47.4–5; 248.4)
*text to be inserted at this point in the Forster copy on two interleaves bound
between pp. 70 and 71 of Part IV:*

In Part 3. Page 47. add after these words, | would fall to the Ground. About three years before my Arrival | among them, while the King was in | his Progress over his Dominions, there | happened an extraordinary Accident | which had like to have put a Period | to the Fate of that Monarchy, at | least as it is now instituted. Lindalino | the second City in the Kingdom was | the first his Majesty visited in his | Progress. Three Days after his Departure, | the Inhabitants who had often | complained of great Oppressions, shut | the Town Gates, seized on the Governor, | and with incredible Speed and Labour | erected four large Towers, one at | every Corner of the City (which is | an exact Square) equal in Heighth to | a strong pointed Rock that stands | directly in the Center of the City. | Upon the Top of each Tower, as well | as upon the Rock, they fixed a great | Loadstone, and in case their Design | should fail, they had provided a vast | Quantity of the most combustible | Fewel, hoping to burst therewith | the adamantine Bottom of the Island, | if the Loadstone Project should || miscarry.

It was eight Months before the | King had perfect Notice that the | Lindalinians were in Rebellion. He | then commanded that the Island | should be wafted over the City. | The People were unanimous, and | had laid in store of Provisions, and | a great River runs through the | middle of the Town. The King | hovered over them several Days | to deprive them of the Sun and | the Rain. He ordered many Packthreads | to be let down, yet not a Person | offered to send up a Petition, but | instead thereof, very bold Demands, | the Redress of all their Greivances, | great Immunities, the Choice of | their own Governor, and other the | like Exorbitances. Upon which his | Majesty commanded all the Inhabitants | of the Island to cast great stones | from the lower Gallery into the | Town; but the Citizens had provided | against this Mischief by conveying | their Persons and Effects into the | four Towers, and other strong Buildings, | and Vaults under Ground.

The King being now determined to | reduce this proud People, ordered that | the Island should descend gently | within fourty Yards of the Top of || the Towers and Rock. This was | accordingly done; but the Officers employed | in that Work found the Descent much | speedier than usual, and by turning the | Loadstone could not without great Difficulty | keep it in a firm Position, but found | the Island inclining to fall. They sent | the King immediate Intelligence of this | astonishing Event, and begged his Majesty's | Permission to raise the Island higher; the | King consented, a general Council was |

called, and the Officers of the Loadstone | ordered to attend. One
of the oldest and | expertest among them obtained Leave | to try an
Experiment. He took a strong | Line of an hundred Yards, and the |
Island being raised over the Town above | the attracting Power they
had felt, | He fastened a Piece of Adamant to the | End of his Line
which had in it a | Mixture of Iron mineral, of the same | Nature with
that whereof the Bottom | or lower Surface of the Island is | composed,
and from the lower Gallery | let it down slowly towards the Top of |
the Towers. The Adamant was not | descended four Yards, before the
Officer | felt it drawn so strongly downwards, | that he could hardly
pull it back. He | then threw down several small Pieces | of Adamant,
and observed that they || were all violently attracted by the | Top of the
Tower. The same Experiment | was made on the other three Towers,
| and on the Rock with the same Effect.

This Incident broke entirely the | King's Measures and (to dwell no |
longer on other Circumstances) he | was forced to give the Town their
| own Conditions.

I was assured by a great Minister, | that if the Island had descended
so | near the Town, as not to be able to | raise it self, the Citizens were
| determined to fix it for ever, to | kill the King and all his Servants, |
and entirely change the Government.

By a fundamental &c. (Forster)

[x] (Pierpont Morgan; *positioned between lines 4 and 5, presumably indi-
cating the point of insertion for the Lindalino episode, the text of which
however is not present in this copy*)

68. (III.49.14; 249.16)

Abode here for Abode there (Ford to Motte)

Abode there (Forster; *MS t inserted before printed word here*)

69. (III.51.11–12; 250.19)

[mark] (Armagh; *together with the mark on III.61.13–14 below, this
brackets the Munodi episode*)

70. (III.54.21 252.12–13)

with the Dress and ↑or↑ Looks (Forster)

with the Dress ^ and ↑or↑ Looks (Pierpont Morgan)

71. (III.59.17; 257.4)

Act for act. (Ford to Motte)

72. (III.60.18; 257.18)

[\] (Armagh; *soft blunt pencil*)

73. (III.61.13–14; 258.10)

[X] (Armagh; *thumbnail impression*)

74. (III.62.2–3; 259.2)
[X] (Armagh; *thumbnail impression*)
75. (III.71.5–6; 266.3)
[X] (Armagh; *thumbnail impression*)
76. (III.71.24; 268.4)
write both for write Books. (Ford to Motte)
may write ~~both~~ [Books] (Forster)
may write both [Books] (Armagh; *marginal pencil annotation possibly in a modern hand*)
may write ^ ~~both~~ [Books] (Pierpont Morgan)
may write /both / [books] (Princeton)
77. (III.72.14; 268.10)
Papers (Forster; *MS s added to printed word Paper to make it agree with Papers in l. 15*)
78. (III.73.11; 269.3)
or the Square for as the Square. (Ford to Motte)
places, ~~or~~ ↑as↑ the square (Forster)
places, ^ ~~or~~ ↑as↑ the square [as] (Pierpont Morgan)
79. (III.74.5; 269.13)
had employed all his Thoughts [\] (Armagh; *pencil*)
80. (III.74.9; 269.15)
in the Book for in Books. (Ford to Motte)
[\] (Armagh; *pencil*)
~~the~~ Books (Pierpont Morgan; *MS s inserted immediately after printed word Book*)
81. (III.75.16; 270.12)
The other ^ ↑Project↑was a Scheme (Forster)
The other ^ ↑Project↑was a Scheme (Pierpont Morgan)
The other – was a Scheme [project] (Princeton; *hyphen used to indicate point of insertion*)
82. (III.77.8; 272.8)
Saddles for Sacks. (Ford to Motte)
open their ~~Saddles~~ ↑Sacks↑ and hold (Forster)
[x] (Armagh; *pencil*)
open their ^ ~~Saddles~~ and hold [Sacks] (Pierpont Morgan)
open their /Saddles / and hold [Sacks] (Princeton)
83. (III.78.5–6; 273.4–5)
the Ambassadors for thus Ambassadors (Ford to Motte)
And the ^ ↑us↑ Embassa- | dors would (Forster)
And the Embassa- | dors would [\] (Armagh; *pencil*)

- And ^ the ↑thus↑ the Embassa- | dors would [thus] (Pierpont Morgan)
 And /the / Embassa- | dors would [thus] (Princeton)
84. (III.83.7; 277.5)
 Method of Cure for Methods of Cure. (Ford to Motte)
 methods (Forster; *MS s added at end of printed word method*)
85. (III.83.18–19; 277.12)
 [X] (Armagh; *thumbnail impression; together with that at III.87.23–24, this marks out a section of text devoted to political corruptions*)
86. (III.85.12; 278.10)
 dispose of them for dispose them. (Ford to Motte)
 dispose of them (Forster)
 dispose of them (Pierpont Morgan)
87. (III.86.8; 278.20)
 they came into the (Forster; *letter o of come corrected in MS to a*)
 they come into the [a] (Princeton)
88. (III.87.10; 279.14)
 Natures [\\ \] (Armagh; *pencil*)
89. (III.87.16; 279.17)
 Persons for Person's. (Ford to Motte)
 Person↑'↑s (Forster)
 Persons's (Pierpont Morgan; *MS 's inserted immediately after deleted printed letter s*)
90. (III.87.23–24; 279.21)
 [X] (Armagh; *thumbnail impression; seems to form a bracketting pair with the similar cross at III.83.18–19 above*)
91. (III.89.7–8; 280.10)
 To take a strict View. (Ford to Motte)
 Posteriors; | take a strict View [To] (Forster)
 Posteriors; | ^ take a strict View [To] (Pierpont Morgan)
 Posteriors; | take a strict View [to] (Princeton)
92. (III.90.12–III.93.14; 281.8–284.10)
N.B. In this passage of extended correction, the readings from each of the five sources have been given seriatim, rather than interleaved.
A: Ford to Motte
to the end of the Chapter seems to have much of the Author's
manner of thinking, but in many places wants his Spirit.
B: Forster

(text from III.90.12 to III.93.14 struck through with large crosses; two leaves inserted between III.90 and III.91)

C: Armagh

(III.90.12; 281.8)

[x] (*pencil*)

(III.90.25; 281.13)

[\\] (*pencil*)

(III.91.20; 282.8)

[\\] (*pencil*)

(III.92.6; 282.10)

[\\] (*pencil*)

(III.92.14; 283.5)

[\\] (*pencil*)

(III.92.22; 284.2)

[\\] (*pencil*)

(III.93.5; 284.6)

who [\\] (*faint pencil underlining; an initial mark in soft blunt pencil reinforced with sharp pencil*)

D: Pierpont Morgan

[^] (*text from III.90.12 to III.92.26 struck through with a single large cross on each of the three pages; caret in margin opposite III.90.12*)

93. (III.93.5; 284.5)

Paper, ^ ~~who~~ can discover [they]

94. (III.93.9–10; 284.7–8)

Piles, a ^ ~~Man of Skill in this Art~~ would | discover ~~how~~ ^ ↑that↑ the same Letters [skillfull Decyp | =rer] (*MS text lost from marginal annotation due to trimming of margin*)

E: Princeton

[Dele] (III.90.12 to III.91.8 identified for deletion with ruled marginal lines, except III.90.12 I told him, that which is marked for retention)

(III.91.10; 282.3)

/they might / stifle or divert (*also broken overline*)

(III.91.11; 282.3)

contents; ^x fill their Pockets

(III.91.13; 282.4–5)

as either ^x /might / [shall best]

(III.91.14–16; 282.5)

private Advantage. /This | might be done by first agreeing and set- |
ling / among themselves [x] (*small curly bracket in red ink*)

(III.91.20; 282.7–8)

in /safe and secure / Custody. [Chains]

(III.91.21; 282.8)

These Papers ^x/might be / delivered [^xare]

(III.91.24; 282.9–10)

[For Instance]

(III.92.2–11; 282.9–283.7)

[*ruled bracket in red ink*]

(III.92.14; 283.5)

a *Treasury*, a *Sink* a *Court*, [-the]

(III.92.17; 283.6–7)

a *running Sore* an *Admi-* [-the]

(III.92.19–25; 284.1–3)

[Dele] [*vertical annotation and ruled bracket in red ink*]

(III.93.5; 284.5)

Paper, ~~who~~ can discover [they]

95. (*MS text on interleaves in Forster, Pierpont Morgan, and Princeton*)
P.90

I told him, that in the Kingdom of | Tribnia, by the Natives call'd
Langden, where | I had sojourned some time in my Travels, | the Bulk
of the People consist in a manner, | wholly of Discoverers, Witnesses,
Informers, Accusers, | Prosecutors, Evidences, Swearers, together with
| their several subservient, and subaltern | Instruments, all under the
Colours and Conduct | of Ministers of State and their Deputys. | The
Plots in that Kingdom are usually | the Workmanship of those Persons
who | desire to raise their own Characters of | profound Politicians, to
restore new Vigor | to a crazy Administration, to stifle or | divert general
Discontents, to fill their | Pockets with Forfeitures, and raise or sink |
the Opinion of publick Credit, as either | shall best answer their private
Advantage. | It is first agreed and settled among them | what suspected
persons shall be accused | of a Plot: then effectual Care is taken | to
secure all their Letters and Papers, and | put the Criminals in Chains.
These Papers | are delivered to a Set of Artists very | dextrous in finding
out the mysterious | Meanings of Words, Syllables, and Letters. | For
Instance, they can discover a Close-Stool | to signify a Privy Council,
a Flock of Geese | a Senate, a lame Dog an Invader, a Codshead |
a —, the Plague a standing Army, a | Buzzard a prime Minister, the
Gout a || High Priest, a Gibbet a Secretary | of State, a Chamber-
pot a Committee | of Grandees, a Sieve a Court Lady, | a Broom a

Revolution, a Mouse-trap | an Employment, a bottomless Pit the |
 Treasury, a Sink the Court, a Cap | and Bells a Favourite, a broken
 Reed | a Court of Justice, an empty Tun a | General, a running Sore
 the | Administration.

Where this Method fails, they have | two others more effectual,
 which the | Learned among them call Acrosticks | and Anagrams. First
 they can decypher | all initial Letters into political Meanings. | Thus
 N. shall signify a Plot, B. a Regiment | of Horse, L. a Fleet at Sea. Or
 secondly | by transposing the Letters of the Alphabet | in any suspected
 Paper, they can discover | the deepest Designs of a discontented | Party.
 So, for Example, if I should say | in a Letter to a Friend, Our Brother |
Tom has just got the Piles, a skillfull | Decypherer would discover that
 the | same Letters which compose that Sentence, | may be analysed
 into the following | Words; Resist; a Plot is brought home, | The Tour.
 And this is the Anagrammatick | Method.

(Forster; *interleaf between III.90 and 91*)

9

I told him, that in the Kingdom of Tribnia, | by the Natives called
 Langden, where I had sojou | some time in my Travels, the Bulk of
 the People | consist in a manner, wholly of Discoverers, Witnesses
 | ~~and~~ Informers, Accusers, Prosecutors, Evidences, Swear | together
 with their several subservient and | subaltern Instruments, all under
 the Colours | and Conduct of Ministers of State and their | Deputys.
 The Plots in that Kingdom are | usually the Workmanship of those
 Persons w | desire to raise their own Characters of profo | Politicians,
 to restore new Vigour to a crazy | Administration, to stifle or divert
 general | Discontents, to fill their Pockets with Forfeitu | and raise or
 sink the Opinion of publick | Credit, as either shall best answer their
 | private Advantage. It is first agreed and | settled among them what
 suspected Persons shall | be accused of a Plot: then effectual Care is
 | taken to secure all their Letters and Papers, | and put the Crim-
 inals in Chains. These Pape | are delivered to a Set of Artists very
 dextro | in finding out the mysterious Meanings of | Words, Sylla-
 bles, and Letters. For Instance, they | can discover a Close Stool to
 signify a Privy | Council, a Flock of Geese a Senate, a lame | Dog
 an Invader, a Codshead a -, the Plag | a standing Army, a Buzzard
 a Prime Minist | the Gout a High Priest, a Gibbet a Secreta | of
 State, a Chamber-pot a Committee of | Grandees, a Sieve a Court
 Lady, a Broom a | Revolution, a Mouse-Trap an Employment, a |

Bottomless pit the Treasury, a Sink the Cour | a Cap & Bells a
Favourite, a broken Reed a || Court of Justice, an empty Tun a General,
| a running Sore the Administration.

Where this Method fails, they have two | others more effectual, which
the Learned among | them call Acrosticks and Anagrams. First they |
can decypher all initial Letters into political | Meanings. Thus, N shall
signify a Plot, B. &c.

(Pierpont Morgan; *interleaf between III.92 and 93; loss of text from
right-hand margin due to trimming*)

– in the Kingdom of – | Tribnia by the natives ^x Langden [^xcalled] |
where I [*deletion*] had [*deletion*] sojourned some: | :times in my travels,
the bulk | of the People consist in a manner | wholly of Discoverers,
witnesses, | Informers, Accusers, Prosecutors, | Evidences, Swearers,
together | with their severall subservient | and subaltern Instruments,
all | under the colours, and conduct of | Ministers of State, and their -
| Deputies. The Plots in that King | :dom are usually the Workman: |
:ship || ship of those Persons, who desire to | raise their own Characters
of profound | Politicians, to restore &c line 8.th | Line 13.th It is first
agreed and set: | tled among them &c. | line 23.^d For Instance, They
can – | discover a Close-stool to signify | a Privy Council, a flock of
Geese | a Senate, a lame dog, an Invader, | a Codshead a __. The
Plague a | standing Army, a Buzzard, a - | Prime Minister. The Gout
a High | Priest, a Gibbet, a Secretary of | State; a Sieve, a Court Lady.
a | Chamber pot, a Committee &c. | [**Page 92 line 18th**] **Where** this
Method fails, they have | two others more effectually, which | the learned
among them call Acros- | ticks and Anagrams. First they | can decipher
all initial Letters | into Political meanings. thus N | shall signifie a
Plot, &c. Page 93.

(Princeton; *interleaf between III.90 and 91*)

96. (III.94.9; 285.4)

was a part for is a part. (Ford to Motte)

Kingdom ~~was~~ ↑is↑ a part, extends (Forster)

Kingdom was a part, extends [is] (Armagh; *pencil*)

Kingdom ^ ~~was~~ ↑is↑ a part, extends (Pierpont Morgan)

Kingdom /~~was~~ / a part, extends [is] (Princeton)

97. (III.95.25; 286.2)

Gentleme[^]↑a↑n (Pierpont Morgan)

98. (III.101.6; 290.2–3)

in the Room for into the Room. (Ford to Motte)

in ^ ↑to↑ the (Forster)
called up in the | Room [into] (Armagh; *pencil*)
called up in – the | Room [-to] (Princeton)

99. (III.101.21–22; 290.10)

Assembly of somewhat a latter Age, this must have been altered, for ^
↑the word↑ Assembly follows immediately after. (Ford to Motte)
large Chamber, and ^ ~~an Assembly of~~ | ~~somewhat a latter Age,~~ in
Counterview [a modern | Representative] (Forster)
[\] (Armagh; *soft blunt pencil*)

large Chamber, and ^ ~~an Assembly of~~ | ~~somewhat a latter Age,~~ in
Counterview [a modern Repres | =tive] (Pierpont Morgan; *MS text*
lost from marginal annotation due to trimming of margin)

large Chamber, and /an Assembly of | somewhat a latter Age, in
Counterview | [a Conventi: | :on] {a modern Representatiue} (Prince-
ton)

100. (III.101.24; 291.2)

Assembly of Heroes [\] (Armagh; *sharp pencil; also two oblique pencil*
strokes at the foot of this page)

101. (III.102.22; 291.13)

Ancestors for Ancestor (Ford to Motte)

Ancestors (Forster)

102. (III.103.10; 293.1)

~~mine~~ ↑my↑ (Forster)

103. (III.106.24; 296.4)

pretend[ed] (Forster)

104. (III.108.20; 297.16)

one Family derives [\] (Armagh; *soft blunt pencil*)

105. (III.110.5; 299.2)

Faction for Factions. (Ford to Motte)

Factions (Forster; *MS s. written over printed full-stop*)

Factions (Princeton; *MS s. written over printed full-stop*)

106. (III.110.21; 299.11)

History, [\] (Armagh; *pencil MS comma inserted after History. Woolley*
notes that this correction is duplicated uniquely in Motte's 1727 octavo)

107. (III.114.6–8; 301.24)

[\] (Armagh; *soft blunt pencil*)

one Per- | son whose Case appeared a little ^ ↑si↑ngu- | lar. He had
[singular] (Pierpont Morgan)

one Per- | son whose Case appeared a little -ngu- | lar. [-si] (Princeton;
hyphen before ngu used to indicate point of insertion)

108. (III.114.21; 302.5)
this [\] (Armagh; *pencil*)
 /~~this~~ / War being at an end, [the] (Princeton)
109. (III.115.3; 302.8)
 [\] (Armagh; *pencil*)
 of /*Libertina*, / who [a libertine] (Princeton)
110. (III.115.5–6; 302.9)
 his own Ves- | sels, he was (Princeton)
111. (III.115.26 302.20)
 [x] (Armagh; *pencil*)
112. (III.118.9; 305.5)
 The Day /~~of~~ / our Departure [for] (Princeton)
113. (III.119.4; 305.12)
 Apr. 1711. for Apr. 1709. (Ford to Motte)
 1744 ↑09↑ (Forster)
 the 21st of *April*, ~~1744~~. [1709] (Pierpont Morgan)
114. (III.119.5; 305.12)
 we sailed in the River [x] (Armagh; *soft blunt pencil*)
115. (III.119.12–13; 305.16–17)
 a Passage for the Passage. (Ford to Motte)
 very dan- | gerous in a ↑the↑ Passage to a (Forster)
 very dan- | gerous in ^ a ↑the↑ Passage to a (Pierpont Morgan)
 very dan- | gerous in a Passage to a [the] (Princeton)
116. (III.121.7; 306.15)
 had never heard. (Ford to Motte)
 which they ^ ↑had↑ never heard. (Forster)
 [\] (Armagh; *soft blunt pencil*)
 which they ^ never heard. [had] (Pierpont Morgan)
 which they never - heard. [-had] (Princeton; *hyphen used to indicate point of insertion*)
117. (III.121.9; 306.16)
 [\] (Armagh; *soft blunt pencil*)
118. (III.121.21; 306.23)
 [\] (Armagh; *soft blunt pencil*)
119. (III.124.16; 308.5)
 [\] (Armagh; *pencil*)
120. (III.133.25–26; 312.29)
 Languages, Fashions, Dress for Language, Fashions of Dress, (Ford to Motte)

Customs, Languages, | Fashions, ^ ↑of↑ Dress, Dyet (Forster)
Customs, Languages, | Fashions, ^ ↑of↑ Dress, Dyet (Pierpont Morgan)

Customs, Languages, | Fashions, - Dress, Dyet [of] (Princeton; *hyphen used to indicate point of insertion*)

121. (III.134.15; 313.8)

Choice for choice. (Ford to Motte)

122. (III.137.19; 315.16)

these Kingdoms for those Kingdoms (Ford to Motte)

those (Forster; *MS o written over first e in printed word these*)

123. (III.138.7; 315.23)

eldest for oldest (Ford to Motte)

oldest (Forster; *MS o written over first e in printed word eldest*)

124. (III.140.2-3; 316.21)

they were too few. (Ford to Motte)

in an Age, | were too few [they] (Forster)

[x] (Armagh; *pencil*)

in an Age, | ^ were too few [they] (Pierpont Morgan)

in an Age, | were too few [they] (Princeton)

125. (III.141.11; 317.13)

lose their Memories; these meet [Understand- | ings] (Armagh; *pencil*)

126. (III.141.19; 318.3)

come for comes to be fourscore. (Ford to Motte)

two comes to be four-score. (Forster; *MS s added to printed word come*)

127. (III.142.21; 318.16)

continuing for continue. (Ford to Motte)

continuing ↑e↑ (Forster)

subject to still continuing ↑e↑ without [continue] (Pierpont Morgan)

continuing ↑e↑ (Princeton)

128. (III.142.23; 318.17)

forgot for forget. (Ford to Motte)

forget (Forster; *second o of printed word forgot written over with e*)

they forget the common [forget] (Pierpont Morgan; *MS e written over second o in printed word forgot*)

they forget the common [e] (Princeton)

129. (III.144.2; 320.3)

brought to me (Ford to Motte)

brought ^ ↑to↑ me at several (Forster)

- brought ^ me at several [to] (Armagh; *soft blunt pencil*)
 brought ^ ↑to↑ me at several (Pierpont Morgan)
 brought - me at several [-to] (Princeton; *hyphen used to indicate point of insertion*)
130. (III.144.14; 320.10)
 [x despised] (Armagh; *pencil, despised written over the x*)
 THEY are /deprived / and hated by [despised] (Princeton)
131. (III.144.15; 320.10)
 sort of People for sorts of People. (Ford to Motte)
 sorts (Forster; *MS s inserted after printed word sort*)
 sorts (Pierpont Morgan; *MS s inserted after printed word sort*)
 sorts (Princeton; *MS s inserted after printed word sort*)
132. (III.146.4; 320.30)
 [\] (Armagh; *pencil*)
133. (III.152.22; 325.3)
 conver for convey (Ford to Motte)
 convey (Forster; *MS y written over r in mis-printed word conver*)
 eonver me safe [convey] (Pierpont Morgan)
 convey (Princeton; *MS y written over r in mis-printed word conver*)
134. (III.154.4; 325.18)
 petformed for performed (Ford to Motte)
 performed (Forster; *MS r written over t in mis-printed word petformed*)
 pet↑r↑formed (Pierpont Morgan)
135. (III.154.22; 326.5)
 arrived safe to for arrived safe at. (Ford to Motte)
 safe ^ tō ↑ly at↑ *Amsterdam*, having (Forster)
 safe tō ^ ↑at↑ *Amsterdam*, having (Pierpont Morgan)

Part IV

136. (IV.sig. A3^r.13–15)
A Continuation of the State of Eng- | land; so well-governed by a Queen as | to need no first Minister. The Character | of ^ such an one in some European Courts. [a first | Minister.] (Forster)
A Continuation of the State of Eng- | land; so well-governed by a Queen as | to need no first Minister. The Character | of such an one in some European Courts. | [The Charac | of a first | Minister o | State in | European Cou] (Pierpont Morgan; *partial loss of MS text due to trimming of margin*)

137. (IV.8.3; 334.7–8)
 sharp points, and hooked. (Ford to Motte)
 hooked. They would often [and] (Forster)
 -hooked. They would often [and] (Pierpont Morgan)
138. (IV.8.7; 334.9–10)
~~Hair on their Heads, but none on their~~ ib. P. 8. long lank Hair on their
 Faces, nor &c. This Passage puzzled me for some ^ ↑time↑, it should
 be long lank Hair on their Heads, but none on their Faces, nor (Ford
 to Motte)
 their ^ Faces, nor any thing [Heads, but none | on their] (Forster)
 [x] (Armagh; *pencil*)
 their ^ Faces, nor any thing [heir Heads, but | on their] (Pierpont
 Morgan; *partial loss of MS text due to trimming of margin*)
 /they had long lank Hair on | their Faces, / nor any thing [x] {^x they
 had ^ ↑lank↑ hair on their heads, but none on | their faces.} (Princeton;
x used to cue insertion)
139. (IV.9.23; 335.8)
 [x] (Armagh; *pencil*)
140. (IV.10.2; 335.9)
 [x] (Armagh; *soft blunt pencil*; *Woolley speculates that this and the preceding
 mark in Armagh are the result of inadvertent transposition of corrections in
 1735 between 'the' and 'a' tree*)
141. (IV.17.2–3; 339.2)
 before them for before him. (Ford to Motte)
 walk be- | fore ~~them~~, ^ ↑him,↑ wherein (Forster)
 walk be- | fore ^ ~~them~~, wherein [him] (Pierpont Morgan)
 walk be- | fore /them /, wherein [him] (Princeton)
142. (IV.31.13; 346.11)
 fare for fared. (Ford to Motte)
 fared (Forster; *MS d inserted after printed word fare*)
 fared (Princeton; *MS d inserted after printed word fare*)
143. (IV.42.18–19; 352.12)
 Secret of my having (Ford to Motte)
 the Secret of | having a false [my] (Forster)
 the Secret of | ^ having a false [my] (Pierpont Morgan)
 the Secret of | having a false [my] (Princeton)
144. (IV.45.14; 353.12)
 would not ~~to~~ be offend- [*deletion symbol*] (Armagh; *soft blunt
 pencil*)

145. (IV.45.15; 353.12–13)
 then I would tell him the [\] (Armagh; *pencil*)
146. (IV.49.7; 355.6)
 Oats, when for Oats, where. (Ford to Motte)
 where (Forster; *MS re written over n in printed word* when)
 when [re] (Princeton)
147. (IV.50.10–11; 355.20–21)
 treasted for treated, old for sold, (Ford to Motte)
 then they were | old, and [s] (Forster)
 then they were | old, and [\ s] (Armagh; *pencil*)
 then they were | old, and [s] (Pierpont Morgan)
148. (IV.50.11–12; 355.21)
 ill for till. (Ford to Motte)
 of Drudgery | ill they died; after [t] (Forster)
 of Drudgery | ill they died; after [\ t] (Armagh; *pencil*)
 of Drudgery | ill they died; after [t] (Pierpont Morgan)
149. (IV.51.8–9; 356.8)
 meanest Servant for weakest Servant. (Ford to Motte)
 that the ~~mean~~ ^ weak ^ | est Servant in his (Forster)
 that the ^ ~~mean~~ | est Servant in his [weakest] (Pierpont Morgan)
 that the /~~mean~~- | ~~est~~ / Servant in his [weakest] (Princeton)
150. (IV.51.11; 356.9)
 rouling for rolling. (Ford to Motte)
 down, and rolling on his (Forster; *MS l written over u in printed word* rouling)
 down, and ^ rolling on his [rolling] (Pierpont Morgan; *MS l written over u in printed word* rouling)
151. (IV.53.5–6; 357.6)
 Offices for Offices. (Ford to Motte)
 Of- | fices (Forster; *MS s inserted after fice*)
152. (IV.54.9 358.3)
 mine ^ my ^ (Forster)
153. (IV.54.13; 358.5)
 one of my Forefeet (Ford to Motte)
 without lifting ^ ^ one of ^ my Fore-feet to (Forster)
 without lifting ^ my Fore-feet to [one of] (Pierpont Morgan)
 without lifting - my Fore-feet to [- one of] (Princeton; *hyphen used to indicate insertion point*)

154. (IV.55.12; 358.17)
debate that Matter (Forster; *MS* at *written over e* in the)
155. (IV.56.12; 359.7)
Trade it is. (Ford to Motte)
bred a Surgeon, whose Trade ^ ↑it↑ is to (Forster)
bred a Surgeon, whose Trade ^ is to [it] (Pierpont Morgan)
bred a Surgeon, whose Trade - is to [-it] (Princeton; *hyphen used to indicate insertion point*)
156. (IV.56.16; 359.9)
called a Queen. (Ford to Motte)
we called ^ ↑a↑ Queen. That I (Forster)
we called ^ Queen. That I [a] (Pierpont Morgan)
we called - Queen. That I [-a] (Princeton; *hyphen used to indicate insertion point*)
157. (IV.58.19; 360.12)
[\\] (Armagh; *pencil*)
158. (IV.60.12; 361.7)
Points of which for Points which (Ford to Motte)
Points, of-which were (Forster)
[\\] (Armagh; *sharp pencil*)
Points, of which were (Pierpont Morgan)
Points, of which were (Princeton)
159. (IV.61.5; 361.12)
[\\] (Armagh; *pencil*)
160. (IV.64.8; 364.8)
Ally, where (Forster; *MS* re *written over n* in *printed word* when)
161. (IV.65.7; 364.20)
For those Reasons for For these Reasons (Ford to Motte)
these (Forster; *MS* e *written over o* in *printed word* those)
For these Reasons, [e] (Armagh; *pencil*)
those [e] (Princeton)
162. (IV.65.14–15; 365.4)
likewise another Kind for likewise a Kind. (Ford to Motte)
There are ↑is↑ likewise ~~another~~ ↑a↑ Kind | of ^ ↑beggarly↑ Princes (Forster)
There ^ are ↑is↑ likewise ^ ~~another~~ ↑a↑ Kind | of ^ Princes [beggarly] (Pierpont Morgan)
There are likewise * /another Kind | of Princes / in *Europe*, not {^x a Kind of Beggarly Princes **line 13th**.} (Princeton)

163. (IV.65.21–22; 365.7–8)

in [^] ~~many~~ Nor- | *thern* Parts [Germany and | other] (Forster)
such are those in [^] ↑Ger↑many ^x Nor- | *thern* Parts of *Europe*. [^x and
other] (Princeton; *cross used to indicate insertion point*)

164. (IV.67.2; 366.9)

Bayonets, [^] ↑Battles↑ Sieges, Retreats, Attacks, (Forster)
Bayonets, [^] Sieges, Retreats, Attacks, [Battles,] (Pierpont Morgan)
Bayonets, ^x Sieges, Retreats, Attacks, [^x Battles] (Princeton; *cross used
to indicate insertion point*)

165. (IV.67.4; 366.10)

Seafights. is there no mention of Land fights? (Ford to Motte)

166. (IV.68.16–17; 367.8)

my Hoof for his Hoof. (Ford to Motte)
cutting | ~~my~~ Hoof. But when [his] (Forster)
cutting | ~~my~~ [his] (Armagh; *ink*)
cutting | ~~my~~ [^] Hoof. But when [his] (Pierpont Morgan)
cutting | ~~my~~ Hoof. But when [his] (Princeton)

167. (IV.69.18–79.9; 368.7–372.2)

*N.B. In this passage of extended correction, the readings from each of the five
sources have been given seriatim, rather than interleaved.*

A: Ford to Motte

↑towards y^e end↑ [^] &c. ~~manifestly most barbarously corrupted, full
of Flatnesses, Cant Words, and Softenings unworthy the Dignity,
Spirit, [^] ↑Candour, ↑ & Frankness of the Author. By that
admirable Instance of the Cow it is plain the Satyr is design'd
against the Profession in general, and not only against Attornys or,
as they are there smartly styl'd, Pettifoggers. You ought in
Justice to restore those twelve Pages to the true Reading.~~

B: Forster

(IV.69.18; 368.7–8)

I meant by *Law*, and (*remainder of page starting what sort of, pp. 70–5
in their entirety, and p. 76 down to 'Expectation', cancelled with crosses*)

(IV.77.10; 371.15)

have [^] ~~gone near~~ to ↑wholly↑ confound[ed]

(IV.77.13; 371.16)

may ↑will↑ take

(IV. 77.21–4)

(*text of lines 21–4 struck through with a large cross*)

(IV.78–9; 371.23–372.2)

(text on pp. 78 and 79 struck through with a single large cross on each page)

C: Armagh

(IV.69.15; 368.6–7)

[?] (*ink*)

(IV.69.18; 368.7–8)

[\\] (*pencil*)

(IV.69.22–3)

[\\] (*pencil*)

(IV.70.2; 368.9)

[\\] (*pencil*)

(IV.70.20–1)

[\\] (*pencil*)

(IV.71.2)

[\\] (*pencil*)

(IV.71.9)

[\\] (*pencil*)

(IV.71.10)

[\\] (*pencil*)

(IV.71.17–20)

[\\] (*pencil*)

(IV.71.21–4)

[\\] (*pencil*)

(IV.72.2–4)

[\\] (*pencil*)

(IV.72.6)

[\\] (*pencil*)

(IV.72.9–10)

[\\] (*pencil*)

(IV.72.11–12)

[\\] (*pencil*)

(IV.72.14)

[\\] (*pencil*)

(IV.72.15)

[\\] (*pencil*)

(IV.72.16–17; 369.3)

[\\] (*pencil*)

(IV.73.5–6; 369.10)

[\\] (*pencil*)

(IV.73.10–13)

[\\] (*pencil*)
(IV.73.23–5)
[\\] (*pencil*)
(IV.74.5–6; 370.3–4)
[\\] (*pencil*)
(IV.74.7)
[\\] (*pencil*)
(IV.74.11–12)
[\\] (*pencil*)
(IV.74.13–16)
[\\] (*pencil*)
(IV.74.18–19)
[\\] (*pencil*)
(IV.74.21–2)
[\\] (*pencil*)
(IV.74.22–3)
[\\] (*pencil*)
(IV.75.22–5)
[\\] (*pencil*)
(IV.76.6–8)
[\\] (*pencil*)
(IV.77.9–11; 371.14–16)
[\\] (*pencil*)
(IV.77.21–4)
[\\] (*pencil*)
(IV.78.2–7; 371.22)
[\\] (*pencil*)
(IV.78.16–20; 371.27)
[\\] (*pencil*)
(IV.78.20–25; 371.28)
[\\] (*pencil*)
(IV.79.3; 371.29–30)
[\\] (*pencil*)

(Woolley comments: 'The final sentence of Chap. V has an ink mark in the margin, midway, signalling a fault, but which (of the many inflicted by Andrew Tooke) it is hard to say. Ford's book, and Faulkner 1735, restore the original, as in Davis' [Woolley, 'Swift's Copy', p. 151]. It is in fact a pencil mark – a significant difference in the context of the annotations to this volume.)

D: Pierpont Morgan

(IV.69.18; 368.7–8)

I meant by *Law*, and [^] (*remainder of page starting what sort of cancelled with a large cross and three lines, two horizontal and one vertical*)

(IV.70–76.8; 368.9–371.3)

(*cancelled with a single large cross on each page*)

(IV.77.10; 371.15)

by they have [^] ~~gone near to confound~~ [wholly confound]

(IV.77.13; 371.16)

[^] ~~may~~ take Thirty Years [will]

(IV.77.21–4)

[^x [^]] (*text of lines 21–24 struck through*)

(IV.78–9; 371.21–372.2)

(*text on pp. 78 and 79 cancelled with a single large cross on each page*)

E: Princeton

(IV.69.18–25; 368.8–9)

[Dele] (*vertical ruled marginal bracket embracing text from what sort of to fully answered*)

(IV.70.2–6; 368.9–11)

(*marked with a ruled marginal bracket*)

(IV.70.9–10; 368.13–14)

conversed, ^x having little more Know- | ledge of it than what I
had obtained [^x further than]

(IV.70.13–17)

and by conversing with some others | who by the same Method had
first lost | their Substance and then left their own | Country under
the Mortification of such | Disappointments, [Dele]

(IV.70.19–24)

[Dele]

(IV.71.2–25; 368.16–369.2)

[Dele] (*vertical broken marginal line*)

(IV.72.2–15)

[Dele] (*vertical broken marginal line; broken horizontal line in paragraph space beneath l. 15*)

(IV.72.17–18; 369.3–4)

he hires / one of these | Advocates / to prove that [a Lawyer]

(IV.72.25; 369.7)

First, my / Advocate, / being as I [Lawyer]

(IV.73.4–5; 369.9–10)

when he would /ar- | gue for Right,/ which as an Office [be an Advocat
| for Iustice]

(IV.73.6; 369.10)

attempts ^x with [^x always]

(IV.73.7–75.17; 369.13–370.12)

[Vid. P. 68 | Dele] (*ruled vertical marginal lines*)

(IV.75.18; 370.13)

among these Men, [Lawyers] (*printed word Men placed in a ruled box
and deleted with cross-hatching*)

(IV.75.22; 370.15)

[against]

(IV.75.23–5; 370.15–16)

(*text from even those to Rules of enclosed in red ink ruled box*)

(IV.76.6–8)

[Dele] (*text from and they are to and Expectation enclosed in a ruled
box*)

(IV.77.10; 371.15)

have /gone near to/ confound [wholy | ed] (*broken line also above printed
words gone near to*)

(IV.77.13; 371.17)

/may / take Thirty [will]

(IV.77.21–4)

[Dele] (*text of lines 21–25 enclosed in a red ink ruled box*)

(IV.78.2–8; 371.22)

[Dele] (*text enclosed in a red ink ruled box*)

(IV.78.12; 371.24)

[Lawyers] (*printed word Advocates enclosed in ruled box*)

(IV.78.17–25; 371.27–28)

[Dele] (*text from the Business and to Generation of enclosed in ruled
box*)

(IV.79.2–3; 371.28–29)

Con- | versation, ^x or {**line 16th**. that in all points out of | their own
trade, they were the most | ignorant and stupid Generation | among
us, the most ^x despicable in &c. **Page 79. line 1st.**}

168. (IV. Interleaves)

P.69.

by Law, and the Dispensers thereof, according | to the present Practice
in my own Country, | because he thought Nature and Reason were |
sufficient Guides for a reasonable Animal, as | we pretended to be, in
shewing us what we | ought to do, and what to avoid.

I assured his Honour, that Law was | a Science wherein I had not much conversed, | further than by employing Advocates in | vain, upon some Injustices that had been | done me, however I would give him all | the Satisfaction I was able.

I said, there was a Society of Men | among us, bred up from their Youth in | the Art of proving by Words multiplyed | for the Purpose that White is Black, | and Black is White, according as they are | paid. To this Society all the rest of | the People are Slaves. For Example, if | my Neighbour hath a mind to my Cow, | he hires a Lawyer to prove, that he | ought to have my Cow from me. I must | then hire another to defend my Right, | it being against all Rules of Law | that any man should be allowed to | speak for himself. Now in this Case, I | who am the right Owner lye under | two great Disadvantages. First, my | Lawyer being practiced almost from | his Cradle in defending Falshood, is | quite out of his Element when he | would be an Advocate for Justice, | which as an Office unnatural, he || always attempts with ill Will. The | second Disadvantage is, that my Lawyer | must proceed with great Caution, or | else he will be reprimanded by | the Judges, and abhorred by his | Brethren, as one that would lessen | the Practice of the Law. And | therefore I have but two Methods | to preserve my Cow. The first is | to gain over my Adversary's Lawyer | with a double Fee, who will then | betray his Client by insinuating that | he hath Justice on his Side. The | second way is for my Lawyer to | make my Cause appear as unjust | as he can, by allowing the Cow to | belong to my Adversary; and this, | if it be skillfully done, will certainly | bespeak the Favour of the Bench. | Now, your Honour is to know that | these Judges are Persons appointed to | decide all Controversys of Property, | as well as for the Tryal of all | Criminals, and picked out from the | most dextrous Lawyers who are grown | old or lazy, and having been byassed | all their Lives against Truth and | Equity are under such a fatal | Necessity of favouring Fraud, Perjury, | and Oppression, that I have known | several of them refuse a large | Bribe from the Side where Justice | lay, rather than injure the Faculty | by doing any thing unbecoming their || Nature or their Office.

It is a Maxim among these Lawyers, | that whatever hath been done before, | may legally be done again: and therefore | they take special Care to record all the | Decisions formerly made against common | Justice and the general Reason of | Mankind. These under the Name of | Precedents they produce as Authoritys | to justify the most iniquitous Opinions; | and the Judges never fail of decreeing | accordingly.

In pleading, &c. to – three hundred miles off.

P.77.

In the Tryal of Persons accused for | Crimes against the State the
Method | is much more short and commendable: | The Judge first
sends to sound the | Disposition of those in Power, after | which he
can easily hang or save the | Criminal, strictly preserving all due | Forms
of Law.

Here my Master interposing, said | it was a Pity, that Creatures
endowed | with such prodigious Abilities of | Mind as these Lawyers
by the | Description I gave of them must | certainly be, were not rather
encouraged | to be Instructors of others in | Wisdom and Knowledge.
In answer to | which I assured his Honour, that in || all Points out of
their own Trade | they were the most ignorant and | stupid Generation
among us, the | most despicable in common Conversation, | avowed
Enemys to all Knowledge and | Learning, and equally disposed to |
pervert the general Reason of | Mankind in every other Subject | of
Discourse, as in that of their | own Profession. |

P.90 blot out a Page & a half | & read thus

I told him, that a first or | chief Minister of State, who was | the Person
I intended to describe, | was a Creature wholly exempt | from Joy &c.

(Forster; *interleaf between pp. 68 and 69*)

69

and the Dispensers thereof, according to the present | Practice in my
own Country, because he thought | Nature and Reason were sufficient
Guides for a | reasonable Animal, as we pretended to be, in shewing |
us what we ought to do, and what to avoid.

I assured his Honour, that Law was a Science | wherein I had not much
conversed, further than | by employing Advocates in vain, upon some |
Injustices that had been done me, however I | would give him all the
Satisfaction I was able.

I said, there was a Society of Men among us, | bred up from their
Youth in the Art of proving | by Words multiplied for the Purpose that
White | is Black, and Black is White, according as they | are paid. To
this Society all the rest of the | People are Slaves. For Example, if my
Neighbour | hath a mind to my Cow, he hires a Lawyer | to prove, that
he ought to have my Cow from me. | I must then hire another to defend
my Right, | it being against all Rules of Law that any | Man should be
allowed to speak for himself. | Now, in this Case, I who am the right
Owner | lye under two great Disadvantages. First my | Lawyer being
practised almost from his Cradle | in defending Falshood, is quite out

of his | Element when he would be an Advocate for | Justice, which as
 an Office unnatural, he | always attempts with ill Will. The second |
 Disadvantage is, that my Lawyer must proceed | with great Caution,
 or else he will be | reprimanded by the Judges, and abhorred by his |
 Brethren, as one that would lessen the Practise | of the Law. And
 therefore I have but two | Methods to preserve my Cow. The first is to
 | gain over my Adversary's Lawyer with a double | Fee, who will then
 betray his Client by | insinuating that he hath Justice on his Side. ||
 The second way is for my Lawyer to make | my Cause appear as
unjust as he can, by | allowing the Cow to belong to my Adversary; |
 and this, if it be skillfully done, will | certainly bespeak the Favour of
 the | Bench. Now, your Honour is to know that | these Judges are
 Persons appointed to decide | all Controversys of Property, as well as
 for | the Tryal of Criminals, and picked out from | the most dextrous
 Lawyers, who are grown | old or lazy, and having been byassed all their
 | Lives against Truth and Equity are under such | a fatal Necessity of
 favouring Fraud, Perjury, | and Oppression, that I have known several
 | of them refuse a large Bribe from the | Side where Justice lay, rather
 than injure | the Faculty by doing any thing unbecoming | their Nature,
 or their Office.

It is a Maxim among these Lawyers, | that whatever hath been done
 before, may | legally be done again: And therefore they | take Special
 Care to record all the Decisions | formerly made against common Jus-
 tice, and | the general Reason of Mankind. These, under | the Name of
 Precedents they produce as | Authoritys to justify the most iniquitous |
 Opinions, and the Judges never fail of | decreeing accordingly.

In pleading &c.

(Pierpont Morgan; *interleaf between IV.68 and 69*)

68

Pag.69. Line 17. by law, and the Dispensers thereof, | according
 to the present Practise | in my own Country, because he | thought
 Nature and Reason were | sufficient Guides for a reasonable | Ani-
 mal, as we pretended to be, in | shewing us what we ought to do & |
 what to avoid. **to Page 70. line 6th.**

Pag. 70. line 18th. I said, there was a | Society of Men bred up from
 their – | Youth in the art of proving by words | multiplied for the
 purpose, that white | is black, and black is white, according | as they
 are paid. For example, if | my Neighbor hath a mind to my | Cow. **to**
Page 72. line 16th.

Pag. 73. line 6th. The second Disadvan- | tage is, that my Lawyer
 must proceed | with great Caution, or else he will | be reprimanded

by the Iudges, and | abhorred by his Brethren, and there | fore I
have but two methods to | preserve my Cow. The first is to | gain
over my Adversaries Lawyer | with a double fee, who will then be- |
tray || tray his Client by insinuating that he hath | Iustice on his side.
The second way | is for my Lawyer to make my Cause | appear as
unjust as he can by allow- | ing the Cow to belong to my Adver- |
sary, and this if it be skilfully done | will certainly bespeak the favour of
| the Bench. Your Honour is to | know that these Iudges are Persons
| appointed to decide all Controver- | sies of Property, as well as for
the | Tryalls of Criminalls, and picked | out from the most dextrous
Lawyers | who are grown old or lazy, and having | been biass'd all their
lives against | Truth and Equity, are under such | a fatall necessity of
favouring - | Fraud, Perjury, and Oppression - | that I have known
severall of them | refuse a larger Bribe from the side | where justice lay,
rather than in- | jure the faculty, by doing any- | thing unbecoming
their Nature | or their Office. **Page 75. Line 17.**

(Princeton; *interleaf between IV.68 and IV.69*)

169. (IV. Interleaf)

The Judge first sends to sound the Disposition of | those in Power,
after which he can easily | hang or save the Criminal, strictly preserving
| ll due Forms of Law.

Here my Master interposing, said it was a | Pity, that Creatures
endowed with such prodigious | Abilities of Mind as these Lawyers by
the | Description I gave of them must certainly be, | were not rather
encouraged to be Instructors of | thers in Wisdom and Knowledge. In
Answer to | which I assured his Honour, that in all Points | ut of their
own Trade they were the most | gnorant and stupid Generation among
us, the | ost despicable in common Conversation, avowed | nemys to all
Knowledge and Learning, and | qually disposed to pervert the general
Reason | f Mankind in every other Subject of Discourse, | s in that
of their own Profession. (Pierpont Morgan; *verso of interleaf between
IV.76 and 77; loss of text due to trimming of left-hand margin*)

line 4th. Opinions, and the Iudges | never fail of decreeing according- |
ly (Princeton; *recto of interleaf between IV.76 and IV.77; annotation level
with lines 4–6 on IV.76*)

Page 77. line 19th. commendable:- | The Iudge first sends to
sound - | the Disposition of those in Power, | After which he can
easily hang - | or save the Criminall, strictly - | performing all due
forms of - | Law. **to Page 78. Line 8th.** (Princeton; *verso of inter-
leaf between IV.76 and IV.77; annotation level with lines 18 to 25 on
IV.77*)

170. (IV.80.4-7; 373.2)

*A Continuation of the State of England, | so well governed by a Queen as to
| need no first Minister. The Character | of ^ such an one in some European
| Courts.* [a first Minister.] (Forster)

[\\] (Armagh; *pencil*)

*A Continuation of the State of England, | so well governed by a Queen as to
| need no first Minister. The Character | of ^ such an one in some European
| Courts.* [a first ^ ↑ or chief ↑ Minister | of State in European | Courts.]

(Pierpont Morgan)

[x] (Princeton)

171. (IV. Interleaf)

*A Continuation of the state of | England, of the nature and use | of
money, the Diet of the En: | :glish; Severall Professions | described.
(Princeton; recto of interleaf between IV.80 and 81)*

172. (IV.83.26; 375.8)

Poysoning, Whoring, Cant- [\\] (Armagh; *pencil*)

173. (IV.85.2; 376.9)

and Conveniencies for or Conveniencies. (Ford to Motte)

and ↑ or ↑ Conveniencies (Forster)

/and / Conveniencies [or] (Princeton)

174. (IV.86.4; 377.7)

operated contrary d. the one. (Ford to Motte)

the one contrary to (Forster)

the one contrary to (Pierpont Morgan)

/the one / contrary to (Princeton; *printed words the one cancelled with
crosses*)

175. (IV.87.19; 379.4)

Flesh and Bones, ^ ↑ Birds, ↑ Beasts and Fish- (Forster)

Flesh and Bones, ^ Beasts and Fish- [Birds,] (Pierpont Morgan)

Flesh and Bones, - Beasts and Fish- [-Birds,] (Princeton; *hyphen used
to indicate point of insertion*)

176. (IV.88.13; 380.6-7)

it must be inferior posterior to answer to anterior superior. (Ford to
Motte)

the inferior ^ ↑ posterior ↑ for (Forster)

the inferior _x for [posterior] (Armagh; *soft blunt pencil*)

the inferior ^ for [posterior] (Pierpont Morgan)

the inferior ^x for [x posterior] (Princeton; *cross used to indicate insertion
point*)

177. (IV.90.13–91.26; 382.7–8)

Part of P. 90 & 91 false & silly, infallibly not the same Author (Ford to Motte)

[who was the | Person I | intended to | describe, was | a Creature] (Forster; *IV.90.13 to 91.25 struck through from 'our she Gover-', except 'first or chief Minister of State', which have a caret and inserted MS a before, a caret after, and the marginal annotation; deletion of text on final line of III.91 ends with is a Person; wholly exempt from Joy is not deleted*)

[] (Armagh; *marginal pencil line extending from p. 90 line 13 to foot, and the whole length of p. 91*)

I TOLD him, that ^ [first or | ief Minister | f State, who | as the Person | ntended to | scribe, was | Creature | holly &c.] (Pierpont Morgan; *IV.90.13 to 91.25 struck through horizontally, and with a single large cross on each page; loss of text due to trimming of margin; marginal annotation on III.90; deletion of text on final line of III.91 ends with is a Person; wholly exempt from Joy is not deleted*)

{**Pag. 90. line 12.** I told him that a | First or Chief Minister of State, who | was the Person I intended to describe | was a Creature wholly exempt from | &c. **Pag.91. lin. ult.**} (Princeton; *text of IV.90.13–24 enclosed in a ruled box*)

178. (IV.91.2–26)

(Princeton; *all text, except for wholly exempt from Joy and catchword enclosed in a ruled red ink box*)

179. (IV.92.3; 382.9)

at least ^ ~~m~~akes ↑made↑ use of no other (Forster)

at least ^ ~~m~~akes use of no other [made] (Pierpont Morgan)

at least /~~m~~akes / use of no other [made] (Princeton)

180. (IV.92.22; 383.9)

a /~~M~~an / may rise [Yahoo] (Princeton)

181. (IV.93.15; 384.8–9)

~~at last by an Act of Indemnity, abrupt.~~ (Ford to Motte)

by ^ an *Act of Indemnity* (whereof I de- [an Expedient | called] (Forster)

by an ^ *Act of Indemnity* (whereof I de- [Expedient cal | an] (Pierpont Morgan; *loss of text due to trimming of margin*)

by ^x an *Act of Indemnity* {^x an expedient called **line 14th.**} (Princeton)

182. (IV.Interleaf)

Vid. Part. 2^d. Page 110. line 12th. | Without the consent of this Illustri- | ous Body, no Law can be made, re- | pealed or altered, and these have |

the Decisions of all our Possessions | without Appeal. (Princeton; *recto of interleaf between IV.96 and IV.97*)

183. (IV.97.2; 386.8)

her Neighbours, or ~~Acquaintance~~, in (Forster; *rest of page cancelled with a single diagonal cross*)

her Neighbours, or ^ Acquaintance, in [Domesticks,] (Pierpont Morgan)

her Neighbours, or Acquaintance, in [Domesticks] (Princeton; *printed word Acquaintance enclosed in red ink ruled box*)

184. (IV.97.6; 386.10–11)

a great Man. Nonsense. the Author is not talking of great Men, but of Men highly born. I believe it should be of a Noble Birth, or rather Marks of Noble Blood. I take this Page to be likewise corrupted, from some low Expressions in it. (Ford to Motte)

[\\] (Armagh; *pencil*)

sallow Com- | plexion, ^ (Pierpont Morgan; *remainder of text on III.97 struck through horizontally*)

are no uncommon Marks of | a Great Man; and a healthy robust | Appearance is [the true] [noble Blood] (Princeton; *underlining here used to indicate enclosure in ruled red ink box*)

185. (IV.97.12–13; 386.13)

[\\] (Armagh; *pencil*)

one of the Inferiors of the Fami- | ly, especially when it is seen that, [a Groom or a | Coachman] (Princeton; *underlining here used to indicate enclosure in ruled red ink box*)

186. (IV.97.14–15; 386.14)

and are little | else than [being] (Princeton; *underlining here used to indicate enclosure in ruled red ink box*)

187. (IV.Interleaf)

P.97

her Neighbours or Domesticks, in order to | improve and continue the Breed. That | a weak diseased Body, a meager Countenance, | and sallow Complexion are the true | Marks of Noble Blood; And a | healthy robust Appearance is so | disgraceful in a Man of Quality, | that the World concludes his real | Father to have been a Groom, or a | Coachman. The Imperfections of his | Mind runs parallel with those of | his Body being a Composition of | Spleen, Dulness, Ignorance, Caprice, | Sensuality, and Pride.

Without the consent of this | illustrious Body no Law can be | made, repealed, or altered, and these | have the Decision of all our | Possessions without Appeal. (Forster; *interleaf facing IV.97*)

are the true Marks of Noble Blood; | And a healthy robust Appearance
is | so disgraceful in a Man of Quality, | that the World concludes his
real | Father to have been a Groom, or a | Coachman. The Imper-
fections of his | Mind run parallel with those of his | Body being a
Composition of Spleen, | Dulness, Ignorance, Caprice, Sensuality, |
and Pride.

Without the Consent of this | illustrious Body no Law can be
made, | repealed, or altered, and these have | the Decision of all our Pos-
sessions | without Appeal. (Pierpont Morgan; *text on verso of interleaf*
between IV.96 and IV.97)

188. (IV.99.4–5; 388.10–11)

Enlightened for enlarged. (Ford to Motte)

my Eyes and enligh- | tened my Understanding, that [enlarged]
(Forster)

my Eyes and ^ enligh- | tened my Understanding, that [enlarged]
(Pierpont Morgan)

my ^ ↑ine↑ Eyes and ^x /enligh- | tened / my Understanding, that [^x
enlarged] (Princeton)

189. (IV.104.8; 391.5–6)

same Cause ^ with ours [s] (Armagh; *soft blunt pencil*)

190. (IV.107.24; 393.10–11)

would seldom ^ ↑never↑ have (Forster)

would ^ seldom have [never] (Pierpont Morgan)

would /seldom / have [never] (Princeton)

191. (IV.109.3; 393.23–24)

produced in them the same Effects. (Ford to Motte)

it produced ^ ↑in them↑ the same Effects that Wine (Forster)

it produced ^ the same Effects that Wine [in them] (Pierpont
Morgan)

it produced - the same Effects that Wine [- in them] (Princeton; *hyphen*
used to mark point of insertion)

192. (IV.109.7; 393.25–26)

chatter, ^ ↑and reel,↑ and tumble, and then fall (Forster)

chatter, ^ and tumble, and then fall [and reel,] (Pierpont
Morgan)

chatter, ^x and tumble, and then fall [^x and reel,] (Princeton)

193. (IV.109.24; 394.4–5)

~~for~~ taken my self, it should be, This I have since often known to have
been been taken with success, (Ford to Motte)

often ^ ~~taken-myself~~, and do [known to have | been taken with |
success,] (Forster)

- often /taken myself, / and do {known to be taken with success **line. penult.**} (Princeton; *also broken line above printed words taken myself*)
194. (IV.112.9; 395.15)
 with the Females as fiercely. (Ford to Motte)
 would quarrel and fight with ^ ↑the↑ Females (Forster)
 would quarrel and fight with ^ Females [the] (Pierpont Morgan)
 would quarrel and fight with - Females [- the] (Princeton; *hyphen used to mark point of insertion*)
195. (IV.113.3; 396.9)
 upon the last Article (Ford to Motte)
 upon the ^ ↑last↑ Article, if there had been (Forster)
 upon the ^ Article, if there had been [last] (Armagh; *pencil*)
 upon the ^ Article, if there had been [last] (Pierpont Morgan)
 upon the - Article, if there had been [- last] (Princeton; *hyphen used to mark point of insertion*)
196. (IV.113.23; 396.20)
 nor could the Servants for nor did the Servants, could follows. (Ford to Motte)
 nor ~~could~~ ↑did↑ the Servants (Forster)
 nor ^ ~~could~~ the Servants [did] (Pierpont Morgan)
 nor /could / the Servants [did] (Princeton)
197. (IV.114.5-6; 396.23)
 here I could | discover the true Seeds [plainly] (Forster)
 here I could | ^ discover the true Seeds [plainly] (Pierpont Morgan)
 here I /could / | discover ^ ↑ed↑ the true Seeds [plainly] (Princeton; *broken line also above printed word could*)
198. (IV.121.6; 400.3)
 scratch about for search about. (Ford to Motte)
 kinds of Herbs, and ~~seratch~~ ↑search↑ | about for Carrion, (Forster)
 [\] (Armagh; *single oblique pencil stroke, splinter in the paper makes it appear to be a caret*)
 kinds of Herbs, and ^ ~~seratch~~ | about for Carrion, [search] (Pierpont Morgan)
 kinds of Herbs, and /scratch / | about for Carrion, [search] (Princeton)
199. (IV.127.2; 404.8)
 again. Or (Forster; *printed comma corrected to full stop; lower case o in or enlarged to upper case*)
200. (IV.127.4; 404.9)
 be him one (Ford to Motte; *loss of text has abbreviated bestow to be*)
 Couple bestow ~~on~~ him one (Forster)

- Couple bestow ~~en~~ him one (Pierpont Morgan)
 Couple bestow ~~en~~ him one (Princeton)
201. (IV.130.6; 406.1)
 hard, and stony for hard stony. (Ford to Motte)
 hard ~~and~~ stony Grounds, (Forster)
 hard ~~and~~ stony Grounds, (Pierpont Morgan)
 hard ~~and~~ stony Grounds, (Princeton)
202. (IV.130.9; 406.2)
 River. (Forster; *ms r written over t of Rivet*)
 into a Pond or a [^] ~~Rivet~~. [River.] (Pierpont Morgan)
203. (IV.130.20; 406.8)
~~for~~ were immediately for are immediately (Ford to Motte)
~~were~~ ↑are↑ immediately driven back again, (Forster)
 [\] (Armagh; *pencil*)
[^] ~~were~~ immediately driven back again, [are] (Pierpont Morgan)
~~were~~ immediately driven back again, [are] (Princeton)
204. (IV.131.19–21; 407.3–4)
 determined what Fa- | mily [^] shall breed another to supply the | Loss.
 [in the District] (Forster)
 determined what Fa- | mily [^] shall breed another to supply the | Loss.
 [in the Dis] (Pierpont Morgan; *loss of text due to trimming of margin*)
 determined what Fa- | mily ^x shall breed another to supply the | Loss.
 [^x in y^c District] (Princeton)
205. (IV.132.15; 408.8)
 Debate ~~that~~ ↑which↑ ever (Forster)
206. (IV.133.25; 409.6–7)
 Ooze [^] ~~and~~ ↑or↑ for Ooze ~~er~~ and (Ford to Motte)
 from the Ooze ~~er~~ ↑and↑ Froth of the Sea, (Forster)
 from the Ooze [^] ~~er~~ Froth of the Sea, [and] (Pierpont Morgan)
 from the Ooze ~~er~~ Froth of the Sea, [and] (Princeton)
207. (IV.134.9; 409.10)
~~for~~ old ones for elder (Ford to Motte)
 the [^] ~~old Ones~~, ↑elder↑ every (Forster)
 the [^] ~~old Ones~~, every [elder,] (Pierpont Morgan)
 the ~~old Ones~~, every [elder] (Princeton)
208. (IV.138.22; 412.3)
 for Memorys. (Ford to Motte; *initial part of correction lost due to damage*)
 Memorys. (Forster; *MS s. inserted immediately after printed word Memory*)
209. (IV.141.16; 413.14)
 several covered for certain covered (Ford to Motte)

- in ~~several~~ ↑certain↑ covered Hutts, to get out (Forster)
 in ^ ~~several~~ covered Hutts, to get out [certain] (Pierpont Morgan)
 in /several / covered Hutts, to get out [certain] (Princeton)
210. (IV.144.9–10; 415.1)
 cut their for cuts their (Ford to Motte)
 cuts (Forster; *s inserted immediately after cut*)
211. (IV.145.16; 416.8)
 Room to be made for me (Ford to Motte)
 ordered a Room ^ ↑to be made↑ for me (Forster)
 ordered a Room ^ for me [to be made] (Pierpont Morgan)
 ordered a Room ^x for me [^x to be made] (Princeton; *cross used to indicate point of insertion*)
212. (IV.146.17; 416.17–18)
 Of these I made. for Of these I also made. (Ford to Motte)
 Of these I ^ ↑likewise↑ made very (Forster)
 Of these I ^ made very [likewise] (Pierpont Morgan)
 Of these I - made very [- likewise] (Princeton; *hyphen used to indicate point of insertion*)
213. (IV.147.5; 417.2–3)
 [\] (Armagh; *soft blunt pencil*)
214. (IV.147.20; 417.11)
 Splenatick for Splenaticks. (Ford to Motte)
 Wits, splenetick [s,] (Forster)
 [\] (Armagh; *soft blunt pencil*)
 Wits, splenetick[s,] (Pierpont Morgan)
 Wits, splenetick[s,] (Princeton)
215. (IV.149.22–23; 419.7–8)
 for the Thoughts r. their Thoughts, and for their Discourse r. the Discourse (Ford to Motte)
 in their Thoughts, which very much | enlivened thei~~r~~ Discourse. (Forster; *ir inserted immediately after the*)
 in the~~r~~ ^ Thoughts, which very much | enlivened ^ thei~~r~~ Discourse. [their] [the] (Pierpont Morgan)
 in their Thoughts, which very much | enlivened thei~~r~~ Discourse. (Princeton; *ir inserted immediately after the*)
216. (IV.149.23–25; 419.8–9)
 Their Sub- | jects are generally on Friendship and | Benevolence, ~~on~~ ↑or↑ Order (Forster)
 Their Sub- | jects are generally on Friendship and | Benevolence, on Order [or] (Princeton)

217. (IV.152.5; 420.16)
 my Friends, and my Countrymen for my Friends, my Countrymen.
 (Ford to Motte)
 my Friends, ~~and~~ my Countrymen, (Forster)
 my Friends, ~~and~~ my Countrymen, (Pierpont Morgan)
 my Friends, ~~and~~ my Countrymen, ~~or~~ and (Princeton; *printed word or
 overwritten to form and*)
218. (IV.152.8–9; 420.18)
 Disposition, only a little | civilized, [more] (Forster)
 Disposition, only a little | civilized, [more] (Princeton)
219. (IV.157.14; 423.4–5)
 an unnatural (Ford to Motte)
 Prospect of ^ ↑an↑ unnatural (Forster)
 Prospect of ^ unnatural [an] (Pierpont Morgan)
 [x] (Princeton)
220. (IV.161.20; 424.23)
 mine ↑my↑ Eyes (Forster)
221. (IV.164.12; 426.6–7)
 at 9 o’Clock [\] (Armagh; *pencil*)
222. (IV.166.19; 427.12)
 [x a] (Armagh; *pencil; repairs the initial misprinted word mong*)
223. (IV.172.18; 430.5)
 should speak in *England*, as a *Yahoo* in [or \] (Armagh; *soft blunt
 pencil*)
 should speak in *England*, /as / a *Yahoo* in [or] (Princeton)
224. (IV.182.16; 434.7)
 became for had become (Ford to Motte)
Yahoo-Species I ^ ↑had↑ become (Forster; a *of printed word became
 corrected to o*)
Yahoo-Species I ^ ↑had↑ become (Pierpont Morgan; a *of printed word
 became corrected to o*)
225. (IV.185.21; 436.20)
 wish a Law was [were \] (Armagh; *pencil annotation written over an
 earlier oblique pencil mark*)
226. (IV.185.23; 436.21)
 /were / permitted to publish his *Voyages*, [was] (Princeton)
227. (IV.186.25–26; 437.9)
 temptations for Temptation. (Ford to Motte)
 tempta- | tions (Forster)
 tempta- | tions (Pierpont Morgan)

228. (IV.189.9; 438.15)
 I meddle not [the least] (Forster)
 I meddle not [the least] (Princeton)
229. (IV.190.2; 438.24)
 Tribes of Answerers, (Forster)
230. (IV.192.4; 440.7–8)
 in some modern for in modern (Ford to Motte)
 in ~~some~~ modern (Forster)
231. (IV.192.10; 440.11)
 Discovery for Discoverys. (Ford to Motte)
 my Discoverys. (Forster; *s inserted after y and before full stop*)
 my Discovery [es.] (Princeton)
232. (IV.194.18–19; 442.11)
 a Desire for any Desire (Ford to Motte)
 not appear to have a | Desire of [ny] (Forster; *MS ny inserted in margin after printed word a*)
 not appear to have a | Desire of [ny] (Pierpont Morgan; *MS ny inserted in margin after printed word a*)
 not appear to have a | Desire of [ny] (Princeton)
233. (IV.195.2; 442.14)
 may concern for more concerns. (Ford to Motte)
 it ~~may~~ ↑ more ↑ concerns, think fit to (Forster; *MS s inserted immediately after printed word concern*)
 it ^ ~~may~~ ↑ more ↑ may concerns, think fit to (Pierpont Morgan; *MS s, inserted immediately after printed word concern and over printed comma*)
 it /~~may~~/ concerns, think fit to [more] (Princeton; *s inserted immediately after concern*)
234. (IV.197.8; 443.19)
 Questions I ask'd her. Yet (Forster)
235. (IV.198.4; 443.29)
 a ~~Whore-master~~, a Physician, [*deletion symbol*] (Armagh; *soft blunt pencil*)
 a ~~Whore-master~~, a Physician, (Princeton)

PASSAGES FROM SWIFT'S
CORRESPONDENCE RELATING
TO *GULLIVER'S TRAVELS*

1. From Swift to Charles Ford, 15 April 1721

I am now writing a History of my Travells,¹ which will be a large Volume, and gives Account of Countryes hitherto unknown; but they go on slowly for want of Health and Humor.
(Rothschild 2282/24; Williams, *Corr.*, vol. II, p. 381; Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. II, p. 372)

2. From Bolingbroke to Swift, 1 January 1722

I long to see y^r travels, for take it as you will, I do not retract what I said, and will undertake to find in two pages of y^r Bagatelles,² more good sence, useful knowledg, and true Religion, than you can shew me in the works of nineteen in twenty of y^e profound Divines & Philosophers of the age.
(BL MS Add. 4805, fols. 77–8, extract on fol. 78^v; Williams, *Corr.*, vol. II, pp. 415–16; Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. II, p. 408)

1 *History of my Travells*: the first reference to the composition of *GT*.

2 *Bagatelles*: trifles, things of no value or importance (*OED*, 1).

3. From Esther Vanhomrigh to Swift, June 1722

... one day this week I was to visite a great lady that has been a travelling for some time passed where I found a very great Assembly of Ladys and Beaus (dressed as I suppose to a nicety) I hope you'll pardone me now I tell you that I heartily wished you a spectator for I very much question if in your life you ever saw the like scene or one more Extraordinary the lady's behaviour was blended with so many different character's I can not possibly describe it with out tiring your patience but the Audience seemed to me a creation of her owne they were so very Obsequious their form's and gestures were very like those of Babboons and monkey's they all grin'd and chatter'd at the same time and that of things I did not understand the roome being hung with arras in which were trees very well discribed just as I was considering their beauty and wishing my self in the countrey with --- one of these animals snatched my fan and was so pleased with me that it seased me with such a panick that I apprehended nothing less than being carried up to the top of the House and served as a friend of yours was³ but in this one of their owne species came in upon which they all began to make their grimace's which oppertunity I took and made my escape...

(BL MS Add. 39839, fols. 68–9, extract on fol. 68^{r-v}; Williams, *Corr.*, vol. II, pp. 428–9; Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. II, p. 423)

4. From Swift to Charles Ford, 19 January 1724

I have left the Country of Horses, and am in the flying Island,⁴ where I shall not stay long, and my two last Journyes will be soon over...

(Rothschild 2282/29; Williams, *Corr.*, vol. III, p. 5; Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. II, p. 487)

5. From Swift to Charles Ford, 13 February 1724

He thanks you⁵ for the few Lines added by you to the Lett^r I sent him, raillyes me upon my Southern Journy, says, and swears it is no Pun, That Stella fixed my Course, talks of the Houyhnhnms as if he were acquainted with hem, and in that shows you as a most finished Traitor, for which you make very indifferent Excuses.

(Rothschild 2282/30; Williams, *Corr.*, vol. III, p. 6; Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. II, p. 489)

3 *served as a friend of yours was*: a reference to Gulliver's being carried on to the roof by a monkey in Part II, Chapter 5 of *GT*, which must therefore have been at least drafted by the summer of 1722.

4 *in the flying Island*: an important comment which establishes that Part III was completed after Part IV (although elements of Part III can be dated to 1714: Spence, vol. I, p. 56).

5 *He thanks you*: i.e. Bolingbroke.

6. From Bolingbroke to Swift, 12 September 1724

You desire me to return home,⁶ & you promise me in y^t case to come to London⁷ loaden with y^r travells.

(BL MS Add. 4805, fols. 97–101, extract on fol. 100^v; Williams, *Corr.*, vol. III, p. 29; Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. II, p. 515)

7. From Bolingbroke to Swift, 24 July 1725

thus much I thought I might say about my private affairs to an old friend without diverting him too long from his labours to promote y^e advantage of y^e church and state of Ireland, or from his travels into those Countrys of Giants & Pigmeys from whence he imports a cargo I value att an higher rate than y^t of y^e richest Galeon.

(BL MS Add. 4805, fols. 106–7, extract on fol. 106^{r-v}; Williams, *Corr.*, vol. III, p. 82; Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. II, p. 580)

8. From Swift to Charles Ford, 14 August 1725

I have finished my Travells, and I am now transcribing them; they are admirable Things, and will wonderfully mend the World.

(Rothschild 2282/38; Williams, *Corr.*, vol. III, p. 87; Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. II, p. 586)

9. From Swift to Charles Ford, 16 August 1725

We live here among a Million of wants, and where ever[y] body is a Thief. I am amusing my self in the Quality of Bayliff to Sheridan, among Bogs and Rocks, overseeing and ranting at Irish Laborers, reading Books twice over for want of fresh ones, and fairly correcting and transcribing my Travells, for the Publick. Any thing rather than the Constraint of being Deaf in Dublin.

(Rothschild 2282/39; Williams, *Corr.*, vol. III, p. 89; Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. II, p. 588)

10. From Swift to Thomas Sheridan, 11 September 1725

Therefore sit down and be quiet, and mind your Business, as you do, and contract your Friendships, and expect no more from Man than such an Animal is capable of, and you will every day find my Description of *Yahoos* more resembling. You should think and deal

6 *return home*: although he had been pardoned in May 1723, Bolingbroke was still resident in France pending the restoration of his forfeited estates.

7 *to come to London*: perhaps an early indication of Swift's intention to publish *GT* in London, not Dublin.

with every Man as a Villain, without calling him so, or flying from him, or valuing him less. This is an old true Lesson.
(No MS; *Miscellanies*, vol. X (1745), pp. 87–91, extract on pp. 88–9, TS 66; Williams, *Corr.*, vol. III, p. 94; Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. II, pp. 594–5)

11. From Swift to Alexander Pope, 29 September 1725

I have employd my time (besides ditching) in finishing correcting, amending, and Transcribing my Travells, in four Parts⁸ Compleat newly Augmented, and intended for the press when the world shall deserve them, or rather when a Printer shall be found brave enough to venture his Eares,⁹ I like your Schemes of our meeting after Distresses and dispertions but the cheif end I propose to my self in all my labors is to vex the world rather then divert it, and if I could compass that designe without hurting my own person or Fortune I would be the most Indefatigable writer you have ever seen without reading I am exceedingly pleased that you have done with Translations¹⁰ Lord Treasurer Oxford often lamented that a rascaly World should lay you under a Necessity of Misemploying your Genius for so long a time. But since you will now be so much better employd when you think of the World give it one lash the more at my Request. I have ever hated all Nations professions and Communities and all my love is towards individualls for instance I hate the tribe of Lawyers, but I love Councillor such a one, Judge such a one for so with Physicians (I will not Speak of my own Trade) Soldiers, English, Scotch, French; and the rest but principally I hate and detest that animal called man, although I hartily love John, Peter, Thomas and so forth. this is the system upon which I have governed my self many years (but do not tell) and so I shall go on till I have done with them I have got Materials Towards a Treatis proving the falsity of that Definition *animal rationale*, and to show it should be only *rationis capax*.¹¹ Upon this great foundation of Misanthropy (though not Timons manner¹²) The whole building of my Travells is erected: And I never will have peace of mind till all honest men are of my Opinion: by Consequence

8 *in four Parts*: the first indication of the division of *GT* into four parts.

9 *venture his Eares*: for a discussion of the risks run by Swift's printers, see 'Textual Introduction', below, pp. 629–30.

10 *done with Translations*: Pope had published his translation of *The Odyssey* in April 1725.

11 *animal . . . capax*: 'a rational animal'; 'capable of reason'. Cf. item 14 (below, p. 593).

12 *Timons manner*: Timon was an Athenian of the fifth century BC, who was turned into a bitter misanthrope by the ingratitude of his friends. His story is related in Plutarch's life of Antony, and is the subject of a dialogue by Lucian, as well as of Shakespeare's *Timon of Athens*.

you are to embrace it immediatly and procure that all who deserve my Esteem may do so too The matter is so clear that it will admit little dispute. nay I will hold a hundred pounds that you and I agree in the Point.

(Longleat, Portland papers, XIII, fols. 104–5, extract on fol. 104^{r-v}; Williams, *Corr.*, vol. III, pp. 102–3; Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. II, pp. 606–7)

12. From Alexander Pope to Swift, 15 October 1725

But I find you would rather be employ'd as an Avenging Angel of wrath, to break your Vial of Indignation over the heads of the wretched pityful creatures of this World; nay would make them *Eat your Book*, which you have made as bitter as pill for them as possible.

(Longleat, Portland papers, XIII, fol. 106, extract on fol. 106^r; Williams, *Corr.*, vol. III, p. 108; Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. II, p. 612)

13. From John Arbuthnot to Swift, 17 October 1725

As for your Book. (of which I have fram'd to my self, such an Idea, that I am perswaded ther is no doing any good upon mankind without it) I will sett the letters my self rather than that it should not be publish'd. but befor yow putt the finishing hand to it, it is really necessary to be aquainted w^t some new improvements of mankind that have appear'd of late and are dayly appearing Mankind has an inexhaustible source of invention in the way of folly, & madness. (BL MS Add. 4805, fols. 108–9, extract on fol. 108^{r-v}; Williams, *Corr.*, vol. III, p. 110; Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. II, p. 615)

14. From Bolingbroke to Swift, 14 December 1725

Your Definition of Animal capax Rationis, instead of the Common one Animal Rationale, will not bear examination. define but Reason, and you will see why your distiction is no better than that of the Pontiffè Cotta¹³ between mala Ratio and bona Ratio.

13 *the Pontiffè Cotta*: Caius Aemilius Cotta (124–74 BC); moderate aristocrat and conservative reformer; consul, 75 BC. Cicero's dialogue *De Natura Deorum* (45 BC) is set in Cotta's villa, and Cotta himself within the dialogue is the spokesman for the philosophy of the New Academy of Carneades, with which Cicero for the most part associated himself. The distinction between 'mala' and 'bona ratio' to which Bolingbroke refers occurs in Book III: 'Quae enim libido quae avaritia quod facinus aut suscipitur nisi consilio capto aut sine animi motu et cogitatione, id est ratione, perficitur? Nam omnis opinio ratio est, et quidem bona ratio si vera, mala autem si falsa est opinio. Sed a deo tantum rationem habemus, si modo habemus, bonam autem rationem aut non bonam a nobis'; 'Is there a single act of lust, of avarice or of crime which is not entered on deliberately or which is not carried out with active

(Longleat, Portland Papers, XIII, fols. 110–11, extract on fol. 111^r; Williams, *Corr.*, vol. III, pp. 121–2; Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. II, p. 627)

15. From Thomas Tickell to Swift, 10 May 1726

If it be true that an Account of imaginary Travels is left in some Friends hands in Dublin,¹⁴ I should think it a great distinction to be allowed a sight of them, before I should have a right, which the author could not prevent, of reading them in print.

(MS Tickell, Branscombe, twentieth-century typed transcription in volume labelled 'Tickell Family Papers Letters 1680–1740' of Tickell's copy of the letter sent to Swift, now apparently mislaid; Williams, *Corr.*, vol. III, pp. 135–6; Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. II, p. 647)

16. From Swift to Thomas Tickell, 7 July 1726

As to what you mention of an imaginary Treatise, I can onely answer that I have a great Quantity of Papers some where or other, of which none would please you, partly because they are very uncorrect, but chiefly because they wholly disagree with your Notions of Persons and Things. Neither do I believe it would be possible for you to find out my Treasury of Waste Papers without searching nine Houses and then sending to me for the Key.

(MS Tickell, Branscombe; Williams, *Corr.*, vol. III, p. 138; Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. II, p. 649)

17. From Swift to Thomas Sheridan, 8 July 1726

Our Friend at the Castle¹⁵ writ to me two Months ago, to have a sight of those Papers, &c. of which I brought away a Copy.¹⁶ I have answered him, that whatever Papers I have, are convey'd from one Place to another through nine or ten Hands, and that I have the Key. If he should mention any thing of Papers in general either to you or the Ladies, and that you can bring it in, I would have you and them to confirm the same Story, and laugh at my Humour in it, &c.

(No MS; *Miscellanies*, vol. X (1745), pp. 96–100, extract on pp. 98–9, TS 66; Williams, *Corr.*, vol. III, pp. 139–40; Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. II, p. 651)

exercise of thought, that is, by aid of the reason? Inasmuch as every belief is an activity of reason – and of reason that is a good thing if the belief is true, but a bad thing if it is false. But god bestows upon us (if indeed he does) merely reason – it is we who make it good or the reverse' (III.xxviii.71).

14 *left in some Friends hands in Dublin*: for what we know and can infer about the various manuscripts of *GT*, see 'Textual introduction', below, pp. 627–28.

15 *Our Friend at the Castle*: i.e. Thomas Tickell.

16 *I brought away a Copy*: see 'Textual introduction', below, pp. 630–31.

18. 'Richard Sympson' to Benjamin Motte, 8 August 1726

London Aug^t. 8th. 1726

S^r

My Cousin M^r. Lemuel Gulliver¹⁷ entrusted me some Years ago with a Copy of his Travels, whereof that which I here send you is about a fourth part, for I shortned them very much as you will find in my Preface to the Reader. I have shewn them to several persons of great Judgment and Distinction, who are confident they will sell very well. And although some parts of this and the following Volumes may be thought in one or two places to be a little Satyrical, yet it is agreed they will give no Offence, but in that you must Judge for your self, and take the Advice of your Friends, and if they or you be of another opinion, you may let me know it when you return these Papers, which I expect shall be in three Days at furthest. The good Report I have received of you makes me put so great a trust into your Hands, which I hope you will give me no Reason to repent, and in that Confidence I require that you will never suffer these Papers to be once out of your Sight.

As the printing these Travels will probably be of great value to you, so as a Manager for my Friend and Cousin I expect you will give a due consideration for it, because I know the Author intends the Profit for the use of poor Sea-men, and I am advised to say that two Hundred pounds is the least Summ I will receive on his account, but if it shall happen that the Sale will not answer as I expect and believe, then whatever shall be thought too much even upon your own word shall be duely repaid.

Perhaps you may think this a strange way of proceeding to a man of Trade, but since I begin with so great a trust to you, whom I never saw, I think it not hard that you should trust me as much. Therefore, if after three days reading and consulting these Papers, you think it proper to stand to my agreement, you may begin to print them, and the subsequent parts shall be all sent you one after another in less than a week, provided that immediatly upon your Resolution to print them, you do within three days deliver a Bank Bill of two hundred pounds wrapt up so as to make a parcel to the Hand from whence you receive this, who will come in the same manner exactly at 9 a clock at night on Thursday which will be the 11th. Instant.

17 *Lemuel Gulliver*: as Woolley points out (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, p. 11 n. 1), here named for the first time in relation to his travels, and therefore conceivably a very late addition to the text. In the spring of 1726 when travelling from Holyhead to London Swift may have broken his journey at Banbury, which is mid-way between Chester and Oxford, and where Samuel Gulliver was an inn-keeper. See Long note 3.

If you do not approve of this proposal deliver these Papers to the person who will come on thursday.

If you chuse rather to send the Papers make no other Proposal of your own but just barely write on a piece of paper that you do not accept my offer.

I am
S^r.
your Humble Servant
Richard Sympson

(Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, MA 563 (07); Williams, *Corr.*, vol. III, pp. 152–4; Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, pp. 9–10)

19. Benjamin Motte to ‘Richard Sympson’, 11 August 1726

I return you S^r. your Papers with a great many thanks and do assure you y^t since they have been in my custody I have faithfully deserv’d the good Opinion you exprest of my Integrity; but you were much mistaken in the Estimate you made of my Abilities, when you suppos’d me able, in Vacation time (the most dead Season of the Year) at so short notice, to deposite so considerable a Sum as 200l. – By delivering the Papers to the Bearer, I have put you entirely in the same Condition they were in before I saw ’em; but if you will trust my Promise, that the Book shall be publish’d within a Month after I receive the Copy, and if the Success will allow it, I will punctually pay the money you require in Six Months, I shall thankfully embrace the Offer. The Bearer stays for an Answer so that I can only offer a Proposal without giving a Reason.

I have only to add, that before I rec^d. your Letter, I had fixt a Journey into the Country, and wrote to some Dealers there to appoint times when I would call upon ’em; so that I shall be oblig’d to set out this day Se’nnight at farthest. therefore if you think fit to favour me with any further Correspondence, desire I may hear from you as soon as possible.

(Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, MA 563 (08); Williams, *Corr.*, vol. III, p. 154; Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, p. 12)

20. ‘Richard Sympson’ to Benjamin Motte, 13 August 1726

I would have both Volumes come out together and published by Christmas at furthest

R Sympson

(Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, MA 563 (10a); Williams, *Corr.*, vol. III, p. 155; Woolley, *Corr.*, vol III, p. 13)

21. From John Gay to Swift, 22 October 1726

Before I say one word to you, give me leave to say something of the other Gentleman's Affair. The Letter was sent, and the answer was, that every thing was finish'd, & concluded according to orders; and that it would be publickly known to be so in a very few days, so that I think there can be no occasion for his writing any more about this Affair.

(BL MS Add. 4805, fols. 125 and 127, extract on fol. 125^r; Williams, *Corr.*, vol. III, p. 174; Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, p. 38)

22. From John Arbuthnot to Swift, 5 November 1726

Your books shall be sent as directed; they have been printed above a month; but I cannot gett my subscribers' names. I will make over all my profits to yow, for the property of Gullivers Travells, which I believe will have as great a Run as John Bunian. Gulliver is a happy man that at his age can write such a merry book.

... when I had the honor to see her¹⁸ She was Reading Gulliver, & was just come to the passage of the Hobling prince,¹⁹ which she Laughd at. I tell yow freely the part of the projectors is the least Brilliant. Lewis Grumbles a little at it & says he wants the Key to it, & is dayly refining I suppose he will be able to publish like Barnevelt²⁰ in time...

Gulliver is in every body's Hands Lord Scarborrow who is no inventor of Storys told me that he fell in company with a Master of a ship, who told him that he was very well acquainted with Gulliver, but that the printer had Mistaken, that he livd in Wapping, & not at Rotherith. I lent the Book to an old Gentleman, who went immediately to his Map, to search for Lilly putt.

(BL MS Add. 4805, fols. 128–9, extract on fol. 128^{r-v}; Williams, *Corr.*, vol. III, pp. 179–80; Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, pp. 44–5)

23. From John Gay and Alexander Pope to Swift, [7] November 1726

Nov. [7], 1726

About ten days ago a Book was publish'd here of the Travels of one Gulliver, which hath been the conversation of the whole town ever since: The whole impression sold in a week; and nothing is more diverting than to hear the different opinions people give of it, though

18 *the honor to see her*: i.e. Princess Caroline of Brandenburg-Ansbach (1683–1737), the wife of the current Prince of Wales and future George II.

19 *the passage of the Hobling prince*: see above, p. 70.

20 *like Barnevelt*: 'Esdras Barnivelt', an apothecary, was the persona Pope had employed in his *A Key to the Lock* (1715); cf. Pope, *Prose Works*, vol. I, pp. 173–202.

all agree in liking it extreemly. 'Tis generally said that you are the Author, but I am told, the Bookseller declares he knows not from what hand it came. From the highest to the lowest it is universally read, from the Cabinet-council to the Nursery. The Politicians to a man agree, that it is free from particular reflections, but that the Satire on general societies of men is too severe. Not but we now and then meet with people of greater perspicuity, who are in search for particular applications in every leaf; and 'tis highly probable we shall have keys publish'd²¹ to give light into Gulliver's design. Your Lord —²² is the person who least approves it, blaming it as a design of evil consequence to depreciate human nature, at which it cannot be wondered that he takes most offence, being himself the most accomplish'd of his species, and so losing more than any other of that praise which is due both to the dignity and virtue of a man. Your friend, my Lord Harcourt, commends it very much, though he thinks in some places the matter too far carried. The Duchess Dowager of Marlborough is in raptures at it; she says she can dream of nothing else since she read it; she declares, that she hath now found out, that her whole life hath been lost in caressing the worst part of mankind, and treating the best as her foes; and that if she knew Gulliver, tho' he had been the worst enemy she ever had, she would give up all her present acquaintance for his friendship. You may see by this, that you are not much injur'd by being suppos'd the Author of this piece. If you are, you have disoblig'd us, and two or three of your best friends, in not giving us the least hint of it while you were with us; and in particular Dr. Arbuthnot, who says it is ten thousand pities he had not known it, he could have added such abundance of things upon every subject. Among Lady critics, some have found out that Mr. Gulliver had a particular malice to maids of honour.²³ Those of them who frequent the Church, say, his design is impious, and that it is an insult on Providence, by depreciating the works of the Creator. Notwithstanding I am told the Princess hath read it with great pleasure. As to other Critics, they think the flying island is the least entertaining; and so great an opinion the town have of the impossibility of Gulliver's writing at all below himself, that 'tis agreed that part was not writ by the same hand, tho' this hath its defenders

21 *we shall have keys publish'd*: as indeed happened, Curll swiftly producing his *A Key, Being Observations and Explanatory Notes, upon the Travels of Lemuel Gulliver under the pseudonym of the Venetian 'Signor Corolini'*.

22 *Lord* —: Bolingbroke.

23 *a particular malice to maids of honour*: see above, pp. 79, 166–68 and Long note 19.

too. It hath pass'd Lords and Commons, *nemine contradicente*;²⁴ and the whole town, men, women, and children are quite full of it.

Perhaps I may all this time be talking to you of a Book you have never seen, and which hath not yet reach'd Ireland; if it hath not, I believe what we have said will be sufficient to recommend it to your reading, and that you order me to send it to you.

But it will be much better to come over your self, and read it here, where you will have the pleasure of variety of commentators, to explain the difficult passages to you.

(No MS; *Letters Between Dr Swift, Mr Pope &c* (1741), pp. 42–5, extract on pp. 42–4, TS 60; Williams, *Corr.*, vol. III, pp. 182–4; Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, pp. 47–8)

24. Mrs Howard to Swift, c. 10 November 1726

I did not expect that the sight of my ring wou'd produce the Effects it has. I was in such a hurry to shew Your Pl—²⁵ to the P^{ss}, that I cou'd not stay to put it into the Shape you desir'd. it pleas'd extremely, and I have orders to fitt it up according to the first design but as this is not proper for the Publick you are desir'd to send over for the same P^{ss} use the hight of the Brobdingnag Dwarf Multipl'd by 2.½. the Young P^{ss} must be taken care off. theres must be in three shares. for a short method you may draw a line of twenty foot, and upon that by two Circles form an Equalateral Triangle; then measuring each side you will find the proper quantity and proper Division. if you want a more particular, or better rule; I referr you to the Academy of Lagado.²⁶ I am of opinion many in this Kingdom will soon appear in your Pl—. to this end, it will be highly Necessary that care be taken of disposing of the Purple, the Yellow, and the white Silks.²⁷ and tho' the G—ns are for the P^{ss} the officers are very Vigilant, so take care they are not seiz'd. don't forget to be observant how you dispose the Colours. I shall take all particular precautions to have the money ready; and to return it the the way you Iudge safest. I think it wou'd be worth your reflecting in what manner the Checquer might be best managed.

24 *nemine contradicente*: with no contradicting voice; unanimously.

25 *Your Pl—*: the gift of an Irish poplin of silk and wool, or 'plad', which Swift had made to Mrs Howard, and which had been claimed by Princess Caroline, as Pope would tell Swift on 16 November 1726: 'The Irish stuff you sent to Mrs. H. her R[oyal] H[ighness] laid hold of, and has made up for her own use' (Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, p. 52); cf. Ehrenpreis, vol. III, p. 515.

26 *I referr you to the Academy of Lagado*: a glance at Laputan tailoring (above, p. 232).

27 *the Purple, the Yellow, and the white Silks*: cf. above, p. 58; and, for the textual variants relating to the orders of the Court of Lilliput, see below, p. 678.

The P^{ss} will take care that you shall have pumps²⁸ sufficient to serve you till your return to England; but thinks you cannot in Comon Dencency appear in heel's; and therefore advices your keeping Close till they Arrive. here is several Lilliputian Mathematicians; so that the Length of your head, or of your foot is a Sufficient Measure; send it by the first opportunity. don't forget our good friends the five Hundred Weavers. You may omitt the Gold thread. Many disputes has arrise here, whither the Big-Endians and lesser-Endian's ever differ'd in opinion about the braking of Eggs, when they were either to be butter'd, or Poach'd?²⁹ or whither this part of Cookery was ever known in Lilliput?

I cannot conclude without telling you that our Island is in great Joy; one of our Yahoo's having been diliver'd of a Creature, half Ram, and half Yahoo; and an other has brought forth four *perfect* Black Rabbits.³⁰ may we not hope? and with some probabillity expect that in time our female Yahoo's will produce a race of Houyhnhnms.

I am Sir Your most
humble Ser.^t
Sieve Yahoo

(BL MS Add. 4805, fols. 130–1; Williams, *Corr.*, vol. III, pp. 184–6; Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, pp. 49–50)

25. From Alexander Pope to Swift, 16 November 1726

I congratulate you first upon what you call your Couzen's³¹ wonderful Book, which is *publica trita manu*³² at present, and I prophecy will be in future the admiration of all men. That countenance with which it is received by some statesman, is delightful; I wish I could tell you how every single man looks upon it, to observe which has been my whole diversion this fortnight. I've never been a

28 *pumps*: a light, low-heeled shoe popular in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries amongst dancers, couriers, acrobats, duellists and others requiring freedom of movement (*OED*); 'a sort of shooes without heels us'd by Rope-dancers, Running Foot-men, &c' (Edward Philips, *The New World of Words*, sixth edition (1706), s.v. 'pumps').

29 *butter'd, or Poach'd*: cf. above, pp. 70–72.

30 *four perfect Black Rabbits*: an allusion to Mary Tofts, the 'rabbit-woman of Godalming', who deceived, astonished and entertained English society between October and December 1726 by pretending to give birth to seventeen rabbits; see Dennis Todd, *Imagining Monsters: Miscreations of the Self in Eighteenth-Century England* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1995).

31 *your Couzen's*: alluding to the fiction whereby the publication of *GT* was arranged by Gulliver's cousin, Richard Sympson.

32 *publica trita manu*: 'worn smooth by the hand of the public'.

night in London since you left me, till now for this very end, and indeed it has fully answered my expectations.

I find no considerable man very angry at the book: some indeed think it rather too bold, and too general a Satire: but none that I hear of accuse it of particular reflections (I mean no persons of consequence, or good judgment; the mob of Critics, you know, always are desirous to apply Satire to those that they envy for being above them) so that you needed not to have been so secret upon this head. Motte receiv'd the copy (he tells me) he knew not from whence, nor from whom, dropp'd at his house in the dark, from a Hackney-coach: by computing the time, I found it was after you left England, so for my part, I suspend my judgment.

(No MS; *Letters Between Dr Swift, Mr Pope &c* (1741), pp. 45–7, extract on pp. 45–6, TS 60; Williams, *Corr.*, vol. III, p. 181; Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, p. 52)

26. From Swift to Mrs Howard, [1]7 November 1726

Dublin Nov^r. 27th. 1726.

Madam.

When I received your Letter, I thought it the most unaccountable one I ever saw in my Life, and was not able to comprehend three words of it together. The Perverseness of your Lines³³ astonished me, which tended downwards to the right in one Page, and upwards in the two others. This I thought impossible to be done by any Person who did not squint with both Eyes,³⁴ an Infirmary I never observed in you. However, one thing I was pleased with, that after you had writ me *down*, you repented, and writ me *up*. But I continued four days at a loss for your meaning, till a Bookseller sent me the Travells of one Cap^{tn} Gulliver, who proved a very good Explainer, although at the same time I thought it hard to be forced to read a Book of Seven hundred Pages³⁵ in order to understand a Letter of fifty Lines; especially since those of our Faculty are already but too much pestered with Commentators. The Stuffs you require are making, because the Weaver piques himself upon having them in perfection, but he has read Gulliver's Book, and has no Conception what you mean by returning Money, for he is become a Proselyte of the Houyhnhnms,

33 *Perverseness of your Lines*: cf. Gulliver's comments on Lilliputian handwriting, above, p. 83.

34 *squint with both Eyes*: as do the inhabitants of Laputa; cf. above, p. 226.

35 *Seven hundred Pages*: in fact, the two volumes of the first edition of *GT* together comprise approximately 670 pages.

whose great Principle (if I rightly remember) is Benevolence.³⁶ And as to my self, I am so highly affronted with such a base Proposall, that I am determin'd to complain of You to her Royal Highness, that you are a mercenary Yahoo fond of shining Pebbles.³⁷ What have I to do with you or your Court further than to shew the Esteem I have for your Person, because you happen to deserve it, and my Gratitude to Her Royall Highness who was pleased, a little to distinguish me, which, by the way is the greatest Compliment I ever made, and may probably be the last. For I am not such a prostitute Flatterer as Gulliver, whose chief Study is to extenuate the Vices, and magnify the Virtues of Mankind, and perpetually dins our Ears with the Praises of his Country,³⁸ in the midst of Corruptions; and for that Reason alone, hath found so many Readers, and probably will have a Pension, which I suppose was his chief Design in writing: As for his Compliments to the Ladyes, I can easily forgive him as a naturall Effect of that Devotion which our Sex always ought to pay to Yours.
(BL MS Add. 22625, fols. 9–10, extract on fol. 9^{r-v}; Williams, *Corr.*, vol. III, p. 187; Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, pp. 54–5)

27. From Swift to Alexander Pope, 17 November 1726

Dublin, Nov. 17, 1726

I am just come from answering a Letter of Mrs. Howard's, writ in such mystical terms, that I should never have found out the meaning, if a Book had not been sent me called *Gulliver's Travels*, of which you say so much in yours. I read the Book over, and in the second volume observe several passages which appear to be patch'd and altered, and the style of a different sort (unless I am much mistaken) Dr. Arbuthnot likes the Projectors least, others you tell me, the Flying island; some think it wrong to be so hard upon whole Bodies or Corporations, yet the general opinion is, that reflections on particular persons are most to be blam'd: so that in these cases, I think the best method is to let censure and opinion take their course. A

36 *Benevolence*: cf. 'Friendship and Benevolence are the two principal Virtues among the Houyhnhnms' (above, p. 403).

37 *fond of shining Pebbles*: cf. the cupidity of the Yahoos: 'there are certain shining Stones of several Colours, whereof the Yahoos are violently fond; and when Part of these Stones are fixed in the Earth, as it sometimes happeneth, they will dig with their Claws for whole Days to get them out, and carry them away, and hide them by Heaps in their Kennels; but still looking round with great Caution, for fear their Comrades should find out their Treasure' (above, p. 392).

38 *perpetually dins our Ears with the Praises of his Country*: for Gulliver's praise of England, see above, pp. 179–82.

Bishop here said, that book was full of improbable lies, and for his part, he hardly believed a word of it; and so much for Gulliver.

. . . Let me add, that if I were Gulliver's friend, I would desire all my acquaintance to give out that his copy was basely mangled, and abused,³⁹ and added to, and blotted out by the printer, for so to me it seems, in the second volume particularly. Adieu.

(No MS; *Letters Between Dr Swift, Mr Pope &c* (1741), pp. 47–8, TS 60; Williams, *Corr.*, vol. III, pp. 189–90; Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, pp. 56–7)

28. 'Lemuel Gulliver' to Mrs Howard, 28 November 1726

Newark in Nottinghamshire.⁴⁰
No.^r 28. 1726

Madam

My correspondents have informed me that Your Lady.^p has done me the honour to answer severall objections that ignorance, malice and party have made to my Travells, and bin so charitable as to justifie the fidelity and veracity of the Author. This Zeal you have shown for Truth calls for my perticular thanks, and at the same time encourages me to beg you would continue your goodness to me by reconciling me to the Maids of Honour,⁴¹ whom they say I have most greivously offended. I am so stupid as not to find out how I have disoblighd them; Is there any harm in a young Ladys reading of Romances?⁴² Or did I make use of an improper Engine to extinguish a fire that was kindled by a Maid of Honour?⁴³ And I will venture to affirm, that if ever the Young Ladies of your Court, should meet with a man of as little consequence in this country, as I was in Brobdingnag, they would use him with as much contempt;⁴⁴ But I submit my self and my cause to your better judgment, and beg leave to lay the crown of Lilliput at your feet as a small acknowledgment of your favours to my book & person; I found it in the corner of my wastecoat pockett into which I thrust most of the valuable furniture of the Royall apartment when the palace was on fire,⁴⁵ and by mistake brought it with me into England,

39 *basely mangled, and abused*: for Swift's dismay at Motte's adulteration of the text of *GT*, see the 'Textual introduction', below, pp. 637–40.

40 *Newark in Nottinghamshire*: Gulliver's place of retirement; see above, p. 15.

41 *reconciling me to the Maids of Honour*: see above, p. 598 and Long note 19.

42 *a young Ladys reading of Romances*: cf. above, p. 79.

43 *a fire that was kindled by a Maid of Honour*: cf. above, p. 79.

44 *use him with as much contempt*: a reference to the indecent innuendo of the passage describing Gulliver's treatment at the hands of the maids of honour in Brobdingnag (above, p. 168).

45 *when the palace was on fire*: cf. above, pp. 79–80.

for I very honestly restored to their Majesties all their goods that I knew were in my possession; May all courtiers imitate me in that, and in my being

Madam
your admirer and ob^t
humble servant.

Lemuel Gulliver.

(BL MS Add. 22625, fols. 11–12; Williams, *Corr.*, vol. III, pp. 190–91; Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, pp. 58–9)

29. From the Earl of Peterborough to Swift, 29 November 1726

Strange distempers rage in the nation which your friend the Doctor⁴⁶ takes no care off, in some, the imagination is struck with the apprehension of swelling to a Giant, or dwindling to a Pigmee, others expect an Oration equall to any of Cicero's⁴⁷ from an Eloquent Barb, and some take the braying of an Asse for the Emperor's Speech in favour of the Vieña Alliance,⁴⁸ the knoledge of the antient world is of no use, men have lost their Tittles, continents, & islands have gott new names just upon the appearance of a certain Book in the world . . .

for they pretended to bring in Certain proofs of his appearing in severall shapes, att one time a Drapper, att another a Wapping Surgeon, sometimes a Nardac, sometimes a Reverend Divine. Nay more that he could raise the Dead, that he had brought Philosophers, Heroes, & poets in the same Caravan from the other World,⁴⁹ & after a few questions, had sent them all to play att Quadrille in a flying Island of his own.

This was the scene not many days agoe and Burning was too good for the wizzard. But what mutations amongst the Lillyputians! the greatest Lady in the nation resolves to send a pair of shoes without heels to Cap^t Gulliver, she takes vi et Armis the Plad from the Lady it was sent too, which is soon to appear upon her Royall person,⁵⁰ and Now, who but Cap^t Gulliver?

The Cap^t indeed has nothing more to doe, but to chalk his pumps,⁵¹ Learn to daunce upon the Rope,⁵² and I may yett live to see

46 *your friend the Doctor*: i.e. Dr Arbuthnot.

47 *an Oration equall to any of Cicero's*: cf. Gulliver's desire to emulate Cicero and Demosthenes when explaining and extolling the government of England to the King of Brobdingnag in Part II, Chapter 6 (above, p. 179).

48 *the Vieña Alliance*: concluded in late 1725 between the Emperor Charles and Philip V of Spain.

49 *from the other World*: cf. above, pp. 285–304.

50 *soon to appear upon her Royall person*: cf. above, p. 599 n. 25.

51 *pumps*: see above, p. 600 n. 28.

52 *daunce upon the Rope*: see above, p. 56 and Long note 10.

him a Bishop, verily, verily I believe he never was in such imminent danger of preferment.

S^r
Your affectionate Tar.⁵³

(BL MS Add. 4805, fols. 132–3, extract on fols. 132^r–133^r; Williams, *Corr.*, vol. III, pp. 191–2; Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, pp. 60–1)

30. Charles Ford to Benjamin Motte, 3 January 1727

Dublin Jan 3. 1726

Sir

I bought here Captⁿ. Gulliver's Travels publish'd by you, ^ as well
↑both↑ | because I heard much Talk of it, and because of a Rumor,
that a | Friend of mine is suspected to be the Author. I have read this
Book | twice over with great Care, as well as great Pleasure, & am
sorry to | tell you it abounds with many gross Errors of the Press,
whereof I | have sent you as many as I could find, with the Corrections
of them | as the plain Sense must lead, and I hope you will insert
them, if | you make another Edition.

I have an entire Respect for the Memory of the late Queen, | and
am always pleas'd when others shew the same; but that | Paragraph
relating to her⁵⁴ looks so very much beside the Purpose | that I
cannot think it to have been written [*last word partially obscured by
large ink blot*] ^ ↑written↑ by the same Author. | I wish you & your
Friends would consider it, and let it be left | out in the next Edition.
For it is plainly false in Fact, since all | the World knows that the
Queen during her whole Reign governed | by one first Minister or
other. Neither do I find the Author to | be any where given to
Flattery, or indeed very favourable to any | Prince or Minister
whatsoever.

These things I let you know out of perfect good Will to | the
Author and yourself, and I hope you will so understand me, | who am
S^r

your affectionate Friend & Servant
Cha: Ford.
Errata

Part. 1. Page 22. Use should be Uses. P. 36. ~~↑it↑ should be.~~ of his
Council. 79. arrived to | for arrived at. 80. bold for boldest. 144.
Pledges I had left. 145 Lilliput s^d b ↑for↑ Blefuscu

53 *Tar*: Peterborough's nickname with Swift.

54 *that Paragraph relating to her*: cf. above, pp. 710–11.

Part 2. P. 9. However I made a shift. 30. toward for forward. 47. her Majesty perhaps. | 48. Dominions, and had. 98. least his Honour for least his Courage. 108. Praise | for Praises. 111. all Questions for several Questions. 120 were enobled, were advanced | for are enobled, are advanced. 133. ~~se~~ be the Inclemencies ib. Species of Man for Species | of Men. 140 not directly over, the Sense is imperfect. 156 his own Presence for | his Presence 161. necessary for me while.

Part 3. P. 31. Spirits for Sprites. 34 Womenkind for Womankind. 42 [*injury*] Goodness | For this Advantage &c., the Sense imperfect. ib. the Discoveries for their Discoveries | 44 Death for Dearth. 49 Abode here for Abode there 59 Act for act. 71 write | both for write Books. 73 or the Square for as the Square. 74 in the Book | for in Books. 77. Saddles for Sacks. 78 the Ambassadors for thus Ambassadors | 83. Method of Cure for Methods of Cure. 85. dispose of them for dispose them. | 87. Persons for Person's. 89. To take a strict View. P. 90. to the end of the Chapter | seems to have much of the Author's manner of thinking, but in many | places wants his Spirit. P. 94 was a part for is a part. 101. in the Room for | into the Room. ib. Assembly of somewhat a latter Age, this must have been altered, | for ^ ↑the word↑ Assembly follows immediately after. 102. Ancestors for Ancestor 110 Faction for | Factions. 119 Apr. 1711. for Apr. 1709. P. 119. a Passage for the Passage. 121 had never heard. | 133, Languages, Fashions, Dress for Language, Fashions of Dress, 134 Choice for choice. | 137 these Kingdoms for those Kingdoms 138 eldest for oldest 140 they were | too few. 141 come for comes to be fourscore. 142 continuing for continue. ib. forgot | for forget. 144 brought to me. ib. sort of People for sorts of People. 152 conver | for convey 154 petformed for performed ib. arrived safe to for arrived safe at. Part 4. P. 8. sharp points, and hooked. ~~ib. Hair on their Heads, but none on || their~~ ib. P. 8. long lank Hair on their Faces, nor &c. This Passage puzzled me for | some ^ ↑time↑ it should be long lank Hair on their Heads, but none on their Faces, nor | 17. before them for before him. 31. fare for fared. 42 Secret of my having 49, Oats, when | for Oats, where. 50 treasted for treated, old for sold, ill for till. 51. meanest Servant | for weakest Servant. ib. roulng for rolling. 53. Offices for Offices. 54 one of my Forefeet | 56. Trade it is. ib. called a Queen. 60. Points of which for Points which 65 For those | Reasons for For these Reasons ib. likewise another Kind for likewise a Kind. 67. | Seafights. is there no mention of Land fights? 68 my Hoof for his Hoof. P. 69. ^ ↑towards y^c end↑ &c. | manifestly most barbarously corrupted, full of Flatnesses, Cant

Words, and | Softenings unworthy the Dignity, Spirit, ^ ↑ Candour, ↑
& Frankness of the Author. By | that admirable Instance of the Cow
it is plain the Satyr is design'd | against the Profession in general,
and not only against Attornys or, as | they are there smartly styl'd,
Pettifoggers. You ought in Justice to | restore those twelve Pages to
the true Reading. P. 85. and Conveniencies | for or Conveniencies. 86
operated contrary d. the one. 88. it must be inferior | posterior to
answer to anterior superior. Part of P. 90 & 91 false & silly, |
infallibly not the same Author 93. at last by an Act of Indemnity,
abrupt. | P. 97. a great Man. Nonsense. the Author is not talking
of great Men, | but of Men highly born. I believe it should be
of a Noble Birth, or | rather Marks of Noble Blood. I take this
Page to be likewise corrupted, | from some low Expressions in it.
P. 99 Enlightened for enlarged. 109. | produced in them the same
Effects. ib. for taken my self, it should be, This I | have since often
known to have been taken with success, 112. with the | Females as
fiercely. 113 upon the last Article ib. nor could the Servants for nor |
did the Servants, could follows. 121 scratch about for search about. 127
be[stow] | him one. 130 hard, and stony for hard stony. 130 for were
immediately for are | immediately 133. Oooze ^ and ↑ or ↑ for Oooze
or and 134 for old ones for elder [*injury*] | for Memorys. 141 several
covered for certain covered 144 cut their for cuts their | 145 Room to
be made for me [1]46. Of these I made. for Of these I also made. | 147
Splenic for Splenaticks. 149 for the Thoughts r. their Thoughts,
and for | their Discourse r. the Discourse 152. my Friends, and my
Countrymen for my | Friends, my Countrymen. 157. an unnatural
182. became for had become 186 temptati | =ons for Temptation. 192
in some modern for in modern ib. Discovery for | Discoverys. 194 a
Desire for any Desire 195 may concern for more concerns.
(V&A, MS Forster 561; 1 sheet, folded: 320mm x 403mm. Letter
addressed 'To | M^r Benjamin Motte Bookseller | near the Temple in |
London'; dated 'Dublin Jan 3. 1726'; postmarked 10 January. Cf.
Williams, *Corr.*, vol. III, pp. 194–5 and Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III,
pp. 66–8, a transcription marred by several errors of omission and
insertion. The following conventions are used in the present
transcription: ^ indicates a caret below the line; upward arrows (↑ ↑)
enclose an insertion above the line; [] indicates damage to the MS
and encloses, where possible, a conjectural reading; | indicates a line
break in the MS; || indicates a page break in the MS. Note that Ford's
hand does not distinguish clearly between an upper and a lower case
initial 's', so an element of conjecture surrounds the initial capital 's's in
this transcription.)

31. From Viscountess Bolingbroke to Swift, 1 February 1727

... un certain M^r de Gulivers avoit un peu remis en mouvement cette pauvre imagination cy éteinte par lair de londre et par des conversations dont je n'entend que le bruit, je voulu me saisir de ce moment pour vous écrire mais je tombay malade et je lay toujours esté depuis trois mois. je profite donc monsieur du premier retour de ma santé de vous remercier de vos reproches dont je suis tres flattée et pour vous dire un mot de mon amy M^r guliver, j'apprend avec une grande satisfaction quil vient d'estre traduit en françois⁵⁵ et come mon séjour en angleterre a beaucoup redoublé mon amitié pour mon pays et pour mes compatriottes je suis ravie quils puissent participer au plaisir que ma fait ce bon monsieur et profiter de ses decouvertes, je ne desespere pas meme que 12 vaisseaux que la france vient d'armer ne puissent estre destinés a une embassade chés M^{rs} les Ouynhms en ce cas je vous proposeray que nous fassions ce voyage en attendant je scay bon gré a un ouvrier de vostre nation qui pour instruire les dames les quelles comme vous scavés monsieur font icy un grand usage de leurs éventails en a fait faire ou toutes les aventures de nostre veridique voyageur sont de peintes, vous juges bien quel part il va avoir dans leurs conversation...

(BL MS Add. 4805, fols. 134–7, extract on fols. 134^r–135^v; Williams, *Corr.*, vol. III, p. 197; Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, pp. 71–2)

... a certain Mr. Gulliver had set this poor imagination somewhat in motion, hitherto smothered by the London air and by conversations which to me are no more than a noise, I wished to seize this moment to write to you but I fell ill and have been so still for three months. So, Sir, I take advantage of the first return of my health to thank you for your reproaches by which I am very flattered and to say a word to you about my friend Mr. Gulliver, I learn with great satisfaction that he has just been translated into French, and as my stay in England has greatly redoubled my affection towards my country and my fellow-countrymen, I am delighted that they can share in the pleasure that this good man has given me, and profit from his discoveries, I even don't give up hope that twelve vessels which France has just armed may be intended as an embassy to the Houyhnhnms in this case I suggest to you that we make this trip in the meantime I am glad to

⁵⁵ *quil vient d'estre traduit en françois*: *GT* was first translated into French in a complete edition published at The Hague in January 1727 in two duodecimo volumes. The first Paris edition (an abridgement and adaptation by the Abbé Pierre-François Guyot Desfontaines) did not appear until April 1727 (TS, pp. 225–36, esp. items 371 and 383). Lady Bolingbroke is clearly referring to the former translation.

know of a workman of your nation who to instruct ladies (who, as you know Sir, here make much use of their fans) has had some made on which all the adventures of our truthful traveller are depicted, you can well imagine how how he will figure in their conversation . . .

32. From Swift to Knightley Chetwode, 14 February 1727

As to Captⁿ Gulliver, I find his book is very much censured in this Kingdom which abounds in excellent Judges; but in Engl^d I hear it hath made a bookseller almost rich enough to be an Alderman. In my Judgment I should think it hath been mangled in the press, for in some parts it doth not seem of a piece, but I shall hear more when I am in England.

(V&A, MS Forster 554, 48.D.38, fols. 21–2; Williams, *Corr.*, vol. III, p. 198; Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, p. 73)

33. From Alexander Pope to Swift, 17 (?) February 1727

You receiv'd, I hope, some commendatory verses⁵⁶ from a Horse and a Lilliputian, to Gulliver; and an heroic Epistle of Mrs. Gulliver. The Bookseller would fain have printed 'em before the second Edition of the Book, but I would not permit it without your approbation; nor do I much like them. You see how much like a Poet I write, and yet if you were with us, you'd be deep in Politicks. People are very warm, and very angry, very little to the purpose, but therefore the more warm and the more angry: *Non nostrum est, Tantas componere lites*.⁵⁷ I stay at Twitnam, without so much as reading news-papers, votes, or any other paltry pamphlets: Mr. Stopford will carry you a whole parcel of them, which are sent for your diversion, but not imitation. For my own part, methinks, I am at Glubdubdrib with none but Ancients and Spirits about me.⁵⁸

(No MS; *Letters Between Dr Swift, Mr Pope &c* (1741), pp. 51–2, TS 60; Williams, *Corr.*, vol. III, p. 201; Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, p. 76)

34. 'The Prince of Lilliput' to 'Stella', c. February 1727

†**†.

In *European* characters and *English* thus;

The high and mighty prince EGROEGO, born to the most puissant empire of the *East*,

56 *some commendatory verses*: see above, Appendix B.

57 *Non nostrum est, Tantas componere lites*: 'It is not for me to calm such contests' (Virgil, *Eclogues*, III.108).

58 *none but Ancients and Spirits about me*: cf. above, pp. 285–304.

Unto STELLA, the most resplendent glory of the *Western* hemisphere,
sendeth health and happiness.

BRIGHTEST PRINCESS,

1727.

That invincible heroe, the MAN MOUNTAIN, fortunately arriving at our coasts some years ago, delivered us from ruin by conquering the fleets and armies of our enemies, and gave us hopes of a durable peace and happiness. But now the martial people of *Blefusca*, encouraged from his absence, have renewed the war, to revenge upon us the loss and disgrace they suffered by our valiant champion.

The fame of your superexcellent person and virtue, and the huge esteem which that great general has for you, urged us in this our second distress to sue for your favour. In order to which, we have sent our able and trusty Nardac KOORBNIOB,⁵⁹ requesting, That if our general does yet tread upon the terrestrial globe, you, in compassion to us, would prevail upon him to take another voyage for our deliverance.

And, lest any apprehensions of famine amongst us, should render Nardac MOUNTAIN averse to the undertaking, we signify to you, that we have stored our folds, our coops, our granaries and cellars with plenty of provision for a long supply of the wastes to be made by his capacious stomach.

And furthermore, because as we hear you are not so well as we could wish, we beg you would compleat our happiness by venturing your most valuable person along with him into our country; where, by the salubrity of our finer air and diet, you will soon recover your health and stomach.

In full assurance of your complying goodness, we have sent you some provision for your voyage, and we shall with impatience wait for your safe arrival to our kingdom. Most illustrious lady, farewell.

Prince EGROEGO.

Dated the 11th day of the 6th Moon, in the

2001 year of the *Lilliputian* æra.

(No MS; *Letters, Written by the Late Jonathan Swift, D.D.*, ed. Deane Swift (1768), vol. V, pp. 269–71, TS 89; Williams, *Corr.*, vol. III, pp. 203–4; Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, pp. 79–80)

35. 'Richard Sympson' to Benjamin Motte, 27 April 1727

M^r Motte

I sent this enclosed by a friend to be sent to you, to desire that you would go to the house of Erasmus Lewis Esq^r in Cork-street behind Burlington house and let him know that you are come from me. for to

59 KOORBNIOB: i.e. Bolingbroke.

the s^d M^r Lewis I have given full power to treat wth you concerning my
Cozⁿ Gulliver's book and what ever he & you shall settle I will consent
to so I have written to him You will see him best early in the morning

I am y^r humble servant

Apr. 27th 1727

Rich^d Sympson

London. may 4. 1727. I am fully satisfyd. E. Lewis.

(Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, MA 563 (10b); Williams,
Corr., vol. III, p. 206; Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, p. 82)

36. From Swift to Thomas Sheridan, 13 May 1727

I have at last seen the P—s twice this Week by her own Commands;
she retains her old Civility, and I my old Freedom; she charges me
without Ceremony, to be Author of a bad Book, though I told her
how angry the Ministry were; but she assures me that both she and the
P— were very well pleased with every Particular; but I disown'd the
whole Affair, as you know I very well might, only gave her leave, since
she lik'd the Book, to suppose what Author she pleased.

(No MS; *Miscellanies*, vol. X (1745), pp. 102–5, extract on p. 104, TS
66; Williams, *Corr.*, vol. III, pp. 207–8; Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, p. 84)

37. L'abbé Desfontaines to Swift, 23 June 1727

J'ai l'honneur, Monsieur, de vous envoyer la 2.^e édition de votre
ouvrage que J'ai traduit en François. Je vous aurois envoyé la première,
si Je n'avois pas été obligé, pour des raisons que Je ne puis vous dire,
d'insérer dans la préface un endroit, dont vous n'auriez pas eu lieu
d'être content, ce que J'ai mis assurément malgré moi. Comme le
Livre s'est débité sans contradiction, ces raisons ne subsistent plus, et
J'ai aussitôt supprimé cet endroit dans la 2.^e Edition, comme vous
verrez. J'ai aussi corrigé l'endroit de M.^r Carteret, sur le quel J'avois eu
de faux memoires. Vous trouverez Monsieur en beaucoup d'endroits
une traduction peu fidèle; mais tout ce qui plaît en Angleterre n'a pas
ici le même agrément, soit parce que les moeurs sont différentes, soit
parce que les allusions et les allégories, qui sont sensibles dans un pays,
ne le sont pas dans un autre [*MS X in margin*]: soit enfin parce que
le gout des deux Nations n'est pas le même. J'ai voulu donner aux
François un Livre qui fut à leur usage; voila ce qui m'a rendu
Traducteur libre et peu fidèle. J'ai même pris la liberté d'ajouter, selon
que votre imagination échauffoit la mienne [*MS X in margin*]. C'est à
vous seul, Monsieur, que je suis redevable de l'honneur que me fait
cette traduction, qui a été débitée ici avec une rapidité étonnante et
donc il y a déjà trois éditions. Je suis pénétré, d'une si grande estime
pour vous et je vous suis si obligé, que si la suppression que J'ai faite ne

vous satisfaisoit pas entierement, Je ferois volontiers encore davantage pour effacer jusqu'au souvenir de cet endroit de la Preface. au surplus, Je vous supplie, Monsieur, de vouloir bien faire attention a la Justice que je vous ai rendüe dans la même Preface.

on se flatte, Monsieur, qu'on aura bientôt L'honneur de vous posséder ici. Tous vos amis vous attendent avec impatience. on ne parle ici que de votre arrivée,⁶⁰ et tout Paris souhaite de vous voir. Ne differéz pas notre satisfaction, vous verréz un Peuple qui vous estime infiniment. En attendant Je vous demande Monsieur, lhonneur de votre amitié et vous prie detre persuadé que personne ne vous honore plus que moi et n'est avec plus de consideration et d'estime

Votre tres humble et tres

obeissant serviteur

L abbé Desfontaines

M^r. Arbuthnot a bien voulu se charger de vous faire tenir cette Lettre, avec L'*Exemplaire* que J'ai L'honneur de vous envoyer.

a Paris le 4.^e Juillet 1727

(BL MS Add. 4805, fols. 102–3; Williams, *Corr.*, vol. III, pp. 217–18; Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, pp. 97–8)

I have the honour, Sir, to send you the second edition of your work, which I have translated into French. I would have sent you the first had I not been obliged, for reasons which I cannot tell you, to insert in the preface a passage with which you would have had no cause to be pleased, something I included, I assure you, against my wishes. As the book has sold without hindrance, these reasons no longer endure, and I have at once suppressed this passage in the second edition, as you will see. I have also corrected the passage on Mr. Carteret, concerning which I had incorrect information. Sir, you will find it in many places a not very faithful translation; but everything which pleases in England does not have the same charm here, either because of the difference in manners, or because allusions and allegories which are understood in one country are not in another: and finally, because the taste of the two nations is not the same. I wanted to give the French a book in accord with their customs; that is what made me a free, and hardly faithful, Translator. I have even taken the liberty to add material, as your imagination warmed my own. Sir, it is to you alone that I am indebted for the honour I derive from this translation, which has sold here with surprising speed and thus there are already three editions. I am imbued with such a great esteem for you, and I am so

60 *on ne parle ici que de votre arrivée*: in fact, Swift never visited France; see his reply to Desfontaines, below, p. 614.

much in your debt, that if the deletion I have made were not entirely to satisfy you, I would willingly do still more to erase even the memory of that passage in the Preface. Moreover, I beg you, Sir, please to note the justice I have done you in that same Preface.

We flatter ourselves, Sir, that we will soon have the honour of your presence among us. All your friends expect you with impatience. Here we speak only of your arrival, and the whole of Paris wishes to see you. Do not postpone our pleasure, you will see a People who hold you in the highest respect. In the meantime I beg of you, Sir, the honour of your friendship; and I ask you to believe that no one holds you in higher regard than do I, and that no one is, with greater consideration and esteem,

Your very humble and very
obedient servant
Abbé Desfontaines

Mr. Arbuthnot kindly took upon himself the task of being the bearer of this letter, together with the *Copy* which I have the honour to send you.

Paris, 4 July 1727

38. Swift to L'abbé Desfontaines, August 1727

Monsieur.

Il y a environ une mois depuis qu'on m'a montre le premier volume de votre traduction de Gulliver, duquel je lu la preface, ce que j'y trouvè à redire, etait: qu'en m'appellant un Yrlandais vous m'avez nommè sans ceremonie l'auteur de ce livre qui passe sous le nom de Gulliver, et qui a etè si decrìe par le Ministre d'etat de notre païs et tous leurs amis. Ce que j'ay approuvè becoup en votre preface etait de voir que bien loin de suivre les manieres des autres traducteurs et publicateurs qui donnent des louanges aveugles à tous les livres qu'ils traduisent publiquemt. vous au contraire avez bien le justice de dire au commencement que votre auteur et plein de polissonades de sottises, des puerilitez &c

[3 lines left blank]

Cependant il faut avouer que votre critique n'est pas beaucoup approuve ches nous, car on tombe d'accord, que M^r Gulliver parmi tous se defaults est un auteur grave, simple naif, sans aucun fard. qui ne se pique de l'esprit, ne sort jamais de son serieux, et n'a écrit que des choses naturellement qu'il a vû et connu dans ses voyages

Pour ce que regard mons^r Carteret, sans savoir ou vous avez trouvè vos memoires je diray seulement que ce que vous avez ecrit è fort

veritable, mais non pas la moitié de la verité, et que ce Drapier suppose (je ne connois son nom) avoit par ses ecrits entierement sauvé le pauvre royaume d'Yrlande, en attirant toute la nation à suivre ses bons conseils

Au reste, si les livres de Gulliver ne sont calculé que pour le royaumes Britanniques et non pour le genre humain je tiens l'auteur pour un petit et pauvre genie, car je croy que le memes vices et les memes folies regnent par tout, au moins tous le paÿs polis d'Europe; et tel auteur qui n'ecrit que pour une ville, une province, une Royaume, ou une age et tout a fait meprisable. Mais ceux qui estiment M^r Gulliver disent au contraire que ses productions dureront autant que nôtre langage, parce qu'elles ne sont fondees sur des certaines modes et manieres de parler et penser, mais sur les defauts et les sottises fixées dans la nature de l'homme. Et l'on tient icy que le bon gout est le meme par tout ou il y a des gens d'esprit, de savoir, et de jugement.

Queques accidents arrivee m'ont empeché d'aller en France; selon mon inclination et mes esperances. et je ne suis asses jeune pour attendre un autre tems. je scay que je perds beaucoup. mais en revanche je supporteray mieu le paÿs au quel ma fortune m'a condamné.

Je suis &c.

(Bod. MS Montagu d. 18, fols. 124-5; Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, pp. 109-10)

Sir.

It is about a month since I was shown the first volume of your translation of Gulliver, of which I read the preface, what I found fault with was: that in calling me an Irishman you have unceremoniously identified me as the author of this book which goes under the name of Gulliver, and which has been so decried by the ministry of our country and all their friends. What I greatly approved of in your preface was to see that, far from following the manners of other translators and publishers who publicly give blind praise to all the books they translate. you on the other hand had indeed the justice to say at the outset that your author is full of rogueries, silliness, puerilities &c

[3 lines left blank]

However, it must be admitted that your criticism is not greatly endorsed amongst us, for there is general agreement that Mr. Gulliver, in the midst of all his faults, is a serious, simple, artless author, without any disguise. who does not preen himself on his wit, who never strays from the path of seriousness, and who writes only of things which he has seen and known naturally in his travels

Concerning Mr. Carteret, without knowing whence your information derives, I will say only that what you have written is

indeed true, but is less than half the truth, and that this supposed Drapier (I do not know his name) had through his writings entirely saved the poor kingdom of Ireland, by drawing the whole nation to follow his good advice

Moreover, if Gulliver's books are adapted only to the kingdoms of Britain and not for the human race I hold the author to be a poor and small genius, for I believe that the same vices and the same follies prevail everywhere, at least in all the polite countries of Europe; and an author who writes for only one town, one province, one kingdom, or one age is completely despicable. But those who admire Mr. Gulliver say, on the contrary, that his writings will last as long as our language, because they are not based on certain fashions and ways of speaking and thinking, but on faults and follies which are fixed in human nature. And it is believed here that good taste is the same wherever one finds people of wit, knowledge, and judgement.

Some occurrences have prevented my going to France; according to my inclination and my hopes. and I am not young enough to wait for another time. I know that I lose much. but on the other hand I will better endure the country to which my fortune has condemned me.

I am &c.

39. Swift to L'abbé Desfontaines, August 1727

Ilya plus d'un mois que j'ay recue votre lettre du 4^e de Juillet, Monsieur, mais l'exemplaire de la 2^e Edition de votre ouvrage ne m'a pas été encore remis. J'ay lu la Preface de la premiere, et vous me permettez de vous dire, que j'ay été fort surpris d'y voir, qu'en me donnant pour Patrie un Pais dans lequel Je ne suis pas nè,⁶¹ vous ayez trouvé a propos de m'attribuer un livre qui porte le nom de son Auteur qui a eu le malheur de déplaire a quelques uns de nos Ministres, et que je n'ay jamais avoué.

Cette plainte que je fais de votre conduite à mon egard ne m'empêche pas de vous rendre justice. les Traducteurs donnent pour la plupart des louanges excessives aux ouvrages qu'ils traduisent, et s'imaginent peutetre que leur Reputation depend en quelque facon de celle des Auteurs qu'ils ont choisis. mais vous avez senti vos forces, qui vous mettent au dessus de pareilles precautions. capable de corriger un mauvais livre, entreprise plus difficile que celle d'en composer un bon,

61 *un Pais dans lequel Je ne suis pas nè*: Desfontaines had referred to Swift as 'le celebre M. Svvift, Anglois, Doïen de l'Eglise de S. Patrice à Dublin' ('Preface du Traducteur', *Voyages de Gulliver*, 'Seconde Edition, revûe & corrigée', 2 vols. ('Mildendo' [Paris], 1727), vol. I, p. vii).

vous n'avez pas craint de donner au public la traduction d'un ouvrage que vous assurez etre plein de pollisoneries, de sottises, de puerilites &c. Nous convenons icy que Le gout des Nations n'est pas toujours le meme. mais nous sommes fort portez a croire que le bon gout est le meme par tout ou ily a des Gens d'esprit, de jugement, et de Scavoir. si donc les livres du Sieur Gulliver ne sont calculez que pour les Isles Britanniques, ce voyageur doit passer pour un tres pitoyable Ecrivain. les memes vices, et les memes follies, regnent par tout, du moins, dans tous les pais civilisez de l'Europe, et l'auteur qui n'ecrit que pour une ville, une Province, un Royaume, ou meme un Siecle, merite si peu d'être traduit qu'il ne merite pas d'être lu.

Les Partisans de ce Gulliver, qui ne laissent pas d'être en fort grand nombre chez nous, soutiennent que son Livre durera autant que notre langage, parcequ'il ne tire pas son merite de certaines modes ou manieres de penser et de parler, mais d'une suite d'observations sur les imperfections, les follies, et les vices de l'homme.

Vous jugez bien que les Gens dont je viens de vous parler n'approuvent pas fort votre Critique et vous serez sans doute surpris de scavoir qu'ils regardent ce chirurgien de vaisseau comme un Auteur grave, qui ne sort jamais de son serieux, qui n'emprunte aucun fard, que ne se pique point d'avoir de l'esprit; et qui se contente de communiquer au public dans une Narration simple et naive, les aventures qui luy sont arrivées, et les choses qu'il a vu ou entendu dire pendant ses voyages.

Quant a l'article qui regarde My L^d Carteret, sans m'informer d'ou vous tirez vos memoires, Je vous diray que vous n'avez ecrit que la moitié de la verité, et que ce Drapier, ou reel, ou suppose, à sauvé l'Irlande, en ameuttant toute la nation contre un projet qui devoit enrichir, au depens du public un certain nombre de particuliers.

Plusieurs accidens qui sont arrivez m'empacheront de faire le voyage de la France presentement, et je ne suis plus assez jeune pour me flatter de retrouver une autre occasion. Je sçais que j'y perds beaucoup, et je suis tres sensible à cette perte. l'unique consolation qui me reste, c'est de songer, que J'en supporteray mieux le pai auquel la Fortune m'a condamné.

(BL MS Add. 4805, fols. 104–5; Williams, *Corr.*, vol. III, pp. 225–7; Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, pp. 111–12)

It is more than a month since I received your letter of 4 July, Sir, but the copy of the second edition of your work has not yet been handed over to me. I read the Preface to the first edition, and you will allow me to tell you that I was very surprised to see there, that in giving me a homeland in which I was not born, you have found reason to attribute

to me a book which bears the name of its Author and which has been unlucky enough to displease some of our Ministers, and which I have never acknowledged.

This complaint that I make about your conduct towards me does not prevent me from doing you justice. For the most part Translators over-praise the works they translate, imagining perhaps that their Reputation depends in some way on that of the Authors they have chosen. But you were aware of your own strengths, which put you above such precautions. Capable of amending a bad book, a more difficult undertaking than that of composing a good one, you were not afraid to give the public the translation of a work which you proclaim to be full of rogueries, silliness, puerilities &c. We are agreed here that the taste of Nations is not always the same. but we are very given to believing that good taste is the same wherever there are People of wit, of judgement, and of Knowledge. if therefore Mr. Gulliver's books are adapted only to the British Isles, this traveller must pass for a pitiful Writer. the same vices, and the same follies, prevail everywhere, at least, in all the civilized countries of Europe, and the author who writes for only one town, one Province, one Kingdom, or even one Century, so little deserves to be translated that he does not deserve to be read.

This Gulliver's supporters, who are yet very numerous amongst us, maintain that his Book will last as long as our language, because its merit does not derive from certain fashions or ways of thinking and speaking, but from a series of observations on the imperfections, the follies, and the vices of man.

You will easily appreciate that the People whom I have just mentioned to you do not much concur with your Criticism and you will doubtless be surprised to know that they regard this ship's surgeon as a grave Author, who never strays from the path of seriousness, who adopts no disguise, who does not pride himself on being witty; and who is content to communicate to the public the adventures which have befallen him, and the things he has seen or heard tell of during his voyages, in a simple and artless Narrative.

As to the matter of My Lord Carteret, without knowing from whence your information derives, I will tell you that you have written only half the truth, and that this Drapier, be he either real or assumed, saved Ireland, by rousing the whole nation against a project which must have enriched, at the expense of the public a certain number of individuals.

Several eventualities which have occurred will prevent me from travelling to France at the moment, and I am no longer young enough to flatter myself that I will find another opportunity. I know that I am

a great loser by this, and I feel this loss deeply. the only consolation which remains to me, is to reflect, that because of it I will better tolerate the country to which Fortune has condemned me.

40. From Swift to Benjamin Motte, 28 December 1727

S^r.

I had yours of the 16th from M^r Hyde, and desire that henceforth you will write directly to me, without scrupling to load me with the Postage. My Head is so confused with the returns of my deafness to a very great degree, (which left me after a fortnight and then returned with more violence), that I am in an ill way to answer a Letter which requires some thinking[.] As to having Cuts in Gullivers travells; you will consider how much it will raise the price of the Book: The world glutted it self with that book at first, and now it will go off but soberly, but I suppose will not be soon worn out. The Part of the little men will bear cuts much better than that of the great. I have not the Book by me, but will speak by memory. Gulliver in his carriage to the Metropolis. his extinguishing [the fire]. The Ladyes in their Coaches driving about his Table. His rising up out of his Carriage when he is fastned to his House. His drawing the Fleet. The Troop upon his Hankerchief. The Army marching between his Leg[s]. His Hat drawn by 8 horses.⁶² Some of these seem the fittest to be represented, and perhaps two adventures may be sometimes put in one Print.

It is difficult to do any thing in the great men, because Gulliver makes so diminutive a figure, and he is but one in the whole Kingdom. Among some cuts I bought in London, he is shown taken out of the Bowl of cream, but the hand that holds him hides the whole body. He would appear best, wedged in the marrow bone up to the middle, or in the Monky's arms upon the roof, or left upon the ridge and the footman on the ladder going to relieve him or fighting with the Rats on the farmers bed, or in the spaniel's mouth, which being described as a small dog, he might look as large as a Duck in one of ours; One of the best would I think be to see his Chest just falling into the Sea while three Eagles are quarelling with one another, Or the monkey haling him out of his box.⁶³ M^r Wotton the Painter, who draws Landscips and Horses, told M^r Pope and me that the Gravers did wrong in not making the big folks bear someth[]nd enormous in their shapes, for as drawn by those gravers, they look onely like common human creatures[;] Gulliver being alone and so little, cannot make the

62 *Gulliver in his carriage . . . drawn by 8 horses*: all episodes in Part I; see pp. 39–42, 80, 59–60, 42, 73–76, 59–60, 61–62, 60–61.

63 *wedged in the marrow bone . . . out of his box*: all episodes in Part II; see pp. 152, 172, 132, 164, 209, 172.

contrast appear. The Flying Island might be drawn at large as described in the Book, and Gulliver drawing up into it, and some Fellows with Flappers.⁶⁴ I know not what to do with the Projectors. Nor what figure the Island of Ghosts would make, or any passage related in it, because I do not well remember it. The Country of Horses. I think would furnish many. Gulliver brought to be compared with the Yahoo, The Family at dinner and he waiting. The Grand Council of Horses assembled, sitting, one of them standing with a hoof extended as if he were speaking, The She-Yahoo embracing Gulliver in the River, who turns away his head in disgust[.] The Yahoos got into a Tree to infest him under it. The Yahoos drawing Carriages, and driven by a Horse with a whip in his hoof.⁶⁵ I can think of no more; But M^r Gay will advise you and carry you to M^r Wotton, and some oth^r skillfull people.
(V&A, MS Forster 544, 48.D.2, item 4; Williams, *Corr.*, vol. III, pp. 257–8; Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, pp. 149–50)

41. From Swift to Benjamin Motte, February 1728

I wrote to you a long letter some time ago, wherein I fairly told you how that affair stood, and likewise gave you my Opinion as well as I was able, and as you desired, with relation to Gulliver.
(V&A, MS Forster 545; Williams, *Corr.*, vol. III, p. 263; Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, p. 156)

42. From Viscountess Bolingbroke to Swift, late February 1728

... on a fait deux pieces de theatre en france tirée soit disant des idées de Gulivert ie ne vous les envoie point car elles sont detestables mais cela prouve au moins que ce bon voyageur a sy bien reuissis ches nous qu'on a cru qu'en mettant seulement son nom aux plus mauvaises pieces on les rendroit recommandables au publique ...
(BL MS Add. 4806, fols. 225–6, extract on fol. 225^{r-v}; Williams, *Corr.*, vol. III, p. 279; Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, p. 159)

... two plays have been composed in France supposedly drawn from the ideas of Gulliver I don't send them to you for they are detestable but at least that proves that this good traveller has succeeded so well with us that it is believed that the mere presence of his name on the worst plays would make them commendable to the public ...

64 *Fellows with Flappers*: episodes in Part III; see pp. 225, 227.

65 *Gulliver brought to be compared... whip in his hoof*: all episodes in Part IV; see pp. 342, 341, 406, 400, 335, 409.

43. From Swift to John Gay, 28 March 1728

The Beggars Opera hath knockt down Gulliver, I hope to see Popes Dullness knock down the Beggars Opera, but not till it hath fully done its Jobb⁶⁶ . . .

(Longleat, Portland papers, XIII, fol. 119, extract on fol. 119^v; Williams, *Corr.*, vol. III, p. 278; Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, p. 171)

44. From John Gay to Swift, 16 May 1728

. . . M^r Lewis tells me that he is promis'd to receive a hundred pounds upon your account at his return to London; he having (upon request) comply'd to stay for the payment 'till that time.

(BL MS Add. 4805, fols. 176–7, extract on fol. 176^r; Williams, *Corr.*, vol. III, p. 287; Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, pp. 182–3)

45. From Swift to John Gay and the Duchess of Queensberry, 13 March 1731

Pray why did not you get a new heel to your shoe; unless you would make your Court at S^t. James's, by affecting to imitate the Prince of Lilliput⁶⁷ —

(Longleat, Portland papers, XIII, fols. 144–5, extract on fol. 144^v; Williams, *Corr.*, vol. III, p. 444; Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, p. 368)

46. From the Countess of Suffolk to Swift, 25 September 1731

. . . I have a Numerous Body of light arm'd Troops to bring into the field; who when single may be as inconsiderable as a Lillipution, yet ten thousand of them Embarras'd Cap^t Gulliver.

(BL MS Add. 4806, fols. 44–5, extract on fol. 44^v; Williams, *Corr.*, vol. III, pp. 498–9; Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, p. 434)

47. From John Gay and Alexander Pope to Swift, 1 December 1731

. . . but still your case is not so bad as Captain Gulliver's, who was ruin'd by having a decree for him with costs.⁶⁸

(No MS; *Letters Between Dr Swift, Mr Pope &c* (1741), pp. 138–41, extract on p. 139, TS 60; Williams, *Corr.*, vol. III, p. 508; Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, p. 446)

⁶⁶ *done its Jobb*: Gay's *The Beggar's Opera* was first performed on 29 January 1728, and first published on 14 February 1728. Pope's *The Dunciad. An Heroic Poem. In Three Books* was first published on 18 May 1728.

⁶⁷ *imitate the Prince of Lilliput*: cf. above, p. 70.

⁶⁸ *decree for him with costs*: cf. above, p. 184.

48. Swift to George Faulkner, 29 June 1733

Mr. Faulkner,

I desire Mrs. Pilkington will deliver you the Papers relating to *Gulliver*, which I left with her Husband. For, since you intend to print a new edition of that Book, I must tell you, that the English Printer made several Alterations which I much disapprove of, and cannot set them right without those Papers.

If I am not mistaken, Mr. Pilkington hath an Edition of *Gulliver*, where the true original Copy is interleaved in Manuscript; I desire I may also see that Book. I am, Your humble Servant, J. Swift.

June 29, 1733

(No MS; *Works* (Dublin, 1762), vol. VIII, p. 234, TS 53; Williams, *Corr.*, vol. IV, pp. 166–7; Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, p. 659)

49. From Swift to Charles Ford, 9 October 1733

A Printer of this Town applied himself to me by letters and friends for leave to print in four volumes the Works of J S D D: &c. I answered that as I could not hinder him, so I would not encourage him. but that he should take care not to charge me with what I never writ. There is no Propriety of Copyes here;⁶⁹ they print what they please. The man behaved himself with all respect, and since it was an evil I could not avoyd, I had rather they should be printed correctly than otherwise. Now, you may please to remember how much I complained of Motts suffering some friend of his (I suppose it was M^r Took a Clergy-man now dead) not onely to blot out some things that he thought might give offence, but to insert a good deal of trash contrary to the Author's manner and Style, and Intention. I think you had a *Gulliver* interleaved and set right in those mangled and murdered Pages. I inquired afterwards of severall Person where that Copy was; some said M^r Pilkington had it, but his wife sent me word she could not find it. Other said it was in M^r Corbet's hands. On my writing to him, he sent a loose Paper with very little except literall corrections in your hand. I wish you would please to let me know, whether You have such an interleaved *Gulliver*; and where and how I could get; For to say the truth, I cannot with patience endure that mingld and mangled manner, as it came from Mottes hands; and it will be extreme difficult for me to correct it by any other means, with so ill a memory, and in so bad a State of health. Pray God restore and

69 *no Propriety of Copyes here*: i.e. in Dublin.

continue yours. I can hold down my head no longer. My Service to all my friends, I am ever &c.

J:S.

(Houghton Library, Harvard University, Autograph File: S; Williams, *Corr.*, vol. IV, pp. 197–8; Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, p. 693)

50. From Charles Ford to Swift, 6 November 1733

I have long had it at heart to see your works collected, and published with care. It is become absolutely necessary, since that jumble with *Pope*, &c. in three volumes, which put me in a rage whenever I meet them. I know no reason why, at this distance of time, the *Examiners*, and other political pamphlets written in the queen's reign, might not be inserted. I doubt you have been too negligent in keeping copies; but I have them bound up, and most of them single besides. I lent Mr. *Corbet* that paper to correct his *Gulliver* by; and it was from it that I mended my own. There is every single alteration from the original copy; and the printed book abounds with all those errors, which should be avoided in the new edition.

In my book the blank leaves were wrong placed, so that there are perpetual references backwards and forwards, and it is more difficult to be understood than the paper; but I will try to get one of the second edition, which is much more correct than the first, and transcribe all the alterations more clearly. I shall be at a loss how to send it afterwards, unless I am directed to somebody that is going to *Ireland*. All books are printed here now by subscription: if there be one for this, I beg I may not be left out. Mr. *Crosthwaite* will pay for me.

(No MS; *Letters, Written by the Late Jonathan Swift, D.D.*, ed. Deane Swift (1768), vol. V, pp. 342–5 (extract on pp. 343–4), TS 88; Williams, *Corr.*, vol. IV, p. 202; Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, p. 698)

51. From Swift to Charles Ford, 20 November 1733

I gave you an account in my last how, against my will a Man here is printing the Works of &c by Subscription. *Gulliver* vexeth me more than any: I thought you had entred in leaves interlined all the differences from the originall Manuscript. Had there been onely omissions, I should not care one farthing; but change of Style, new things foysted in, that are false facts, and I know not what, is very provoking. Motte tells me He designs to print a new Edition of *Gulliver* in quarto with Cutts and all as it was in the genuin copy. He is very uneasy about the Irish Edition. All I can do is to strike out the

Trash in the Edition to be printed here, since you can not help me. I will order your name, as you desire, among the Subscribers. It was to avoyd offence, that Motte got those alterations and insertions to be made, I suppose by M^r Took the Clergyman deceased. So that I fear the second Edition will not mend the matter, further than as to literal faults. For instance, The Title of one Chapter, is of the Queens administration without a prime Minister &c. and so accordingly in the Chapter it is said that she had no chief Minister &c: Besides, the whole Sting is taken out in severall passages, in order to soften them. Thus the Style is debased, the humor quite lost, and the matter insipid.

(Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, MA 563 (19); Williams, *Corr.*, vol. IV, pp. 211–12; Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. III, p. 708)

52. From Marmaduke Phillips to Swift, 2 November 1734

I have been under an unspeakable concern at an account I lately saw from *Ireland* of a return of your old disorders of giddiness and deafness; but I still flatter myself that it is not so bad with you as my fears have represented it, which makes me long impatiently to hear how you really are; but I am in hopes your usual *medicina gymnastica*⁷⁰ will carry it all off; if it does not, more the pity say I, and so will all say, I am confident, that know you; but surely ten thousand times more pity is it that you are not like one of *Gulliver's Struldbrugs*,⁷¹ immortal; but alas! that cannot be, such is the condition of miserable man . . .

(No MS; *Letters, Written by the Late Jonathan Swift, D.D.*, ed. Deane Swift (1768), vol. V, pp. 380–5, extract on pp. 382–3, TS 88; Williams, *Corr.*, vol. IV, p. 265; Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. IV, p. 12)

53. From Swift to William Pulteney, 12 May 1735

I never got a farthing by any thing I writ, except one about eight years ago, and that was by Mr. *Pope's* prudent management *from* [*for*] me.

(No MS; *Letters, Written by the Late Jonathan Swift, D.D.*, ed. John Hawkesworth (1766), vol. III, pp. 254–9, extract on p. 258, TS 88A; Williams, *Corr.*, vol. IV, p. 338; Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. IV, p. 107–8)

⁷⁰ *medicina gymnastica*: gymnastic medicine, a reference to Swift's regime of vigorous physical exercise.

⁷¹ *Gulliver's Struldbrugs*: cf. above, pp. 309–21.

54. From Mrs Whiteway to Swift and Thomas Sheridan, 15 November 1735

... if you saw him⁷² in company of the attendants of the governor of *Glubbdubdrid*,⁷³ you would find the same horror seize you by looking on his countenance.

(No MS; *Letters, Written by the Late Jonathan Swift, D.D.*, ed. Deane Swift (1768), vol. VI, pp. 76–9, extract on p. 79, TS 89; Williams, *Corr.*, vol. IV, p. 429; Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. IV, p. 226)

55. From Mrs Whiteway to Alexander Pope, 16 May 1740

The History of the four last years of queen *Anne*'s reign I suppose you have seen with Dr. *King*, to whom he sent it some time ago, and, if am rightly informed, is the only piece of his (except *Gulliver*) which he ever proposed making money by, and was given to Dr. *King* with that design, if it might be printed . . .

(No MS; *Letters, Written by the Late Jonathan Swift, D.D.*, ed. Deane Swift (1768), vol. VI, pp. 277–80, extract on p. 278, TS 89; Williams, *Corr.*, vol. V, p. 188; Woolley, *Corr.*, vol. IV, p. 622)

⁷² *him*] i.e. Theophilus Harrison.

⁷³ *11 the attendants of the governor of Glubbdubdrid*: see above, p. 287.